JINNAH PAPERS

CONSOLIDATING THE MUSLIM LEAGUE FOR FINAL STRUGGLE

1 August 1944–31 July 1945

SECOND SERIES
Volume XI

Editor-in-Chief

Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.
M. A., LL.B. (Alig.), Ph.D. (London)

QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
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Foreword

The present volume, subtitled *Consolidating the Muslim League for Final Struggle,* is the second in the Second Series of the *Jinnah Papers* and the eleventh in the overall sequence. Continuing with the quest for a political settlement, it spans the abortive Jinnah-Gandhi talks, the Muslim League's steadfast adherence to its demand for an independent sovereign Muslim nation-state as the only solution to the political and constitutional stand-off, and the collapse of Simla Conference convened by Viceroy Wavell to deliberate on the inclusion of Indian leaders in a reconstituted Executive Council. The shortcomings of, and recriminations within, the provincial League leadership and Jinnah's efforts at counselling and consolidating the provincial bodies remain a recurrent theme. The clarity of Jinnah's vision and the vigour and dynamism of his leadership were to lead the League to an emphatic victory in the general elections held in 1945-46 which paved the way for the partition of the subcontinent and the emergence of Pakistan.

The negotiations between Mountbatten and the Indian leaders in April-May 1947 which culminated in the British decision to end their rule in India, dividing the country into two Dominions, Pakistan and India, were covered in the first four volumes. The subsequent three volumes encompass Jinnah's brief, if turbulent tenure of the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan lasting just over a year and attended by appalling events such as spiralling communal violence redolent of medieval savagery, massive influx of refugees across the new divide, etc. The demise of the founding father on 11 September 1948 traumatized the nation. The next two volumes focus on issues relating to the princely states. The present volume, covering a period of one year from August 1944 to July 1945, comprises 575 primary documents supplemented by two appendices relating to the Rajagopalachari Formula and the Muslim League Election Fund, respectively. Most of Jinnah's statements to the press and speeches during the period on contemporary political issues have not been included since such statements, etc. have already been published, vide Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam,* Vol. III, 1996, Lahore, and Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* Vol. III, 1994, & Vol. IV, 2000, Karachi. Detailed references to these and other relevant publications have, however, been duly given in the text. Primary documents, including those in the appendices, have been arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially. These have been referred to in the text by identifying the source or repository notation, followed by the number of the relevant file or volume, and where available, the page number(s).

Most of the documents included in the main text have been selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (e.g. F. 905/58-9), held by the National Archives of Pakistan, and the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* (e.g. *SHC*), available with the Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi. In addition, a number of stray documents previously available in the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* have been garnered from other sources. In order to avoid any confusion, such documents have been serially renumbered in order of their accession to the record of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project. Where necessary or expedient, material from contemporary newspapers relevant to the issues dealt with has been drawn upon. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-47* and the previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been identified by the document number, volume and page number(s) (e.g. No. 201, *TP*, VII, 436-8 & No. 577, Vol. X, 586-7, respectively). Appendices to the present volume have been indicated by the Appendix notation followed by the document number.

Material of a repetitive character, requests for financial assistance, employment, or other such personal matters have not been included.

We are deeply indebted to Ms Dina Jinnah as well as President Pervez Musharraf for their keen and enduring interest in the work of the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project. During a private visit to Pakistan in March last year, Quaid's daughter was graciously pleased to receive a set of the *Jinnah Papers* presented to her.

During this period one of our colleagues, M. H. Khan, Editor, died after a short illness. He was a conscientious, diligent and indefatigable member of our editorial team.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Culture Division
Islamabad
26 March 2005

Introduction

During the period from August 1944 to July 1945, covered by this volume, we find Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah nearing the peak of his political career while emerging as undisputed leader of Muslim India and its "sole spokesman." He not only kept up the momentum of growth in the strength and popularity of the Muslim League but in fact accelerated it. As a sequel, all 'nationalist' Muslim parties and groups were marginalised and the claim of the League to be the sole representative body of Indian Muslims became ever more credible.

* * * *

In September 1944, India watched, with an air of expectancy, the unofficial summit between the two foremost political leaders of the subcontinent, Jinnah and Gandhi, aimed at breaking the political stalemate between the League and the Congress and reaching a settlement to pave the way for attainment of Indian independence.

After his release from prison in May 1944[1], having been incarcerated in the wake of the 'Quit India' movement launched by the Congress in August 1942,[2] Gandhi wrote to Jinnah in July 1944, "We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims."[3] Jinnah consented to meet him in the middle of August,[4] but their parleys actually took place between 9 and 27 September.[5] Knowing, as he did, that Gandhi was prone to be evasive and equivocal in his discussions, Jinnah saw fit to communicate with him by regular interchange of letters, in tandem with verbal exchanges. Their correspondence provides a fascinating contrast between the approach of the participants; whereas Gandhi often had recourse to far-fetched interpretation and semantic ambiguity, Jinnah was unequivocal, precise and articulate.

At their first meeting held on September 9, 1944, Jinnah questioned Gandhi's credentials, for the latter claimed that he was participating in the talks in an individual capacity.[6] Jinnah wanted the talks to be predicated mainly on the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, which demanded that "areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority... should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States'."[7] However, Gandhi proposed that Chakravarti Rajagopalachari's (C.R.) Formula[8] be taken as a starting point. Essentially, the Formula required the League to cooperate with Congress in the struggle for independence and the formation of an interim government, hypothesizing that a Commission would be set up, after the War, for demarcation of the Muslim majority areas, which could opt for or against separation from Hindustan through a plebiscite.[9] Thereupon, Jinnah sought certain clarifications regarding the Formula envisaging (i) framing of a constitution for free India, (ii) the role expected of the Muslim League in the struggle for independence, (iii) formation of

an interim government, and (iv) appointment of a Commission to determine contiguous Muslim majority districts.[10]

Answering Jinnah's queries about the C.R. Formula, Gandhi stated that the future constitution would be framed by the interim government which would also set up the Commission to demarcate the Muslim majority areas; the interim government itself would be formed by agreement between the League and the Congress. Gandhi stated that the Lahore Resolution was 'indefinite' and insisted that Rajagopalachari had "taken from it the substance and given it a shape."[11] Jinnah, however, did not agree that the substance of Lahore Resolution had been incorporated in the Formula. He termed Gandhi's insistence on attainment of independence preceding a Hindu-Muslim agreement as "putting the cart before the horse."[12] It might as well be mentioned here that Jawaharlal Nehru, then still in prison, was "very much put out" when he learned that Gandhi was negotiating with Jinnah. Nehru termed C.R.'s proposal to concede Pakistan to be "a devil dance."[13]

On September 14, in view of Jinnah's emphatic reservations regarding the C.R. Formula, Gandhi agreed, tacitly, to accept the Lahore Resolution as a basis of discussion "in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement."[14] However, the very next day he wrote, " I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock."[15] To counter Gandhi's objection to the claim of Muslim India to separate nationhood, Jinnah reiterated, "we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions.... By all canons of International Law we are a nation."[16] He declared that the "Quit India" Resolution of the Congress was prejudicial to the interests of Indian Muslims inasmuch as it envisaged "a united, democratic Government of India with federated units or provinces, which means establishing a Hindu *Raj*" and that such an eventuality "would be a death-blow to Muslim India."[17]

After a fortnight of protracted talks, Gandhi could perceive no light at the end of the tunnel and remarked: "Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another."[18] In a letter written to Jinnah on September 24, he harped on his old tune that "India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members."[19] Jinnah retorted, "You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution," citing his refusal of the right to self-determination for the Indian Muslims "I find that the question of the division of India as

Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart."[20] At this stage, Gandhi offered to recommend that Congress concede separation provided that (i) Muslim areas desiring separation are demarcated by a Commission approved by both the League and the Congress and a plebiscite is held in those areas (ii) even if such areas vote for separation, they will be grouped into independent states only after India attains independence.[21] Insisting that his latest proposals had conceded the basics of the Lahore Resolution, Gandhi pleaded: "Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them."[22] Jinnah dismissed the idea of Gandhi addressing the League Council.[23] In a press statement, he stated, "I have placed before him everything and every aspect of the Muslim point of view ... I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi".[24] Frustrated by Gandhi's attitude, Jinnah wrote to him on September 26, "If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution," adding that "If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong."[25] Thus ended the attempt at reconciliation and agreement between the two major parties of the subcontinent.

In an interview given to Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*, London, Jinnah commented on his talks with Gandhi: "The offer made to us... is an insult to intelligence" as the Muslim League had been "asked to agree to a plebiscite where Muslims are not in absolute majority".[26] He explained that Gandhi had interpreted this to include all those areas where Muslims were less than seventy per cent, thus deviating from Rajagopalachari's view whereby 'absolute majority' meant "51 per cent of the entire population." Jinnah feared that a plebiscite under the proposed terms would "probably leave a mutilated and unworkable Pakistan."[27]

Jinnah's firm and consistent stand in his talks with Gandhi was acclaimed by Muslims throughout India. Syed Abdur Rahman, Muslim League Council Member from Bangalore, wrote, "it would be a great mistake if Mr. Gandhi and the Hindu India even now do not fully realise that Mr. Jinnah rules the hearts of the 100 million Musalmans of India."[28] Alluding to Gandhi's assertion that Indians converted to Islam could not claim to be a nation,[29] he added, "It is open to Mr. Gandhi to test the will and determination of this 'body' of 100 million 'converts' of nearly a thousand years' standing in India, and the intensity of their faith in Mr. Jinnah."[30] In a Resolution, the Sind Muslim League Working Committee asserted: "This Committee, while regretting the break-down

of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for settlement, fully supports the stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam... and expresses its complete confidence in his leadership."[32] According to the Bengal Muslim League, Jinnah's stand had been "throughout reasonable and just, patriotic and statesmanlike and absolutely consistent with the basic creed and demands of the All India Muslim League."[33] It was pointed out that during the British rule in India, Muslim majority areas had been "singled out for deliberate wrongs which aimed at politically crippling, financially starving, economically pauperising the Muslim Provinces" and that the Pakistan demand had "arisen from deep-rooted historical causes of frustration and suppression."[33] The failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks disappointed Muslim organisations including the Muslim League.

* * * *

After the failure of negotiations on the communal issue between the Congress and the Muslim League, the Whitehall initiated a political process which Wavell announced on June 14, 1945. It was "designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government." He invited Indian leaders to discuss the formation of "a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion," adding that, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, "it would be an entirely Indian Council."[34] The Conference was to be held at Simla on June 25, 1945, with a selected list of invitees.[35] At a time when there was no League ministry in any province except Sind, the fact that Jinnah had been invited "on an equal footing with the Congress leaders gave a much-needed fillip to his prestige."[36]

On June 14, 1945, Wavell suggested that Jinnah meet with him a day before the Conference.[37] Jinnah expected that the Viceroy would provide the necessary clarifications during this meeting to enable him to place the Viceroy's proposals before the League Working Committee. As members of the Working Committee were to be invited from all over India, he suggested that the Conference be deferred for a fortnight.[38] The Viceroy replied that he would address the clarifications required in the Conference itself, which he insisted be held on 25th June 1945.[39] Jinnah's response was: "Until I know full details of the scheme and am in a position to place the entire scheme before my Working Committee it will serve no useful purpose." He however agreed to review the situation after his meeting with the Viceroy.[40]

Although Gandhi was one of the principal invitees to the Conference, he was not there when the Conference opened. The Congress group

was, therefore, led by Abul Kalam Azad, who emphasised the non-communal character of the Congress, pleaded for the release of all prisoners belonging to the Party, and sought clarifications regarding the External Affairs Department and the relations of the proposed interim government with the Army and the Indian States. Azad's position was endorsed by other Congress leaders including Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, and Rajagopalachari. Jinnah, speaking for the Muslim League, remarked that "Azad's points were largely irrelevant to the immediate proposals."[11] The Viceroy, commenting on Azad's remarks regarding the non-communal character of the Congress, stated that "there was nothing in the proposals to brand it as a communal organisation." Jinnah interjected that the "Congress represented only Hindus." His statement was resented and challenged by Dr Khan Sahib [Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan], the Congress Premier in NWFP. The Viceroy, in an attempt to defuse controversy, suggested that the "Congress represented its members," to which nobody demurred. After other participants had expressed their views, Jinnah spoke again to declare that "The League would not agree to any constitution except on the fundamental principle of Pakistan. The Congress view was exactly the reverse."[12]

In a discussion with Jinnah, Wavell proposed the inclusion of a Punjabi Muslim, without strong political affiliation, as a member in the Executive Council but Jinnah asserted that "he really commanded the allegiance of practically all the Muslims in the Punjab". After considerable discussion, the Viceroy concluded that the League claimed the right to nominate all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council."

On June 29, 1945, Jinnah expressed his views on Wavell's proposals at a press conference. Referring to the League's Resolution of March 1943, which stipulated that the participation of Muslims in the War effort was conditional on their political demands being met,[14] he stated that the League was ready to negotiate "on the basis of equality of representation on the provisional Central Government", provided that the British Government guaranteed the right to self-determination of the Muslims of India and undertook to give effect to the Pakistan scheme in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of 1940. He stated plainly: "We have no illusions about this parity, because on the Executive Council, as proposed, the Muslim quota will not be more than one-third."[45] He reasoned that the Scheduled Castes "will not have any particular bias" for the Muslims and that the political goals of the Sikhs were identical with those of the Congress. He reiterated that the nomination of a Muslim by the Congress on the Executive Council would not be acceptable.[46]

On June 29, 1945, Jinnah was asked by Evan Jenkins, the Viceroy's

Private Secretary, to nominate eight to twelve Muslim Leaguers to be considered for membership of the Executive Council.[47] The League leaders, Ghulam Ali Talpur[48] and Hatim Alavi,[49] telegraphed to state emphatically that it was "absolutely imperative Muslim members must be nominees of League. Failing this recognition we have no alternative but stay out. If League's sole representative character challenged then let general elections be first ordered and Executive Council formed basis of that plebiscite."[50] Jinnah, communicating the views of the League Working Committee to Wavell, recalled the procedure adopted by his predecessor, Linlithgow, whereby the selection of Council members was to be made not from "a panel formally submitted" but on the basis of "confidential discussion" between the party leaders and the Viceroy. He added, "the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that all the Muslim members ... should be chosen from the Muslim League."[51] Wavell showed his inability to guarantee this but insisted, nevertheless, that at least five names be recommended to him.[52] Jinnah in turn, conveying the disappointment of the League Working Committee at the Viceroy's decision, declined to send any names at all on behalf of the Muslim League.[53]

The concluding session of the Simla Conference was held on July 14, 1945. It was however all too obvious that the Conference had failed to break the deadlock. Maulana Azad blamed the failure on the League's irreversible claim to nominate all Muslim members of the Council. Concurring with Azad, Rajagopalachari suggested an interim settlement "on territorial or administrative rather than on communal lines."[54] Jinnah summed up the situation by stating that "Muslim League and Congress viewed affairs from entirely different angles and in proposed new Council there would have been constant clash between idea of Pakistan and plans for United India."[55] At a press conference the same day, Jinnah stated, "On a final examination and the analysis of the Wavell Plan, we found that it was a snare" and that the Hindu Congress and Wavell, "the latest exponent of geographical unity," had conspired with the Unionists in the Punjab to cause disruption among the Muslims and push them into an arrangement which "would have signed our death warrant."[56]

Given that Khizar Hayat Khan[57] still held sway in the Punjab and that in March 1945 the League Ministries had been voted out in Bengal and NWFP, "Jinnah's demonstration of imperious strength at the Simla conference was a shot in the arm for the League."[58] Jinnah's bold and determined stand at the Simla talks was acclaimed by Muslims throughout India, as typified in Ch. Khaliquzzaman's[59] comment: "You have once again saved the community from a serious pitfall and steered the ship of Muslim politics through rough and stormy weather to a safe anchorage. Your grim determination and overpowering sagacity alone

saved the situation."[60] A positive fall-out of Jinnah's unflinching stand at the Conference was a "flood of defections" by leaders and workers from the Unionist Party in the Punjab and from the Congress all over India. By September, Mian Iftikharuddin, who had been President of the Punjab Congress Committee for the previous five years, had joined the League. Firoz Khan Noon had resigned from the Viceroy's Council to climb the League bandwagon. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, joined the Muslim League as well; his entry into the League fold all but turned the tables in the NWFP politics.[61]

* * * *

While thanking the innumberable Muslims who had voiced their emphatic support to him following the collapse of the Simla Conference, Jinnah asked them to brace themselves for the general elections he thought would "come sooner than many people think," adding that "elections cannot be fought without money."[62] Appealing for funds to be raised both in the provinces and at the centre, he asked that contributions for the centre be sent directly to him. Since it was not his wont to collect money, he clarified: "I have not made any appeal for funds since 1942, as there was no need for it, but ... we do require money now to face these elections."[63] His clarion call for election funds was heard, loud and clear, by the young and the old, the rich and the poor, not only around India but also by expatriate Indian Muslims in South Africa, Bahrain, Iran, and elsewhere in the world.

At a meeting held in Bombay for presentation of a purse to him for the elections, Jinnah said: "Give me the silver bullets and the League will finish the job."[64] A sum of over three hundred thousand rupees was donated at that meeting. Jinnah attributed the massive response to a strong national spirit and a clear understanding of political issues by the Muslim masses.[65] Jinnah's appeal for 'silver bullets' evoked a symbolic response from some donors. A Muslim group from Kadaiyanallur sent one silver bullet weighing eighty *tolas*.[66] Muslim Leaguers from Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency sent a garland of seventy silver bullets, a silver javelin and a silver tree.[67] Shaukat Ali from Trichinopoly sent a silver plate weighing more than a hundred *tolas*.[68]

Two sisters, both college students, remitted their pocket money from Calcutta; one of them wrote: "My parents are very poor. Were I rich I would contribute all I had to my nation and my Quaid-i-Azam."[69] A six-year old student wrote from New Delhi, "I have collected rupees one hundred from my '*Id* gifts and examination prize", while sending the amount to Jinnah.[70] A Subedar from the South East Asia Command

sent postal orders saying: "This little sum has been collected by Muslim soldiers."[69] A young Squadron Leader, M. Asghar Khan, later to become Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, wrote "I hope that this meagre amount will help in some way towards the realization of our goal."[70]

Meriting special mention is a donation collected by the Muslim patients of Lady Linlithgow Sanatorium at Kasauli who remitted over three hundred rupees.[71] Residents of a locality in Dacca held a function at which tea was served to the participants on payment and the entire proceeds were contributed to the Election Fund.[72] Some Muslim ladies in Transvaal, South Africa, used the occasion of a wedding in the family to make a collection for the Fund.[73]

A large number of substantial contributions were received from Muslims in South Africa. The one of over fourteen thousand rupees from Transvaal came with the inspiring message,"to face a formidable foe and eventually win, with flying colours, all Muslim seats under the banner of our beloved League."[74] A sum of one hundred thousand rupees, then a pretty considerable one, was collected by Muslim clerks, women and school children of Pretoria and its suburbs.[75] More than forty thousand pounds were donated, in response to an appeal by the *Indian Views*, a Durban newspaper which had sponsored the setting up of League Election Fund Committees in South Africa, Rhodesia and other African countries.[76] Indian Muslim employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Abadan, donated ten thousand rupees to the Election Fund.[77]

An unlikely source of donation was the reward given to a *qawwal*, a singer of devotional music, by the Congress leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Ajmer shrine of a celebrated Muslim saint. The *qawwal* sent it on to Jinnah saying: "I believe no better use can be made of this money than for the purpose of attaining our cherished goal of Pakistan."[78] The tea-stall owners of the Durgah Bazar, Ajmer, contributed a day's sales to the Election Fund.[81]

A cheque for two hundred thousand rupees was presented to Jinnah by Ahmedabad District Muslim League.[82] Memon Merchants' Association of Bombay presented a purse of fifty thousand rupees.[83] In a public address at Lahore on January 17, 1946, Jinnah specially mentioned that "The Bombay Muslims and our brothers in South Africa have given the greatest financial help." He exhorted affluent Muslims from the Punjab to emulate their brethren in Bombay and South Africa.[84]

* * * *

While Jinnah devoted every ounce of his energy to preparing the

Muslims of the subcontinent for the forthcoming elections, which he rightly envisioned as crucial and seminal, he had to give the guidance needed for tackling organisational problems of the central and provincial Muslim League parties and to address internal dissensions stemming from petty rivalries between provincial leaders.

The brew of mutual bickering and wrangling and bitter recrimination which had been simmering for some time in the cauldron of Sind politics reached the boiling point during this period. The two main protagonists, namely G. M. Sayed, the Provincial League President, and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Premier, continued to squabble and work at cross-purposes, motivated by a consuming desire for political influence and ascendancy. Both were scions of feudal families but had contrasting attitudes.

Sayed, from Dadu, advocated the cause of landless tenants and founded a Hari Committee to organise them into a strong body. He had started his political career in the Congress and worked for the Khilafat Movement. He joined the Muslim League in 1938[85] and took a leading part in organising the League in Sind and, in 1943, was elected its President.[86]

Hidayatullah, from Shikarpur, on the contrary, represented feudal interests. He was "non-communal in outlook, most of his friends being Hindus; was highly ambitious and wanted to remain in power at all costs. That explains his cultivation of the favour of the British officials."[87] In mid-August 1944, Jinnah wrote to him, "My repeated and earnest request to you and others is that for the sake of our cause ... put an end to these private controversies and bickerings."[88] This timely advice of their leader to whom both professed loyalty was scarcely heeded. Hidayatullah complained on October 24, that "The position has now become very difficult as Mr. G. M. Sayed wishes to establish a Sayed *raj* here", adding that "I cannot well be a puppet Premier and surrender my constitutional rights."[89] After a week, he complained that Sayed had crammed the Parliamentary Board with his henchmen who would not give a ticket for a vacant Assembly seat to his son, Anwar Hidayatullah.[90]

Hashim Gazdar,[91] then Home Minister, joined the fray on the side of Sayed, and wrote to Liaquat Ali Khan on November 5, 1944 that Hidayatullah had been threatening to resign or reshuffle the Ministry and that he was negotiating with Nihchaldas[92] of the Hindu Independent Group and had even contacted the leader of Congress Party in Sind Assembly to form a non-League ministry. Besides, he was intent on making his son contest elections even as an independent candidate, if the League ticket was not given to him.[93]

On November 13, Jinnah asked Hidayatullah to meet with him in

Delhi, along with Sayed.[94] The meeting took place in early December in the presence of Liaquat Ali Khan. The appointment of Roger Thomas as a Minister, the programme of Provincial League, and corruption in the Sind administration were discussed inter alia. The following agreements were arrived at: (i) appeals against Sind Parliamentary Board would lie to and be decided by the Central Board, (ii) differences regarding elections in the Provincial and District Leagues would be referred to the Centre, and (iii) Muslim League Assembly Party in Sind would not enter into coalition with any other party without the approval of the Central Parliamentary Board.[95] In spite of this agreement, Hidayatullah continued to refer complaints regarding individual candidates to Jinnah who had to remind him of the agreement, adding that "it is not possible for me to interfere .... It is for you people in Sind to build in harmony, co-operation and unity or destroy by disunity, by pulling each other down." He lamented that "leading men, who are expected to know better and guide the people, are quarrelling amongst themselves like children."[96] When Hidayatullah consulted Jinnah about dropping Gazdar from the Ministry, the latter upheld the Premier's right to use his discretion "so long as you enjoy the Party's confidence."[97]

It appears that Sayed's intransigence had started testing the patience of even as sedate and forbearing a person as Jinnah who telegraphed to reproach him for his unreasonable attitude, which was hurting the League cause, and asked that he see him in Bombay immediately so that the allegations against him could be verified before the situation got out of hand.[98] Hidayatullah's administration had G. M. Sayed declared a Hur,[99] making him liable to internment in his own village, Sann. This exacerbated their relations even further.[100] However, Sayed's activities, mentioned hereafter, indicate that he was not actually interned. Contrary to Hashim Gazdar's version cited earlier,[101] Hatim Alavi reported to Jinnah, on February 6, that Sayed was planning to topple the Hidayatullah Ministry with the help of non-League Muslims and Independent Hindu Group.[102] Writing to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,[103] a Sind Minister, on February 7, Jinnah remarked, "there should be no personal rivalries and quarrels which develop into feuds and vendetta, for in that case no organisation can successfully work or make any progress. It really means fratricide."[104] Jinnah tried to bring the two protagonists together by sending a letter for Hidayatullah through Sayed, asking the Premier to receive the latter with courtesy, reminding him of the assurance he had given "to bury the hatchet and restore complete harmony, solidarity and unity amongst the ranks of the Muslim League."[105]

The final break, or the parting of the ways, came when Sayed,

without previous consultation with Jinnah, staged a parliamentary coup against the Hidayatullah Ministry. Afterwards, on February 24, 1945, he informed Jinnah that fifteen out of twenty-eight members of the Muslim League Assembly Party had decided to oust the Hidayatullah Ministry and secured the ouster through a cut motion that was carried.[106] Hidayatullah complained to Jinnah, "Our Muslim League Ministry stood like a rock against the machinations of the anti-Muslim League forces in Sind.... All this edifice, built up by us under your guidance, today stands in ruins thanks to the treachery of Mr. G. M. Sayed."[107] He retaliated by promptly calling a meeting of his eleven loyal League members who unanimously resolved to expel G. M. Sayed and Hashim Gazdar from the Muslim League Assembly Party.[108] To regain power, Hidayatullah formed a coalition with Azad Muslim Party headed by Haji Moula Bakhsh[109] who was taken into the cabinet.[110] This act of crass expediency was slammed by Jinnah who wired, "Unable approve inclusion Moula Bakhsh League Ministry unless he joins League. Cannot sacrifice vital principle policy Muslim League under threat [Section[111]] ninety-three."[112] In a subsequent letter, he explained: "Surely we cannot barter away our fundamental principles merely to avoid 93. The honour, prestige and status of the All India Muslim League are involved in this course, as it destroys the very basic principle which we have maintained at all costs, that the Muslim League is the only authoritative, representative organisation of the Musalmans of India." He added, "It is far more honourable for us to have no Muslim League Ministry at all, if you have not got the majority of the Muslim Leaguers with you .... In those circumstances it is far better to sit on the opposition benches, and if 93 is going to be enforced... we ought to be prepared to face it."[113]

Jinnah denounced Sayed's sordid role in toppling the League Ministry in strong terms in a telegram on February 28: "you have adopted unconstitutional methods have lent yourself to unworthy intrigues playing in hands of enemies have let down your leader and Party to which you belonged.... You have precipitated crisis, broken Party discipline, caused split, shaken solidarity Sind Muslims."[114] Sayed defended his position in a lengthy letter to Jinnah on March 2. Explaining that he had been obliged to comply with the written request of majority of the parliamentary party to oust the Hidayatullah Ministry, he recalled that he had made several written and verbal complaints against the Ministry to Jinnah and central bodies of the League which had gone unheeded. He reasoned that the only options available to him were to support the corrupt administration, fight the League high command, or retire from politics. He protested that

he was being unfairly stigmatised for what he had been obliged to do.[115]

* * * *

After the resignation of the Congress Ministry in November 1939, the NWFP remained under Governor's rule till May 1943.[116] In October 1942, Firoz Khan Noon, then a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, suggested to the Viceroy that a Muslim League Ministry be formed in the NWFP to muster Muslim League support for the War effort. At the Governor's behest, Sardar Aurangzeb cobbled together a ministry that included an Akali Sikh and a Congress MLA; it took office on May 25, 1943.[117] Since Premier Aurangzeb did not have a good reputation, many otherwise devoted Muslim League leaders found it difficult to support him unreservedly, and his ministry found the going difficult at times. Sadullah Khan, a League MLA, wrote to Jinnah that the "so-called Muslim League" Ministry had become so unpopular, due to corruption and high-handedness, that the Muslim public had begun to detest the very name of the League. He added, "I cannot tolerate any more to work with S. Aurangzeb Khan, because of his treacherous attitude."[118] In response, Jinnah advised him that, until the allegations against the Ministry were proved, he should continue to cooperate with the League Premier.[119] Even Taj Ali Khan, an Aurangzeb supporter, reported to Jinnah that different elements in the Ministry were working for personal ends and not for the Party.[120] In the event, the Ministry, which had become a source of embarrassment for the Muslim League, was voted out by the Congress on a no-confidence motion adopted on March 12, 1945.[121]

The Committee of Action, mandated to reorganise the League throughout India, toured the Frontier Province extensively in June 1945 and concluded that the Frontier League organisation required a thorough overhaul. They assigned Qazi Mohammad Isa to supervise the reorganisation in the following sequence: (i) enrolment of primary members during the next three months; (ii) establishment of Primary Leagues; (iii) reorganisation of City, District and Provincial Leagues and election of their office-bearers. Isa toured the province in October and reported to Liaquat Ali Khan that independent agencies had been set up to complete the programme.[122]

* * * *

The position of the Muslim League in the Punjab was not any happier. The Unionist Party had been in power since 1937.[123] The same year, a working relationship between the League and the Unionists was established through the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact whereby all Muslim

members of the provincial assembly were concurrently to belong to the Muslim League and the Unionist coalition.[124] However, Sikandar Hyat's successor, Khizar Hayat, did not adhere to the terms of the agreement which led to a parting of the ways between the Unionist Party and the Muslim League in 1944.[125]

Because of the estrangement between the League and the Unionists, and in view of the forthcoming elections, the Punjab League had to be speedily reorganised and strengthened. In November 1944, Jinnah entrusted the leadership of the Punjab League to Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot[126] who, along with Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the Provincial Secretary, organised a number of teams, which also included students, to reorganise the party. These teams, headed by provincial leaders, toured various districts and held public meetings in support of the Muslim League programme. They had, nonetheless, to work against strong opposition from Khizar Hayat supporters, Unionist landlords, British bureaucracy and non-Muslim officials.[127]

* * * *

The Muslim League Ministry in Bengal was not having a plain sailing either. Khwaja Nazimuddin, the premier, was beset with serious problems. A catastrophic famine in 1943 had "bedevilled his administration and strengthened the Opposition in its tirades against him". Disgruntled elements among his supporters were ready to abandon him and change sides in quest of office.[128] Dichotomy existed between the district and provincial branches of the League and the Nazimuddin Ministry, which had tended to ignore the Provincial League because of being "under the protecting wings of the Central Parliamentary Board"[129] of the All India Muslim League. Antagonism of Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Abul Hashem had also weakened Nazimuddin's grip over the Party. Suhrawardy had managed to get twenty-four of his supporters elected as members of the Bengal League Working Committee in 1943 and later got a group of his choice appointed to the Provincial League Council.[130] The Suhrawardy group had gradually gained control over the Party machine and opposition to Nazimuddin had snowballed.

On March 28, 1945, the demand for grant for agriculture was voted down by the Legislative Assembly. Nazimuddin complained that this had been manoeuvred by his opponents through gross horse-trading.[131] Despite Nazimuddin's protest, the Speaker ruled that the refusal of a government demand for grant was tantamount to a vote of no confidence. The Governor dismissed the Nazimuddin Ministry and imposed Section 93 which remained in force till April 1946.[132] After a

fortnight, in a letter to Jinnah, Nazimuddin claimed that he had a good case to ask the Governor for forming a new ministry. However, he stated that the formation of a coalition ministry hinged on collaboration with either "unreliable and corrupt element" or Hindu group.[133] Jinnah, who always placed principles before power, refused to endorse coalescence with corrupt elements. When Ispahani drew his attention to the situation, he replied, "Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia."[134] To Nazimuddin, his unequivocal reply was, "I would not, under any circumstances, have anything to do with the corrupt element, and as regards coalition with the Hindu group, yes, but on honourable terms. I would rather be in opposition with honour than run a precarious ministry."[135] However, despite Nazimuddin's expectations, he was unable to gather a majority. In fact, the Muslim League could not form a ministry again in Bengal until after April 1946, when it won the elections. Even then, ironically, "the new Chief Minister swept so convincingly into power was not Nazimuddin, Jinnah's man in Bengal, but Suhrawardy".[136]

* * * *

Compared to the areas expected to form Pakistan, Muslims of the provinces where they were in minority rallied round the banner of the Muslim League more readily. This was reflected in the results of elections held in 1937, particulary in the United Provinces, Bombay, Central Provinces, and Orissa, where "No Muslim was returned on a Congress ticket from Muslim constituencies".[137] However the Muslims had to suffer severe repression at the hands of the Congress governments formed in these provinces to the extent that, in its 1938 Session, the All India Muslim League was obliged to adopt a resolution reailing off "the atrocities that have been committed" and the way the "elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U.P. and C.P." Since these grievances were not redressed otherwise, it was proposed in the resolution as a last resort that direct action be launched.[138] Instances galore of maltreatment of Muslims increasingly alienated them from the Congress.

The enthusiastic support of the Muslim minority provinces to the Pakistan movement was also noticed by Wavell who, in August 1945, reported to the Secretary of State: "I am sure that the Pakistan idea is stronger in the Muslim minority Provinces than in the Pakistan Provinces".[139] Soon after creation of Pakistan, the contribution of the Muslims from minority provinces was acknowledged by Jinnah in glowing terms: "Let us not, on this occasion, forget those of our brethren and sisters who have sacrificed

their all so that Pakistan may be established and we may live.... it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub-continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority Muslim provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that".[140]

* * * *

Muslim youth in general, and students in particular, were close to Jinnah's heart; he regarded them as vanguard of the Pakistan movement. His trust was fully vindicated by them during the general elections held in 1945-46, the civil disobedience movement launched in January 1947 against the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab, and in the referendum held in the NWFP in July 1947.

Muslim students toured the cities and villages across India, especially those areas where Muslims resided in large numbers. Thereby, they established a close rapport with the Muslim masses, acquainting them with the problems confronting the nation. After the Khilafat Movement of the early nineteen-twenties, Muslim students had once again started taking keen interest in the political, economic and social issues faced by the Muslim community. Although Jinnah had advised the students to concentrate on their studies rather than take active part in politics, they nonetheless continued to extend unstinting support to the League during the Pakistan movement. Hector Bolitho, Jinnah's biographer, is quoted by Mukhtar Zaman as having aptly remarked: "The hundreds and thousands who had been attracted to the banner of the League were not all drawn from the adult masses; Jinnah was also becoming a considerable force in the universities."[141]

Students of Muslim University, Aligarh, the premier Muslim educational institution in India, which Jinnah had called the arsenal of Muslim India, were in the vanguard of the League's fight to win the referendums held in the NWFP and Sylhet in July 1947. As stated by Philips Talbot, a former US Assistant Secretary of State, Jinnah, Liaquat and other League leaders had met at Aligarh during 1939, and it was there that "they hammered the Pakistan scheme out of the myriad proposals... being discussed".[142]

After the resurgence of the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership, Aligarh had become virtually the hub of Muslim politics and its students were so motivated as to be willing to sacrifice their very lives at the behest of Jinnah. Although most prominent Muslim leaders had been visiting the Aligarh University since Pakistan became the political goal of Indian Muslims, one voice frequently reverberated in the corridors of the University and that was Jinnah's. The University Union played a

key role in and gave all-out support to the Pakistan movement. The University students, who had come from all parts of India, placed their services unstintingly at the disposal of the League.[143]

It was from the Aligarh University that Liaquat Ali Khan called upon all Muslim students to work vigorously for the League campaign to win the general elections in 1945-46, on which hinged the destiny of the Muslim nation itself. Aligarh responded so fervently to the challenge that its students moved out of their classrooms and hostels to join the electoral fray and fight valiantly along with Muslim students from other institutions across India until a thumping victory was won by the League.[144]

When the Muslim League in the Punjab started a movement to foster political consciousness among the Muslim masses and acquaint them fully with the rationale of the demand for Pakistan, the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, especially the students of Islamia College, Lahore, played a leading role. They had to work in difficult circumstances, facing hazards such as probable government action against them, opposition from the Unionists, and hostility of non-Muslim opponents. During the elections, many students served as polling agents for the League candidates and some even suffered injuries in the process.[145]

Muslim students in Bengal also participated fervidly in the Pakistan movement from the platform of All Bengal Muslim Students' League. In Assam as well, Muslim students played an active role in the political awakening of Assamese Muslims. Muslim students agitated vigorously against the notorious Line System which had barred Bengali Muslims from crossing an arbitrary line in Assam. Many students were imprisoned during the agitation. Muslim peasants of Bengal, driven by grinding poverty and population pressure, were seeking livelihood in Assam by clearing up forests for cultivation.[146] They were beaten up by local Hindus as well as the Police and some immigrants were killed by Police firing. A prominent Calcutta Leaguer, Raghib Ahsan,[147] wrote to Jinnah: "The Muslim Assam is on fire" and sought his intervention "for saving lakhs of Bengali peasants... from total extinction."[148] When Jinnah referred the matter to S.M. Saadulla, the Assam Premier, the latter showed scant sympathy with the immigrants and attempted to explain away the atrocities committed by the local people and wrote, "seventy families forcibly occupied reserve set apart for professional graziers who pay tax."[149]

Political awakening in Sind was attended by efforts at spreading education among the Muslims. The establishment of Sind Madressah in Karachi was a milestone; Jinnah himself inaugurated it in June 1943. Abdul Aleem Dareshani, a Sind educationist and former Secretary of Muslim Students' Federation, wrote to Jinnah on the occasion saying that the

Muslim students had striven hard for setting up the Madressah and even begged for funds from door to door.

Muslim students of Sind continued to support the policies and programme of the Muslim League and slammed the Congress decision to launch "Quit India Movement" without first settling the Hindu-Muslim question and conceding the demand for Pakistan.[150] Students from other Muslim majority provinces, like the NWFP and Baluchistan, also worked zealously for the Pakistan movement.[151]

The story of the vigorous student role in the movement would be incomplete without mentioning that the students of Muslim minority provinces were in the forefront of the struggle, and along with students of Muslim majority provinces, redounded to the sweeping success of the League candidates at the polls.

All India Muslim Students' Federation (AIMSF) had been launched at Lucknow in 1936.[152] The provincial branches were established in Bihar in 1937,[153] in Delhi in 1939,[154] in CP by 1941,[155] and in Bombay as well in 1941, Jinnah consenting to become Patron of the Bombay chapter.[156] Branches at district level in various provinces were later set up. The Federation made an invaluable contribution to promoting the struggle for Pakistan.

Muslim students played an important role in popularising the demand for Pakistan throughout India. They carried Jinnah's message to the farthest corners, motivated the Muslims and steeled their determination to fight for Pakistan. Jinnah advised them not to restrict their activities to the cities and towns. Addressing a summer camp in Lahore in August 1944, he remarked: "The strength of nation is not in Lahore. If you educate the people in the villages and render social service to them, the political goal will come at your feet."[157] In a message to the U.P. Muslim Students' Federation, he observed that "It is the youth who fight, toil and struggle for the freedom of a nation". He advised them not to be "led away by mere catchwords and slogans and appearances and shadows" but to act according to their conscience and seek guidance from the holy *Qur'an*.[158] In a message to the Muslim National Guards, he said, "Pakistan can be achieved only by ... the strength of our unity, organization, discipline and character."[159] He exhorted the Muslim students to cope with the struggle of life manfully, adhering unflinchingly to the motto: "Unity, Faith and Discipline."[160]

* * * *

Jinnah was conscious of the important role of the press for

propagation of the League objectives and the pursuit of the goal of Pakistan. Although there were a few Muslim Urdu newspapers, the weekly *Dawn* founded by Jinnah and published from Delhi and the *Star of India* from Calcutta were the only English papers projecting the League programme. In June 1942, Jinnah considered either shifting the *Star of India* to Delhi or converting the *Dawn* into a daily newspaper.[161] In August the same year, the *Morning News* was started from Calcutta which Ispahani called as "One more weapon in the armoury of the League."[162] In October 1942, through Jinnah's efforts the weekly *Dawn* started publication as a daily[163] under the editorship of Pothan Joseph.

In June 1944, the Muslim League purchased an Urdu weekly, *Pakistan* of Lahore, which was later launched as a daily newspaper *Nawa-i-Waqt*[164] under the editorship of Hameed Nazami. In October 1944, Jinnah pointed out the need for a Muslim daily from Madras and suggested that the *Deccan Times*, a weekly, be converted into a daily.[165] In a message to the weekly *Manshoor*, Delhi, he remarked: "Muslim India is fully alive to the necessity of having a strong and powerful press of its own, both Urdu as well as English."[166]

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His desire to promote industrial and economic development in the neglected parts of India which were to form Pakistan had manifested itself in the creation of a Planning Committee[167] in August 1944 to formulate a comprehensive development plan. The need for coordination and cooperation between Muslim commercial organisations was also felt by Jinnah who, in a somewhat rare and uncharacteristic expression of impatience, demanded of Hassan Ispahani, on April 15, 1945, an explanation: "Have you been sleeping over the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, and is it merely to remain a paper scheme?"[168] On May 6, 1945, commenting on the report of a meeting of the said Chamber furnished by Ispahani, he wrote, "I hope that you people realize the ... importance of Muslim India making every effort to make up the leeway. What we now want is selfless workers and deeds and not mere words and thoughts and speeches."[169]

Jinnah insisted that all financial transactions be invariably transparent and beyond question. He asked his trusted lieutenant, Nawab Ismail Khan, who had requested additional funds for the Committee of Action of which he was the Chairman, to first send him an account of the previous advances made to the Committee.[170] On receiving the account, his comments were: "I find that this method of accounting is not quite satisfactory ... because these items convey nothing." He suggested reversion to the previous system of accounting "as that will form a record

of fairly understandable information."[171]

An illustration of the meticulous way in which he wanted the account to be kept is given below:[172]

F. 39 99

6.5.41	Balance	27-9-6
8.5.41	Envelopes & Papers	3-8-6
9.5.41	Postage	1-4-0
10.5.41	Telegram to Patna	0-15-0
	Coolie charges	0-5-0
	Telegram to Munshi Fateh Khan	0-4-0
	Telegram to Bombay P.H. Lodge	0-3-0
	Coolie charges	0-5-0
13-5-41	Postage	2-8-0
14.5.41	Envelopes	0-14-0
	Postage	0-12-0
	Total	38-6-0

Pd Ko Jinnah

P2. Rs. 13/3.
Pd. Rs 20. Ashraf 14/5/41

A striking instance of Jinnah's probity and propriety in financial matters was the occasion when the Viceroy offered to defray his board and lodging expenses during the Simla Conference. His prompt, if polite, response was that "he would prefer to bear all his own expenses."[173]

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The period between mid-1944 and mid-1945 was by far the most crucial for the political future of Muslim India. The Whitehall felt obliged by the situation emerging after World War II ended to consider transferring power to its most prized possession—'a gem in the British Crown'. The British administration showed an obvious preference for handing over power to a united India—a course of action strongly backed by the overwhelming Hindu majority. To get independence from Britain first and then work for a settlement

between the two major Indian communities was the plan proposed by the Congress and endorsed by the nationalist Muslim parties and groups. This would have been tantamount to placing a hundred million Muslims for ever at the mercy of a far-from-friendly Hindu majority, three times larger.

This seemingly inexorable march of events was stalled by Mohammad Ali Jinnah who, with his uncanny perception and unflagging determination, charted the best course for Muslim India, namely to strive for and secure an independent Muslim state. He stayed the course and never succumbed to pressure or intimidation. No coaxing or cajoling could deflect him from that course either. Tej Bahadur Sapru, a leading Indian lawyer and moderate political leader, had set up a Non-Party Conference with the ostensible aim of formulating proposals for a solution to the Indian political problem. He requested a meeting with Jinnah in December 1944 to elicit his views on the future constitution of India.[174] Jinnah declined, stating in unequicoval terms that since he did not recognise the Non-Party Conference, he could have no truck with the Conciliation Committee appointed for the purpose of addressing the Indian political situation. However, given his wonted courtesy, he did welcome Sapru to meet him otherwise.[175]

Many other sterling qualities possessed by Jinnah were recognised by historians and biographers. Only a few can, however, be mentioned here. H.V. Hodson, author of *The Great Divide*, described Jinnah as "the heaven-sent leader" for the Indian Muslims, pointing out that his "two supreme qualities" were his single-mindedness and his "unrivalled tactical skill" which enabled him to turn any and every situation to his advantage.[176]

Z. H. Zaidi highlights Jinnah's sterling attributes such as unfailing adherence to principle, indomitable courage, impeccable honesty, irreproachable integrity and steely determination which he never abandoned under stress and strain.[177] He exercised power not as a dictator "but as a man able to charm friends and enemies alike into compliance".[178] He had the will "to keep his body going" although "From the beginning of 1938 till his death on September 11, 1948, he had to fight through prolonged bouts of illness".[179] His cool courage and self-restraint at a time of great stress when, due to wanton killing of thirty Khaksars by the Punjab Police on March 19, 1940, the Muslims were extremely agitated, and the session of the All India Muslim League was due to be held in Lahore only a few days after the grim tragedy, show him at his very best. Although the Premier, Sikandar Hyat, and League leaders, Begum Shah Nawaz and Nawab of Mamdot, suggested that the session be deferred, Jinnah decided against any postponement.[180]

Jinnah's reaction to the inclusion by Linlithgow of Muslim Premiers of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab in the National Defence Council in August 1940, in the face of opposition from the Muslim League, was typical. When invited by the Viceroy to meet him, Jinnah kept the former waiting for fifteen minutes and after arrival told him, "You have double-crossed me" and walked out of the Viceregal Lodge. "It does one's heart good to see that at least one Indian of the stature and incorruptibility of Jinnah had the courage... to tell the British Viceroy what he thought of him,"remarked Kanji Dwarkadas.[181] Jinnah's logical and clinical analysis and evaluation of the pros and cons of every problem enabled him to make sound judgements and decisions. "Explicitness and deliberation characterized most of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's decisions.... Even his worst enemies had never accused him of being impulsive."[182]

Jinnah assumed the leadership of Indian Muslims at a time when many eminent religious scholars were active in the political arena. His personal appearance did not quite conform to what was commonly regarded as stereotype of a practising Muslim. It was, in fact, rather close to that of a western gentleman. When an enthusiastic *Pir* wished him to perform *Haj,* Jinnah replied that it was not possible at the time as his presence in India was essential.[183] Muslim religious leaders pronounced emphatically that his westernized life-style made him unsuitable to lead the Muslims. Nevertheless, he demonstrated an unerring perception of the ethos of Muslim India as well as the Islamic faith, and many of his utterances on the subject are on record. For instance, in his message on the birthday of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) on February 5, 1945, he stated, "Islam came in the world to establish democracy, peace and justice; to safeguard the rights of the oppressed. It brought to humanity the message of equality of the rich and the poor, of the high and the low."[184]

For his unselfish, bold and sagacious leadership, glowing tributes were paid to Jinnah by Muslims in India and abroad. Anis Bin Haji Ismail wrote from Ceylon on January 13, 1945, "On behalf of the Muslims of Ceylon ... we offer our greetings on your very successful leadership of India .... Your determination, courage and perseverance will never be forgotten by the entire Muslim world."[185] From Ceylon, too, the Principal of Zahira College wrote, "Four hundred thousand Muslims in Ceylon note with pride the lead you have given to our brothers in India and we take genuine pleasure in sharing with them the honour to own you as our undisputed leader."[186] Sayed Eqbal Ahmed wrote from Patna on February 22, 1945, "you saved the Muslims of India.... They were lifeless, soulless, purposeless. You came to their

rescue and showed them the right, almost the inevitable path. You raised them from the position of a meagre and degenerating minority to the position of a great and formidable nation."[187] Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then a college student and, a quarter of a century later, President and Prime Minister of Pakistan, wrote to Jinnah on April 26, 1945, "Our destiny is Pakistan, our aim is Pakistan. We have a capable leader in you, and nobody can stop us .... Being still in school I am unable to help in the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will even sacrifice my life for Pakistan."[188] Shafa'at Ahmad wrote from Simla on June 14, 1945, "I do not know if any Muslim in India has done more for Muslims during the last one hundred years than yourself."[189]

Jinnah inspired Muslim youth with rare devotion and love, scarcely enjoyed by any other contemporary leader. They admired his exceptional qualities of head and heart—abhorrence of jobbery and corruption, intrepidity, candour, scruples, unflinching adherence to principle, rare determination, altruism, and immaculate sense of justice and fair play.[190] Jinnah was their hero and role model.

After well over a century of colonial rule in India, the Muslim nation had arrived at a crossroads in its history. Would it swap the ignominy of alien rule for that of an immutable and unrelenting majority or would it take the road to honour, dignity and freedom. To take them to their destiny, they needed a guide endowed with a bold vision, unfailing wisdom, and supreme courage. They found one in the person of Mohammad Ali Jinnah who led the epic struggle for freedom and Pakistan to fruition.

Notes

[1]See Memorandum by Leopold Amery, 5 May 1944. Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *The Transfer of Power 1942-7, (hereafter referred to as TP)*, 1973, No. 501, Vol. IV, 952-3.
[2]See "Quit India" Resolution, 8 August 1942, *TP*, II, No. 470, 621-4.
[3]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 17 July 1944, *Jinnah Papers, (hereafter referred to as JP)*, Vol. X, No. 567, 575.
[4]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 24 July 1944, *JP*, X, No. 583, 592
[5]Aziz Beg, *Jinnah and His Times*, Babur and Amer Publications, Islamabad, 1986, 642.
[6]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 11 September 1944, No. 142.
[7]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 10 September 1944, Annex to No. 138.
[8]For full text see C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah, 8 April 1944, *JP*, X, Enclosure to No. 251, 267-8.
[9]H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1989, 113.
[10]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 10 September 1944, No. 138.
[11]See note 6 above.
[12]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 11 September 1944, No. 143.
[13]Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, 211.
[14]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 14 September 1944, No. 148.
[15]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 15 September 1944, No. 151.
[16]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 17 September 1944, No. 153.
[17]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 23 September 1944, No. 164.
[18]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 23 September 1944, No. 165.
[19]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 24 September 1944, No. 167.
[20]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 25 September 1944, No. 168.
[21]Hodson, *op. cit.*, 114.
[22]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 25 September 1944, No. 169.
[23]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 26 September 1944, No. 171.
[24]Aziz Beg, *op. cit.*, 643-4.
[25]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 26 September 1944, No. 173.
[26]M. A. Jinnah to Stuart Gelder, 4 October 1944, Enclosure to No. 195.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah, 9 October 1944, Enclosure to No. 204.
[29]See note 15 above
[30]See note 28 above.
[31]G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah, 26 October 1944, Enclosure to No. 234
[32]Resolution by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 1 November 1944, No. 247.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 14 June 1945, Annex 1 to No. 505.
[35]The invitees included provincial Chief Ministers, Leader of the Congress and Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly, Gandhi, Jinnah, leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group, Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj and Master Tara Singh. Ibid.
[36]Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2001, 449.
[37]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 14 June 1945, No. 505.
[38]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, Telegram, 15 June 1945, No. 506.
[39]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, Telegram, 16 June 1945, Annex to No. 510.
[40]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, Telegram, 16 June 1945, No 510.
[41]Archibald Wavell to Leopold Amery, Telegram, 25 June 1945, *TP*, V, No. 537, 1154-5.
[42]Ibid., 1155-6.
[43]Archibald Wavell to Leopold Amery, Telegram, 28 June 1945, *TP*, V, No. 544, 1170.

[44]Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, National Publishing House Limited, Karachi, 1970, 434-5.
[45]Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. III, Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, 1996, 2014-5.
[46]Ibid., 2015-7.
[47]Evan Jenkins to M. A. Jinnah, 29 June 1945, No. 534.
[48]Member, Sind Legislative Assembly, 1937; Provincial Minister, Oct 1943
[49]Prominent Bohra businessman; Joint Secretary, Sind United Party (SUP) 1936; Member AIML Council, 1938.
[50]Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur & Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 3 July 1945, No. 538.
[51]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 7 July, 1945, No. 542
[52]Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah, 9 July 1945, No. 543
[53]M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell, 9 July 1945, No. 544.
[54]Archibald Wavell to Leopold Amery, Telegram, 14 July 1945, *TP*, V, No. 604, 1247.
[55]Ibid.
[56]Aziz Beg, *op. cit.*, 657.
[57]Member Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937; Minister, Public Works 1937 42, Premier December 1942.
[58]Hodson, *op. cit.*, 126-7.
[59]Member UP Legislative Assembly, 1937 & 1946.
[60]Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah, 23 July 1945, No. 564.
[61]Ayesha Jalal, *op. cit.*, 451.
[62]Appeal by M. A. Jinnah, 16 July 1945, Appendix II. 1.
[63]Ibid
[64]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 12 August 1945, Appendix II. 6.
[65]Ibid.
[66]M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Camalia Muslim Sangam, 19 September 1945, Appendix II. 30.
[67]Dharapuram Muslim League to M A. Jinnah, 31 December 1945, Appendix II. 140
[68]M. Shaukat Ali to M. A. Jinnah, 31 January 1946, Appendix II 148.
[69]Safdar Hina to M A. Jinnah, 20 August 1945, Appendix II. 12
[70]Tasneem Ijaz to M. A. Jinnah, 12 August 1945, Appendix II 5.
[71]Rahim Bux to M. A. Jinnah, 17 September 1945, Appendix II. 27
[72]M. Asghar Khan to K. H. Khurshid, 12 October 1945, Appendix II. 49.
[73]A. A. Qureshy to M. A. Jinnah, 17 October 1945, Appendix II. 56
[74]Mohammad Aref to M. A. Jinnah, 17 November 1945, Appendix II. 95.
[75]Isha Yousuf Hatia to M. A. Jinnah, 10 December 1945, Appendix II 116.
[76]Ebrahim Ahmed Dadabhay & Others to M A Jinnah, 23 October 1945, Appendix II. 66.
[77]Hajee Mohamed & Others to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 26 October 1945, Appendix II. 73.
[78]M. I. Meer to M. A. Jinnah, 27 November 1945, Appendix II 98.
[79]Mohammad Shaffi to Liaquat Ali Khan (Copy to M. A. Jinnah), n.d December 1945, Appendix II. 142.
[80]Gulamhusein Qawwal to M. A. Jinnah, 23 October 1945, Appendix II. 67
[81]A. A. Allarakha to M. A. Jinnah, 25 October 1945, Appendix II. 70.
[82]Ismail A. Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah, 30 October 1945, Appendix II. 80
[83]Donations by the Memon Merchants' Association to Election Fund, 20 December 1945, Appendix II. 132.
[84]Address by M. A. Jinnah to Muslim Students, 17 January 1946, Appendix II. 146.
[85]Naresh Kumar Jain, ed., *Muslims in India: A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1983, 170.
[86]M. S. Korejo, *G. M Syed. An Analysis of His Political Perspective*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2000, 11.
[87]Naresh Kumar Jain, *op. cit.*, I, 177.
[88]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 16 August 1944, No 53.
[89]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah, 24 October 1944, No 226.
[90]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A Jinnah, 1 November 1944, No 245

[91]Provincial Minister 1943-44.
[92]Leader, Sind Hindu Sabha; Provincial Minister 1938, 1940, 1944-45.
[93]M. H. Gazdar to Liaquat Alı Khan, 5 November 1944, No. 254.
[94]M. A. Jınnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 13 November 1944, No. 268.
[95]Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice* , Vol IV, Quaid-ı-Azam Academy, Karachı, 2000, 18-19.
[96]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 26 December 1944, No. 338.
[97]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 2 January 1945, No. 349.
[98]M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed, Telegram, 3 February 1945, No. 390.
[99]Literally means liberated one who fights for a just cause. *Hurs* are staunch followers of Pirs of Pagara. They were outlawed by the British Government in 1942 and their spiritual leader, Pir Sibghatullah II was executed on 20 March 1943.
[100]M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah, 4 February 1945, No. 391.
[101]See note 93 above.
[102]Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah, 6 February 1945, No. 393.
[103]Particıpated in Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements; Provincial Minister, 1938-42, 45.
[104]M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, 7 February 1945, No. 395.
[105]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 12 February 1945, No. 402.
[106]G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 24 February 1945, No. 415
[107]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah, 25 February 1945, No. 418.
[108]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah, 25 February 1945, Enclosure to No. 418.
[109]Belonged to a powerful political family of Shikarpur; younger brother of Allah Bakhsh, Chief Minister; MLA, 1943; joined Hidayatullah's cabinet as non-League Minister, 1945.
[110]G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 27 February 1945, No. 421.
[111]Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 empowered the Governor of a province to assume powers vested in or exercisable by any provincial authority.
[112]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Telegram, 28 February 1945, No. 425.
[113]M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 3 March 1945, No. 432.
[114]M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed, Telegram, 28 February 1945, No 426.
[115]G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah, 2 March 1945, No. 430.
[116]Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, Royal Book Company, Karachı, 1992, 58-9.
[117]Ibid., 66.
[118]Sadullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 7 November 1944, No. 255.
[119]M. A. Jinnah to Sadullah Khan, 13 November 1944, No. 264.
[120]Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *op. cit.*, 69-70.
[121]Ayesha Jalal, *op. cit.*, 449.
[122]Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *op. cit.*, 77-9.
[123]Humayoon Adeeb, *Tehreek-ı-Pakistan: Punjab Aur Mamdot*, (Urdu), Society Books, Lahore, 1987, 79.
[124]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, III, 800-1.
[125]See Introduction to *JP*, X, xiii-xiv.
[126]M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, 13 November 1944, No. 265.
[127]Humayoon Adeeb, *op. cit.*, 208-9.
[128]Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948*, Pakistan Herald Press, Karachi, 1976, 61.
[129]Ibid., 63.
[130]Ibıd., 65.
[131]Ibid., 67.
[132]Ibid., 68.
[133]Khwaja Nazimuddın to M. A. Jinnah, 14 April 1945, No. 452.
[134]Z. H. Zaıdi, *op. cit.*, 69.
[135]M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazımuddin, 25 April 1945, No. 461.
[136]Z. H. Zaidı, *op. cit.*, 72.

[137]Z. H. Zaidi, "Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937-47" in C. H. Philips and M.D. Wainwright, eds., *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1970, 253.
[138]O. P. Ralhan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Political Parties*, Vol. VI, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1996, 701.
[139]Note by Evan Jenkins, 27 August 1945, Enclosure 1 to No. XII. 10, *JP*, I, Part II, 504.
[140]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-8*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 58.
[141]Mukhtar Zaman, *Students' Role in the Pakistan Movement*, (hereafter referred to as *Students' Role*), Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1978, 38.
[142]Sharif al Mujahid, "Quaid-i-Azam and Decision-Making" in K. F. Yusuf, ed., *Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Azam*, National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1994, 58.
[143]Mukhtar Zaman, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan Mein Tulaba Ka Kirdar*, (Urdu) (hereafter referred to as *Tulaba Ka Kirdar*), Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1986, 88-9.
[144]Ibid., 94-5.
[145]Humayoon Adeeb, *op. cit.*, 210-11.
[146]Mukhtar Zaman, *Tulaba Ka Kirdar*, 144-5.
[147]MLA, Bengal, Member, Bengal Muslim League Working Committee; Member All India Muslim League Council.
[148]Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah, 14 February 1945, No. 406.
[149]Sayed Muhammad Saadulla to M. A. Jinnah, Telegram, 24 February 1945, No. 416.
[150]Mukhtar Zaman, *Tulaba Ka Kirdar*, 122-5.
[151]Ibid., 134-5.
[152]Mukhtar Zaman, *Students' Role*, 122.
[153]Ibid., 100-01.
[154]Ibid., 110.
[155]Ibid., 108.
[156]Ibid., 96-7.
[157]Address by M. A. Jinnah to Muslim League Trainees, 4 August 1944, No. 9.
[158]M. A. Jinnah to Zuhair Siddiqi, 29 November 1944, Enclosure to No. 295.
[159]Message by M. A. Jinnah, 7 May 1945, No. 468.
[160]Message by M. A. Jinnah, 23 May 1945, No. 483.
[161]Z. H. Zaidi, *op. cit.*, 274.
[162]Ibid., 295.
[163]Ibid., 304
[164]Ayesha Jalal, *op. cit.*, 453.
[165]Waheed Ahmad, *op. cit.*, III, 665.
[166]Message by M. A. Jinnah, 25 December 1944, No. 335.
[167]See Appendix II, *JP*, X, 644-753.
[168]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 15 April 1945, No. 454.
[169]M. A. Jinnah to M A. Hassan Ispahani, 6 May 1945, No. 466.
[170]M. A. Jinnah to M. Ismail Khan, 23 April 1945, No. 458.
[171]M. A. Jinnah to M. Ismail Khan, 30 May 1945, No. 487.
[172]F. 39/99, *QAP*.
[173]M. H. Saiyid to Evan Jenkins, 12 July 1945, No. 548.
[174]Tej Bahadur Sapru to M. A. Jinnah, 10 December 1944, No. 308.
[175]M. A. Jinnah to Tej Bahadur Sapru, 14 December 1944, No. 317.
[176]Hodson, *op. cit.*, 42.
[177]Z. H. Zaidi, "M. A. Jinnah: The Man, His Glimpses through Personal Correspondence", in A. H. Dani, ed., *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Islamabad, 1979, 60.
[178]Ibid., 64.
[179]Ibid., 66.
[180]Aziz Beg, *op. cit.*, 502-3.
[181]Ibid., 568-9.

[182]Sharif al Mujahid, *op. cit.*, in K. F. Yusuf, *op. cit.*, 52.
[183]Z. H. Zaidi, *op. cit.*, in A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, 65.
[184]Syed Shamsul Hasan ed., *...Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1976, 68.
[185]M. Anis Bin Haji Ismail Effendi to M. A. Jinnah, 13 January 1945, No. 366.
[186]Badiuddin Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah, 19 July 1945, No. 556.
[187]Sayed Eqbal Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah, 22 February 1945, No. 414.
[188]Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to M. A. Jinnah, 26 April 1945, No. 462.
[189]Shafa'at Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 14 June 1945, No. 504.
[190]Mukhtar Zaman, *Tulaba Ka Kirdar*, 250.

Abbreviations

ABPO	Advanced Base Post Office
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AIMSF	All India Muslim Students' Federation
AP	Associated Press
API	Associated Press of India
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Provinces
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DPI	Director Public Instruction
INA	Indian National Army
MD	Doctor of Medicine
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council
PMSF	Punjab Muslim Students' Federation
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
RIASC	Royal Indian Army Service Corps
SEAC	South East Asia Command
SHC	*Shamsul Hassan Collection*
TP	*Transfer of Power, 1942-7*
UP	United Provinces
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Note Abbreviations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included.

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1945[1]

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa
Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin M. A. H. Ispahani Mohammad Akrum Khan
Bihar	Syed Hossain Imam S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman
Bombay	I. I. Chundrigar
C. P. & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
N.W.F.P.	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan
Punjab	Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot Mian Bashir Ahmad
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro G. M. Sayed[2]
United Provinces	Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

[1]See *SHC*, OM I/76.
[2]Resigned 25 December 1945. See *SHC*, Sind VII/28.

August
1944

3 Jinnah appoints a 23-member Planning Committee to formulate a 5-year plan for economic development of Pakistan areas.

4 Addressing a Punjab Muslim Students' training camp at Lahore, Jinnah underscores the need for socio-economic uplift of the Muslims of rural areas.

6 Sikh community of Peshawar opposes Rajagopalacharia's Formula for dividing India into Hindu and Muslim zones.

9 Justice Party requests Jinnah's support for the demand for Dravidistan in his forthcoming talks with Gandhi.

16 Jinnah advises Sind Muslim League to close ranks and end mutual recrimination and bickering.

September

6 Asansol Muslim League demand confederacy of Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas with Bengal and Assam.
Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha welcome the forthcoming Jinnah-Gandhi talks and demand a separate homeland for Harijans.

9 Jinnah-Gandhi talks begin at Jinnah's Malabar Hill residence at Bombay and are followed by an exchange of correspondence between them.

25 M. A. Khuhro resigns his ministerial office after being implicated in the assassination of Allah Baksh, former Sindh Premier.

27 Jinnah-Gandhi talks stall and break down; their correspondence is released to the press.

October

3 Jinnah declares that the only realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences is to divide India into sovereign states of Pakistan and Hindustan.
Pleading for resumption of Jinnah-Gandhi talks, R. V. M. S. Ramarau, Yuvarajah of Pithapuram, supports League's demand for Pakistan.

28 C.P. & Berar Muslim League protest against continuing Jewish immigration into Palestine and pledge support for the Arab cause.

November

15 Jinnah questions appointment of Roger Thomas, a non-Leaguer, as a minister by Sind Premier Hidayatullah.

December

2 Jinnah fears that in the event of Hindu rule over India as a whole, Muslims and all they stand for would gradually be wiped out.

14 Jinnah does not see any meaningful role for the Non-Party Conference convened by Tej Bahadur Sapru in solving the communal and minorities problems.

January
1945

3 Jinnah reiterates that in unity alone lies salvation of Indian Muslims.

13 Bhulabhai Desai outlines plan for formation of Interim Government with 40 per cent representation for Congress, 40 per cent for League, and 20 per cent for other minorities.

February

5 On the occasion of the holy Prophet's birthday, Jinnah exhorts Muslims to live up to the Islamic traditions that seek to foster democracy, peace, justice, protection against oppression, egalitarianism, and universal brotherhood.

15 Assam Muslim League protest against oppression of and police firing on Bengali Muslim immigrants.

20 In a message to Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Jinnah calls Urdu lingua franca of the subcontinent.

24-6 Sind Ministry is voted down in the Assembly on the demand for a supplementary grant, and Moula Bakhsh is inducted as Minister to bolster up the tottering Ministry.

26	Jinnah underscores imperatives of hard work, unremitting effort, perseverance, determination, faith, discipline and unity among the Muslim youth.
March	
12	Muslim League Ministry in NWFP is voted out of office on a no-confidence motion.
16	Congress Ministry, led by Dr. Khan Sahib, is formed in NWFP.
28	Nazimuddin Ministry in Bengal is defeated as a sequel to defection of eighteen members to the Opposition.
31	Bengal Governor imposes Section 93 (Governor's rule) in the province.
May	
7	Jinnah emphasizes that Pakistan can be achieved only through Muslims' own inherent strength; exhorts adoption of the motto—Faith, Unity and Discipline.
11	Jinnah slams his purported letters to Amery, as published in the Gujrati newspaper *Matrubhumi,* as purely apocryphal.
21	Jinnah declares that Pakistan means freedom not only for Muslims but for all peoples in the sub-continent.
June	
14	Wavell announces British Government 's constitutional proposals and his plan to convene a leaders' conference at Simla on 25 June.
25	At the Simla Conference, Jinnah expresses his inability to accept any constitutional scheme not predicated on the fundamental principle of Pakistan.
July	
9	Jinnah's demand for nomination by the Muslim League of all Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council is turned down by the Congress.

14 Jinnah demands a declaration on self-determination for Muslims and safeguards against Congress domination of the Executive Council.
Wavell's announcement of the failure of the Simla Conference is followed by League's demand for early holding of general elections.

16 Jinnah appeals to Muslims for donation of funds to contest elections.

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1

Izz-ud-Din Paul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/242-3
[Original in Urdu]

KUCHA SULTAN PAHALWAN,
KATRA KARAM SINGH,
AMRITSAR,
1 August 1944

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As you know, recently the opposition press has been giving wide publicity to the Muslim League-Qadiani relationship. The Muslims were waiting impatiently for the League Council session of 30th July but the expected resolution was not presented and keeping silent on the matter was considered expedient. The people are therefore feeling agitated. Nothing is dearer to them than their faith. They can be misled or guided to the right path in the name of religion.

There is no doubt that the Qadianis are not Muslims and any alliance with them is impossible. Recently, within fifteen minutes at least fifty people approached me in the office of the Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation and enquired about Muslim League's policy regarding the Qadianis. I tried to placate them but to no avail.

I earnestly appeal to you to settle the question as early as possible and issue a clear-cut statement regarding Qadianis' expulsion from the Muslim League.[1] The enemies wish the League to remain involved in secondary matters, ignoring the real issues.

Trying to explain matters to you is like showing a candle to the sun, hence this letter is for my own satisfaction.

Wassalaam

Yours sincerely,
IZZ-UD-DIN PAUL

[1]Jinnah had already explained Muslim League's position. See No 319, Vol. X, 338-9.

2

Basharat Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/84-5

249 D BOWBAZAR STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 August 1944

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the *Bidi* workers of Calcutta, I have the privilege to express their confidence in you as the supreme leader of the 10 million Muslims of India.

The recent political development in the country has filled our hearts with the hope that the deadlock in India is going to be solved. This deadlock has so far strengthened none but British imperialism dealing out famine and epidemic to the people. The imperialist bureaucracy in India has done everything in its power to weaken both the Congress and the League. The Congress failed to achieve its demand for independence, because it hoped to make a unilateral settlement with the British imperialism. The Muslim demand for Pakistan has also been constantly refused by the British imperialism because it was an attempt at unilateral settlement. Meanwhile Bengal, the future Eastern Pakistan, has suffered the devastation of famine and epidemic and it is again facing a repetition of last year's tragedy. The anti-social elements like hoarders, traders and unscrupulous officials are reaping rich harvest at the cost of the masses.

When everything seemed dark before our eyes, a fresh ray of hope has kindled the horizon. The C.R.[Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia's] proposals[1] with all their minor defects have revealed a revolutionary change of attitude in Mahatma Gandhi. True, these proposals should have at least been formally submitted by Gandhiji for your and the Leaguers consideration. The proposals themselves do not fully concede the demand of Pakistan. The manner of hasty publication of proposals was demonstration of impatience on the part of Rajaji.

In spite of all this some points are indisputable. The proposals have not been withdrawn. Gandhiji has given consent to them. The proposals concede the right of self-determination.

To lift the country from the morass of present deadlock, Congress

and League must unite. They must create the sanction [*sic*] for snatching away the freedom from the hands of unwilling imperialism. This is why we, the *Bidi* workers of Calcutta, request you not to shoulder [*sic*] the C.R. proposals on technical grounds, but to accept them as a basis for further negotiations. Hindu Mahasabha and its reactionary press are desperately agitating against the proposals. If national unity is not achieved now, these reactionaries will be strengthened and will do incalculable harm to the country, and Pakistan will be indefinitely postponed.

In conclusion, we again appeal to you, when the W.C. [Working Committee] has depended upon you, to move forward and save the Muslim masses and the country from the present days of misery.

Yours faithfully,
BASHARAT HUSSAIN
Secretary, Bidi Workers Union

[1]See Enclosure to No. 251, Vol.X, 267-8.

3

Mohammad Usman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/428-9

MAIN ROAD,
KAMPTEE, C.P.,
1 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Reference your speech of 30-7-44[1] at Lahore. I am one of your staunch admirers but your criticism of Gandhi's and Rajaji's persons has given me a great disappointment.

I quite agree with the criticism you have made against the actual [C. R.] Formula but the rest of the superfluous talk against the person of both the gentlemen is quite uncalled for and is quite against the spirit of the moment, and absolutely against good manners.[2]

The impression of your criticism about the personalities of India, on my mind, is that it is the result of the environment you lived in, and if I do not wrong you, I mean that you look down on Indians, however

superior they may be in the eyes of the world.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD USMAN

[1]See F. 810/202-10, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*, Vol.III, Karachi, 1997, 537-47.

[2]The observations about Jinnah appear gratuitous. His comments about Gandhi and Rajgopalachari, in his speech at Lahore on 30 July 1944, were intended to expose their unreasonable attitude, particularly in the context of C.R. Formula.

4

Tajuddin Pir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/246-7

STRICTLY PRIVATE

58 VICTORIA PARK,
THE MALL, LAHORE,
2 August 1944

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your Private Secretary told me on the phone yesterday that your time was very heavily booked and so you could not fix up an interview for me. I usually go to pay my respects to you and to remind you that my services are always ready for the uplift and regeneration of our nation. It has been my life's mission and I have never swerved from the right path. I have now a large number of articles to my credit, in which I have attempted to give a lead to political thought in this very very backward province. I wanted, however, to talk to you not only about myself but about the *Eastern Times*—a poor English daily of Lahore [which] has the proud privilege and honour of rendering yeoman service to our nation and the Muslim League in very strong terms and [extending] stout support in every way. The *Eastern Times* has been our mainstay all these years and it has willingly given its meagre columns for the propaganda of the Muslim League. His [owner's] demand is very reasonable as it is merely the price of his assets and a bit over but it is your business to decide finally. I must strongly recommend his case for your favourable consideration. I can, however, assure you of my full support and wish to inform you (as I have done before) that I am quite prepared to give my whole attention to this paper or (in the

event of no settlement) any other daily you choose to start from Lahore. I am quite willing to hold the chair of editorship at a very reasonable maintenance as I cannot afford to do it in an honorary capacity. I am an old standard-bearer of the Muslim League and God willing, I shall see Pakistan coming into shape before I am called away!

With all good wishes and respects,

I am,

Yours very truly,
TAJUDDIN PIR
Bar-at-Law

5

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Saeed

SHC, APMO/6

LAHORE,
2 August 1944

Dear Mr. Saeed,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 21st.[1] As I was leaving Srinagar on my way to Lahore and as I had heavy work to go through at Lahore in connection with the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League, which took place on the 29th of July and thereafter, I was unable to attend to your letter earlier.

I regret I cannot discuss the various points that you have mentioned in your letter by means of correspondence, and I have got nothing to add to my letter of May 15th.[2] I am returning to Bombay between 10th and 15th of August, and I shall be glad to meet you and your friends if you care to do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Saeed, Esq.,
President, Jami'yyat al-'Ulama,
Delhi

[1]See No. 577, Vol. X, 586-7.
[2]See No. 341, ibid., 357.

6

M. A. Jinnah to Yuvarajah of Pithapuram

SHC, Non-Muslims II/103

LAHORE,
3 August 1944

Dear Yuvarajah,

I have received your letter of July 21st,[1] and thank you so much for it.

I shall be very pleased to see you, and will be glad if you will both have lunch with us on the 22nd of August. I would be much obliged if you would drop me a line a couple of days before your arrival.[2]

With very kind regards to both of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Yuvarajah of Pithapuram,
Hut 46, Gulmarg,
Kashmir

[1] See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/102. Not printed.
[2] The Yuvarajah confirmed to Jinnah that he and his wife would lunch with the latter in Bombay on 22 August. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/104. Not printed.

7

Syed Mustafa Raza to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/55-6

OUDH BAR ASSOCIATION,
LUCKNOW,
3 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had the pleasure of knowing you and your good sister in Paris and London with the Raja Sahib of Nanpara. I met you in Mahmoodabad House at the time of Muslim League meetings. The whole of India is watching you anxiously for your compromise with Mahatma Gandhi. If we fail in arriving at a compromise with him this time, there will never be a compromise. In the first place, you can't expect the same terms and treatment from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others after

poor Gandhi is dead. After the experience of Punjab and other places it was a must that a compromise was arrived at. We have implicit faith and confidence in you and so have all the Muslims of India. There can never be such unity among the Muslims again. You have worked the miracle. May you live long. You have got the best intellect and you know your job well, but if the compromise fails, our position in India will deteriorate much morally and in many respects. May God bless you and help you in your difficult work.

God bless you,

Yours affectionately,
SYED MUSTAFA RAZA
Barrister

PS. Please give my respects to your good sister.

8

Shyampada Sen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/442-3

BOGRA,
4 August 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The decision[1] of the All India Muslim League Council has stirred us to our depths. We are breathlessly waiting for your proposed meeting with Gandhiji and praying for its all-round success.

In [*sic*] your proposed meeting with Gandhiji is symbolized the deadlock-stricken nation's desire for a settlement.

The District Students' Federation held a public meeting on 2nd August to mobilize patriotic support behind your proposal and move for Congress-League settlement.

Four hundred people, of whom 150 were students, attended the meeting. Eighty per cent of the audience were Muslims.

The following resolution was unanimously passed:

> We consider that Congress-League settlement is essential to end the deadlock and form national government. We hope the proposed Gandhi-Jinnah meeting will be successful and lead to settlement between Congress and League.

Both Hindu and Muslim students here are eager for a settlement and are thinking for unity. May your moves fulfil our common desire.

We are working for bigger mobilization here.

With respectful greetings,

SHYAMPADA SEN
Secretary, District Students' Federation

[1]The Council authorised Jinnah to negotiate on its behalf See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 546.

9

Address[1] by M. A. Jinnah to Muslim League Trainees

SUMMER SCHOOL OF POLITICS,[2]
LAHORE,
4 August 1944

I thank you for the very pleasant hot tea. I congratulate you on your performance in the training camp. This is unique in the history of the All India Muslim League. You have hit the nail on the right spot. The wheels of a big machine, i.e. All India Muslim League, were moving slowly. You are making it move faster. This idea to run special training courses for the workers was in our minds. I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart. We were thinking and planning and you have done it. This is a great achievement. You do not realize that you have laid a foundation. If you keep on working earnestly and sincerely, it is going to change the fate of Indian Muslims very soon. The capable and qualified workers—this is what we need. Now the workers from this camp are going to change the condition of the Muslims of Punjab. You, who joined the camp, should now spread in the villages because the people there want your help. The strength of nation is not in Lahore. If you educate the people in the villages and render social service to them, the political goal will come at your feet.

Some people say we are going slow. Yes: millions of people cannot be changed by one stroke or overnight. It is a big task. You have made a beginning. Each one of you will become a torch-bearer and lead the nation to its goal. You have made a great contribution to the cause of Pakistan. You are the pioneers who have created political awakening in Punjab. Now when you are well-equipped, you will be more effective. You have a big task before you. You are like stones, which when thrown in a lake of water, create circles that strike the banks. You would be thrown in the lake of Muslims of Punjab. The larger the

stone, the bigger the circles and thus a force will be created which will break all barriers and all chains.

I am not exaggerating when I say that we will have to fight our brothers (refers to Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana and his companions). We have been driven into it. Shaukat's removal was the starting point. It has started a new chapter in the history of All India Muslim League. This message of Muslim League is reaching the masses. The position is changing rapidly. Even today you have got the Muslims behind the League and they do understand our viewpoint. It is for you to bring to them or to take to them the message of Muslim League and make them understand it thoroughly.

I wish you Godspeed. You are rendering great service. You are like the first showers which vanish in the soil, but then the greenery comes up. The nation will be ever grateful to you. When the history of Pakistan is written, your name will appear in golden letters in it. I once again thank you for the honour done to me.

[1]Text provided by Brig. (retired) Zafar Iqbal Chaudhry who took notes. Also see Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol III, Lahore, 1996, 1929-30.

[2]Organised by the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation.

10

M. Hisamuddin Khan Ghori to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/58-9

SECUNDERABAD, D[ECCA]N,
5 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is not hidden from you that since [*sic*] last two years, the Government of India is not taking any initiative or interest in arranging means of conveyance for *Hajj*. Compared to last year, the war situation has taken a promising turn in favour of the Allies, and specially the Arabian Sea is completely free from enemy activities. Moreover, they cannot advance the plea of ships as the Scindia Navigation Company and the Moghul Line are ready to take the pilgrims.

The Govt. itself can also spare one or two ships for the purpose, but, Quaid-i-Azam, it is a fact that the Overseas Department of Government of India itself is slack and inactive in this matter.

If they press the Imperial Government, I am sure some solution will certainly emanate. I, on behalf of the Muslims of Hyderabad, request you to press the Viceroy in this matter. The Overseas Department of the Government of India has lost our confidence. If you move this matter direct with the Viceroy,[1] something better will happen.

We are arranging protest meetings to voice our opinion. Your guidance in this matter is solicited.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. KHAN GHORI
President, Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen

[1]Wavell asked the British Government to provide shipping and escort facilities. See No. 660, para 18, *TP*, IV, 1203.

11

M. A. Jinnah to Jamal Mian

SHC, UP VI/9

LAHORE,
5 August 1944

Dear Jamal Mian,

I have received your letter dated 1st of August,[1] and thank you for it. I am extremely sorry to hear that your wife and daughter were not well and you had to leave early. Of course, I was very busy during these days; still I would have been glad to see you for a few minutes. However, I pray sincerely that they may be all right very soon. Kindly let me know about them as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamal Mian,
Farangi Mahal,
Lucknow

[1]Not traceable.

12

M. A. Jinnah to Ziaratgul

SHC, NWFP I/5

LAHORE,
5 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your two letters dated July 22nd[1] and 25th,[2] and have read them with great care and attention, and while I understand—and there is some force in your complaint that the Muslim League is not properly organized in your province—the remedy is not that you should leave the League and join the Congress, which is really mainly a Hindu organization. You are opposed to the Hindus and you stand for Pakistan, but because of certain shortcomings of the League in your province, you come to the conclusion that joining the Congress, a Hindu organization, is the best way to achieve Pakistan.

Let me tell you that the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League has examined the situation in the North-West Frontier Province, and the strengthening of the Muslim League organization and the League Ministry are matters which are now under our very careful consideration, and you know that the Committee of Action has decided that Qazi Mohammad Isa should go to your province very soon[3] and take all steps necessary to organize the Muslim League more efficiently, and he will be there shortly. We are fully alive to the situation created in your province owing to various reasons and the various shackles which have combined together to weaken the Muslim League, but at the same time I request you to have patience and not to be led away by personalities. You must stand by the Muslim cause and our goal of Pakistan. We are going to make every effort to put the Muslim League both inside the Legislature and outside it on a sound and better footing, in which task I hope that you will stand by us and help us. It may take some time, but we are determined to make every effort to put things right in your

province. I cannot say anything more at present.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Ziaratgul,
General Secretary,
Mohmand Tribes League,
Village Zareefa, Hathian,
Dist. Mardan, NWFP

[1&2]Not traceable.
[3]See No. 101.

13

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/56-7

CONFIDENTIAL

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
6 August 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

G. M. Sayed has just returned from Lahore and came to see me straight from the station. He is sore at heart and very much cut up at what transpired at Lahore, of which he had given me the fullest details. On the day he was leaving for Lahore he was with me and my parting words to him were , "under no conceivable circumstances can Jinnah see his way to endorse your Working Committee's resolution.[1] The Hindus will be glad to see even the reshuffling of our Ministry but they will be still more glad if, when you are cold-douched [*sic*] at Lahore, you resign and howl. Any fool can do that, but it requires a man to obey and show the utmost discipline." G. M. now tells me that this is exactly what he did when he saw you last on Wednesday.

I have been in the closest touch with all the recent political developments in our province, but I wonder whether you would like to have all these details. I may, however, inform you that I very strongly warned Sayed not to rush with that resolution in the Working Committee but to contact you at Srinagar, preferably in person, and proceed only after an O.K. from you. He agreed to do so but his evil star in the recent months has been Gazdar who [goaded] him on to go ahead with the resolution. In the reshuffling of the Ministry, Gazdar was to be made the Premier. Gazdar advised G. M. that there was no provision either in the Constitution of the

League or in any of its resolutions, definitely laying down as to who should control the parliamentary activities and, therefore, the best thing was to go ahead and smash the Ministry by the lashwhip [*sic*] of S. P.M. L. [Sind Provincial Muslim League] Council.

On Friday, the 7th of July, when the Working Committee was to meet in the morning, it was agreed between me and G. M. that he would consult you in this matter. I felt a little easy about the whole thing because the subject of the no-confidence, etc. in the Ministry was not on the agenda and I felt certain that experienced men like Sir Ghulam [Hussain] and Khuhro would surely raise a point of order whether such important subjects can at all be discussed unless they are on the agenda. Isn't it extraordinary that not one man in the gathering questioned the right of the President to introduce this new subject of which no notice whatsoever was given?

The fact, however, remains that not only the resolution was passed but released to the press as well. I felt very unhappy about it all; called G. M. to my bungalow and we decided to wire[2] you out the whole resolution and to await your instructions. This long telegram was there and then typed out by my boy and despatched.

I felt like writing to you at length at Srinagar and furnishing you with the *point d'appui* of the entire plot. G. M. and I, however, have been close personal friends for over twenty years and I could not bring myself to write to you, specially when I felt that passing on to you such information as I had, was not going to make any difference to your decision and may possibly have enhanced your annoyance with my dear friend than whom there is no other better worker in the whole of our province, in the cause of the League.

G. M. tells me that Gazdar informed you of the various corrupt practices of our Premier and Revenue Minister. I told him that Gazdar with his own black record dared not have called the pot black but G. M. says that you confirm Gazdar having talked to you in this vein. My dear Quaid-i-Azam, it is true that with the exception of Dr. Hemandas, none of our Ministers are honest and do not let an opportunity slip by of fattening themselves financially; but Gazdar creates opportunities every day and would easily outweigh all the rest of his four colleagues put together. This man with such antecedents and three dismissals in his service book was to be made the Muslim League Premier.

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter I wrote day before yesterday to Mr. Hoshang N. E. Dinshaw who owns the *Daily Gazette*.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

1&2See No. 540, Vol. X, 546-8.

Enclosure to No. 13
Hatim A. Alavi to Hoshang N. E. Dinshaw

SHC, Sind I/58

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
2 August 1944

My dear Hoshang,

May I refer you to the *Daily Gazette* and the *Sind Observer* of last Monday [31 July].

The Associated Press wired out from Lahore the statement[1] of the Quaid-i-Azam as read before the Council of the All India Muslim League. Karachi papers on Monday published this speech in full, not excluding even the *Sind Observer*. I know that the *Daily Gazette* is subscribing to the services of Reuters and A. P. and as such must have received the verbatim report of Jinnah's speech. Despite this, the Editor of your paper chose to expurgate important paragraphs from this speech and therefore what the *Daily Gazette* published was nothing more than an abridged form of the original statement.

As Jinnah has pointed out in this speech, and as most of us know only too well, the Congress alias the Hindu press never miss an opportunity of misrepresenting and maligning Jinnah. I know that the *Daily Gazette* has never been a conscious party to this game but as your paper published, and perhaps cannot help publishing, the innumerable statements of the various Congress bigwigs, the insinuations and the innuendoes against Jinnah contained in these statements get automatic publicity.

But see what happens now. C.R. makes a political offer to Jinnah with Gandhi's approval, but he is careful to point out his unrepresentative character on the one hand and the great moral authority which he wields with the Congress on the other. These worshippers of the *Laxmi* must always eat the cake and have it too [*sic*]. Jinnah is, therefore, almost forced to point out to his Council the Jekyll-and-Hyde[2] capacities of Gandhi and to say that he who was shedding tears over the possible destruction of the Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament (which incidentally are the mecca of imperialism) did not hesitate to declare himself as one with the Congress which in a few days time took the first anti-war step.

I think your Editor seems to be of the opinion that Gandhi's name must be printed with a litany of praise or none at all. By cutting out

from Jinnah's speech his very telling references to Gandhi, the *Daily Gazette* has badly mutilated it and I consider it my duty to bring this to your notice in the hope of avoiding a recurrence of the same.

The announcement in the newspapers of the fall of France in 1940 could not have evoked identical emotions in Germany and England. The Muslims are eager to drink in every word that Jinnah says and what may sometimes hurt the Hindus does not necessarily depress the Muslims. Personally, I consider the speech of our Quaid-i-Azam at Lahore as one of the best that he had ever delivered and I am of opinion that his speech should rank amongst the finest political orations in 1944, delivered in any part of the world.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]See No. 3, note 1.
[2]A character in R. L. Stevenson's story, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, with a dual personality, one good (Jekyll) and the other evil (Hyde). By drinking a special potion, Jekyll could turn himself into an evil man.

14

V. M. Mohamed Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/60

NO. 2 KAZIYAR TOPE,
MADURA,
6 August 1944

Honoured Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is respectfully submitted that arrangements have been completed for convening the Fifth Holy Qur'an Conference at the Victoria Edward Public Hall, Madura, in the first week of September 1944. The Conference is convened with a view to propagating the truth of Islam and teachings of the holy *Qur'an* to the people (in Tamilnad) irrespective of caste or nationality. We request the pleasure of your gracious presence on the occasion to make the Conference a great success. If you will be pleased to permit us the honour of your kind visit for the Conference, we shall be highly glad to bear all expenses in that connection, and shall make all that is necessary for your convenient stay here during the period.

Your early permission in this respect will enable us to publish the same in papers and bit notices.

Requesting you to protect the interests of the Muslims of Tamilnad and anticipating the favour of a line in reply,

Yours truly,
V. M. MOHAMED YUSUF
Organizing Secretary,
Sanmarka Valibar Sangam

15

S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 423/8

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
7 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I experienced the greatest pain and disappointment of my life when on the morning of 27th last, on my way to Lahore, I suddenly got an attack of filaria and was compelled to break journey. I sent a letter intimating of my sudden illness through Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. Ispahani, who were travelling by the same train, and I hope it reached you in time. For three days, I was treated at Benares. When I got slightly better, I returned home on 30th. Thank God, I am much better now.

Since after the last Pakistan Conference at Gaya when, being the President of the District Muslim League, I had to labour hard to make it a grand success in spite of Gaya heat, my already weak health has much deteriorated, but now I hope that the forced rest of one month during the coming *Ramazan* may make me fit, as in spite of bad health I have been moving out constantly in [*sic* for for] League's work.

May I take the liberty to congratulate you on your very able and brilliant speech at the Lahore League Council meeting and the decisions taken there under your guidance. May you live long to guide us. *Aameen*.

Praying that this finds you in the best of health and spirit, I remain ever at *Millat's* service,

S. M. LATIFUR RAHMAN
MLA

16

K. H. Khurshid to Siddiq Ali Khan

F. 1301/97

FLAGSTAFF HOUSE,
BHOPAL,
7 August 1944

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah arrived here safely on the 6th of August, with other members of his staff.

Mr. Jinnah has asked me to say that there is no necessity of your sending a batch of Muslim National Guards at the proposed Gandhi-Jinnah meeting in the near future.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
[K. H.] KHURSHID
Secretary

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan,
Muslim League,
Nagpur (C.P.)

17

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/12

HOPE COTTAGE,
MUSSOORIE,
7 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I bring to your kind notice that the version of your very important statement or speech[1] (made before the League Council at Lahore on the 30th July last), as reported in the *Dawn* of 1.8.44 (late *dak* edition) contains, besides numerous printing mistakes, some serious omissions and even alterations.

It seems to me that the report of your speech as published in the *Eastern Times* dated 1.8.44 and even in the *Tribune* dated 31.7.44 is more correct.

In this connection I have noted several mistakes in the *Dawn*, but, to

avoid burdening you with details, I shall only refer here to two or three serious omissions. For example, on page 3, column 3, immediately above the sub-heading *Grossest Travesty*, the following important sentence has been omitted altogether:

> If this is so, why not say we accept the League Resolution of 1940?

Then about ten lines lower down there is another omission:

> Then why this ridiculous proposal of a plebiscite district-wise?

In the end the two letters have not been properly quoted, some of the sentences being omitted and others telescoped.

I think misquotations and omissions in such an important speech in the *Dawn* may sometimes lead to rather serious consequences, giving our opponents a handle to use against us.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIAN BASHIR AHMAD

PS. Although it is of little practical importance, it would be interesting to know if the form of address in the 17th July letter was, "Dear Brother" as reported by the *Dawn* or "Dear brother Jinnah" as reported by the other papers.[2]

[1] See No. 3, note 1.
[2] See No. 567, Vol. X, 575, which states "Brother Jinnah".

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/27
[*Original in Gujarati*]

SEVAGRAM, WARDHA, C. P.,
7 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

I did receive your letter[1] in time. It is you who will decide the date of our meeting.[2] Two or three days' notice will be sufficient. Perhaps, you have not yet reached Bombay; therefore, I have intentionally delayed sending you this letter.

You might have obtained the desired benefits from your visit to Kashmir.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

[1] See No. 583, Vol. X, 592.
[2] See No 37.

19

Y. Kumar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/467

17 FANE ROAD,
LAHORE,
8 August 1944

Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware that Section 71(2) of the Government of India Act, 1935, enables any Provincial Legislature to define by its own act what the privileges of its members are, apart from those mentioned in the Section itself. None of the Provincial Legislatures have so far taken advantage of these provisions to clarify the position regarding the existing rights and privileges of members or any steps to define such other rights and privileges as may be deemed necessary for the due discharge of the functions of its members.

In recent months much controversy has raged on the question of privileges of members of the Legislature generally, and in particular, on the issue of detenus' privileges. Under these circumstances, the Punjab Civil Liberties Union feels that in order duly to discharge its functions the Legislature must clearly define the position regarding the privileges of detenus.

Accordingly, the Punjab Civil Liberties Union has set up a committee to investigate and report "whether preventive arrests and detention by executive orders of the members of the Legislature who have been summoned to appear before it constitute a breach of the privileges of the Legislature." The object of the Union is to sponsor a resolution in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in its next session, on the basis of opinion gathered from all over India and after investigating the entire law and practice on the subject.

In this connection, I should be very much obliged if you will be kind enough to let me have your detailed and considered opinion on the above issue.

I shall be much obliged to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,
Y. KUMAR
Bar-at-Law
Secretary, Punjab Civil Liberties Union

20

Gurdit Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/83

DABGARI,
PESHAWAR CITY,
8 August 1944

Sir,

I respectfully forward herewith a copy of resolution unanimously passed in the big gathering (*dewan*) held in Gurdwara Shriman Bhai Joga Singh Ji, Peshawar City, on Sunday the 6th August 1944.

I beg to remain,
Your most obedient servant,
GURDIT SINGH
President,
Gurdwara Committee Shriman Bhai Joga Singh

Enclosure to No. 20

F. 1103/86

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sikhs of Peshawar in their big gathering held in Gurdwara Shriman Bhai Joga Singh Ji, Peshawar City, on Sunday the 6th August 1944.

The Sikhs of North-West Frontier Province strongly condemn and oppose the Formula sponsored by Mr. Rajagopalacharia. It is highly deplorable that Mahatma Gandhi too has supported this anti-nationalist scheme which concedes the principle of vivisection of India. It is unbecoming for [*sic* for of] a leader of international fame to have falsified his own statement that "Pakistan can be formed only on my dead body. It is a great sin to divide India into Hindu and Muslim Zones."

The Sikhs were assured by the All India Congress in 1929 that no constitution or political settlement will be effected without consultation of [*sic*] the Sikhs. But now, to our great surprise and disappointment, the voice of the Sikhs has been totally ignored. We have bitter experience about pro-Pakistan Government in this Province and if pure [*sic*] Pakistan is established here, our lives, property and even religious places will be quite unsafe. The Sikhs can never tolerate any communal *raj* nor do

we have any faith in Mr. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi or Mr. Rajagopalacharia. We shall now stand on our own legs and fight to the last man against this Formula under our *panthic* leadership.[1]

GURDIT SINGH

Last para omitted as it contained the names of various addressees.

21

G. M. Sayed to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind I/63

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
8 August 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

Under the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League[1] passed at Lahore regarding the Sind controversy, you are to call a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party to give an opportunity to members to discuss the resolution[2] passed by the Sind Provincial Muslim League Working Committee and such other matters as may be deemed necessary. As I am going to my native place this evening, I shall be glad if you would be so pleased as to let me know at my Sann address, the date on which you are calling this meeting.

One of the matters touched in our Working Committee resolution and which intimately affects the Muslim cultivators of our province is the system of purchasing foodgrains through the agency of syndicates established by Government. As you are aware, this matter was raised on the floor of the Assembly when it met last month and you gave an assurance on behalf of the Government that the syndicates will be abolished forthwith. So many times the recommendations of the Muslim League Assembly Party and even of the Assembly have not been carried out in this behalf. I am, therefore, most eager to hear from you as to when the promise made is implemented.

I hear on good authority that there is some attempt to continue the system of syndicates by only altering its name. I shall be happy to have an assurance forthwith that the letter and spirit of your promise,

on which the cut motion was withdrawn, will be carried out and grain syndicates closed down for good.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED

[1]See Resolution No 2 in Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* III, 711.
[2]See No. 540, Vol X, 546-8.

22

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/60

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose, for your information, a press cutting[1] in connection with the allegations of corruption made against a Minister of this Government by Mr. Nihchaldas and his friend, Mr. G. M. Sayed, acting together in conspiracy.

You will see that Mr. Nihchaldas definitely states that his allegation is not made against me.

A resolution was passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Lahore that the rest of the matters, legislative and administrative, should be brought before the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party.

Mr. Sayed, however, says he has nothing to place before the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party. No meeting of this Party is, therefore, being called.[2]

Mr. Gazdar has already wired to you to this effect.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH
Premier, Sind

[1]Pertains to Foodgrain Syndicates which were given a monopoly of purchase by the Sind Government. The set up was blamed for malpractices such as buying at higher prices against monetary gratification. See *SHC*, Sind I/61. Not printed.
[2]G. M. Sayed had inquired of Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as to when would he call a meeting. See No. 21

23

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/55-55(a)

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
8 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you received my article[1] on the C. R. Formula. May I invite your attention to a very significant point raised by Sir Maurice Gwyer[2] in a recent statement? He raises the question of the exact time-table of the plebiscite envisaged in the C. R. proposal. When will the vote be taken, before the framing of the constitution or after the constitution has been framed? The preamble of the Formula speaks of the constitution of free India but the clauses nowhere indicate as to what kind of constitution is contemplated and how it will be formulated. Sir Maurice also recalls that the Cripps Scheme stipulated that the vote of the provinces on the question of accession or otherwise to the Indian Union shall be taken after the constitution for the Indian Union has been framed. The reference to constitution in the C. R. Formula is very misleading and must be clarified. The more I study the Formula, the more I feel convinced that its whole object is somehow to trap the Muslims into an interim government dominated by the Congress and once they are there they will be at a disadvantage and the Congress can devise ways and means to circumvent the liberty of Muslims in the plebiscite. In this connection, I may remind you of the rumour that the Marwaris of Calcutta spent about two lakhs of rupees to buy off a few Muslim members of the Bengal Assembly during the debate on the Education Bill. The question of the composition, character, scope and powers of the provisional government and the representation of the Muslims thereon becomes even more important than the question of plebiscite after the war. I know that you are fully alive to this aspect of the problem.

The other point on which there should not be the slightest yielding on our part is whether the plebiscite should be a mixed one or confined to Muslims only. If we stick to our demand for a Muslim plebiscite I am sure in the end we will win through.

May I request you to send me a copy of the speech[3] you delivered at the League Council meeting at Lahore?

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Appendix I.
[2]Chief Justice, Federal Court of India, 1937-43.
[3]See No. 3, note 1.

24

Abany C. Banerjee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 76/6-7

BAR LIBRARY,
HIGH COURT, CALCUTTA,
8 August 1944

Respected Sir,

I am a perfect stranger to you; an inconspicuous son of India who is yet deeply hope-stirred at the prospect of your forthcoming meeting with Gandhiji. Wherefore, I have been impelled to express in writing some thoughts that have occurred to me on the subject of Congress-League unity. I am sending what I have written (in the form of a letter)[1] to each and all of the daily journals of Calcutta for favour of publication. I don't know, however, if they or any of them will publish it. So, I make [so] bold [as] to send herewith a typed copy thereof to you, Sir, for your short perusal (for what it may be worth), if you can spare the time. I am also sending similar copies to Gandhiji and Rajaji. There are, I assure you, many Hindus in Bengal who think and feel about the Indian communal problem as I do, with hearts crying out for a happy and speedy solution. We are anxious that, for all the din of Hindu Mahasabha propaganda, our voices should not remain unheard by the genuine leaders of India.

I am,
Sir,
Yours respectfully,
ABANY C. BANERJEE

[1]See F. 76/8-11, *QAP*. Not printed.

25

E. V. Ramaswami to M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, Non-Muslims I/33

ERODE,
9 August 1944

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I have been watching carefully the proceedings of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's Formula towards solving the deadlock and your desire to receive Mr. Gandhi at your residence in Bombay on your return, which will probably be about the middle of August. It is welcomed in political circles. Though I have no full hope, there are signs of change, as our opponents have come forward themselves to settle the Hindu-Muslim question, especially in relation to the Cripps offer.[2] I need not say that Congressites are experts in twisting words and to give occult sense. They can say anything and give meanings in whatever manner they think. Though we do not depend upon them, you know very well that we should be vigilant and careful in the negotiations.

It is clear that general elections with Muslims and Hindus as well as Aryans and Dravidians will give hardship to both of us. Kindly excuse me for reminding you about our discussions relating to Pakistan and Dravidastan while we were at Madras and Delhi and your assurance that you would plead for both questions as one. Here in south India, I considered both the questions as one and done my best to solve the problem as far as possible. You know very well that there could be no Pakistan and the independence of Muslim India until and unless independence was achieved for the rest of the nations.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
E. V. RAMASWAMI
Justice Party

N.B. I have sent the following telegram on 7-8-44 reading as under:
M. A. Jinnah Sahib, President Muslim League, Bombay. Excuse reminding our conversation and your strong promise.

E. V. RAMASWAMI

[1] See No. 60.
[2] See Appendices II 1&2, Vol. I, Part II, 21-8.

26

Abul Hasan Syed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/8-8(b)

MALAKPET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
9 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Nobody can better judge the shock Muslim community has sustained from the premature death of late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. Apart from his activities outside Hyderabad, which were helpful to Muslim League to a great extent, he was the pivot of Hyderabad Muslim politics and his selfless work and service of the community had become the keystone of the whole edifice. May God rest his soul in peace.

You are aware of the fact that I was one of the collaborators of the late Nawab from the very beginning of his work and I was not at all inclined to step in his shoes as I knew full well that it is not a very comfortable position for everybody to occupy. I know my own short-comings and weaknesses. I had even told that to the members of the Working Committee and several members of the Council and I neither aspired for it nor offered myself as a candidate. Still the choice of the Council has fallen upon me. I could not but submit to the will of the community. I did not want to disturb you when you were able to snatch an opportunity to take a little rest in Kashmir after a strenuous fight in the Punjab nor I wanted to divert your attention from bigger issues when you came back to Lahore. I was waiting for your arrival in Bombay to pay my personal respects to you and solicit your good and kind advice in the discharge of arduous duties in this position. I know that the late Nawab also had the backing of your advice and received instructions and inspiration from you in every difficult moment. I also know that it will be a time of good deal of excitement in Bombay after your return there as you will be busy with Mr. Gandhi in making safe the future of Muslim community of India, yet I would request you to kindly give me a little time on one of those days when Mr. Gandhi will be in conference with you, so that I may be able to be in the know of things and take inspiration from the eventful talk that will take place.

Hope this will find you in best of your health and with best wishes

for the success of your efforts that will make the Muslim community an independent nation in this land.

Yours sincerely,
ABUL HASAN SYED ALI
Advocate,
President, Ittehadul Muslimeen

[1]Jinnah informed him that he could see him after his talks with Gandhi were over. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/9. Not printed.

27

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc I/52

10 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending a letter from Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Home Department, Govt. of India, New Delhi, and the copy of my letter[1] which I have sent in reply. You can either send a reply direct to Sir Richard or instruct me as to what reply should be sent. I hope you and Miss Jinnah are quite well.

The chairs have arrived and they have been sent to your house.

With our kindest regards to you both and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

See *SHC*, Misc I/54. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 27
Richard Tottenham to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC, Misc I/53

HOME DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
[*Undated*] *August 1944*

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

I do not know if you or Mr. Jinnah noticed the following extract from the *Hindustan Times* leader of Tuesday August 1st:

> "He (Mr. Jinnah) knew the terms of Gandhiji's letter from prison dated May 4, 1943,[1] which he does not hesitate to tell the world now,

had been shown to him, contrary to the fiction then invented by Government that the letter could not be delivered".

This appears to us to be a mischievous attempt to impugn the good faith of Government; but on examining closely the report of Mr. Jinnah's statement to the Muslim League Council, as reported in *Dawn*, it has to be admitted, we think, that his words were possibly open to the interpretation placed upon them by the *Hindustan Times*, and it would, therefore, be difficult for us to take the matter up with the paper direct. What Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said is as follows:

> I knew the substance of this letter because the Government had furnished me with it at the time and in my statement I pointed out that it was not the kind of letter that I expected from Mr. Gandhi in response to the appeal[2] which I made in my speech in April 1943 in my presidential address to the Muslim League. It has now been fully borne out without [a] shadow of doubt that Mr. Gandhi understood that there was an 'if' about my invitation.

We take it that the word "it" where it occurs for the first time in the above extract meant "the substance of this letter" (that is to say, the fact that Mr. Gandhi had asked for a meeting with Mr. Jinnah); but, as you will see, the word "it" might be taken to mean the letter itself.

2. It has occurred to us that Mr. Jinnah might perhaps wish to clear up the position[3] and put his meaning beyond doubt. We are, of course, only concerned from the point of view of safeguarding the good name of Government and, if Mr. Jinnah would prefer to make no public statement on the point, we should still appreciate a communication either from him or you which would put the matter beyond doubt.

Yours sincerely,
R. TOTTENHAM

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
M. A. (Oxon.), M.L.A. (Central), Bar-at-Law,
Secretary,
All India Muslim League,
Daryaganj, Delhi

[1]See No. 692, *TP*, III, 953-4
[2]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1689-725.
[3]See No. 51.

28

M. A. Rauf Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/71

MURSHIDABAD PALACE,
GOLAGANJ,
LUCKNOW,
10 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am, I beg to assure you, fully conscious of the fact that you are having the busiest of busy times in generalling [*sic*] single-handed our battle, which is being fought against many of the cutest [*sic*] in the country.

Please, therefore, believe me when I tell you that I am not prompted by my individual interest in writing you this letter.

You probably know that the *Haque* has from the very beginning dedicated its services to the Muslim League and will, in spite of everything, continue doing that.

My handicaps and hitches placed in my way, will, if detailed here, waste your precious time considerably. I am, therefore, content in submitting to you solemnly that the *Haque* and its Editor are yours to command.

In the interest of the League I consider it necessary that the *Haque* is read by all the Leaguers who count; and have therefore to beg of you to advocate its cause[1] which is identical with the League's to all the provincial Leagues in the country. If they between themselves subscribe to at least a thousand copies of the paper they would be adding to its voice a thousand times.

It will be worth their while to do that because the Haque Electric Presses are also fitted with tele-printing and thus it is not behind any up-to-date English paper in supplying its readers with the latest news of the world in general and of the Muslim League in particular.

I beg to subscribe myself
as your most loyal servant,
M. A. RAUF ABBASI
Managing Editor,
The daily Haque

[1]See No. 59.

29

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/64

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 August 1944

Sir,

I am to forward herewith a few cuttings of the local press for information.

Yours obediently,
G. M. SAYED

Enclosure 1 to No. 29

SHC, Sind I/65

JINNAH PATS KHUHRO'

Angry Reprimands for Sayed

Hyderabad, Aug. 3: Some of those who have returned from Lahore relate that Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, openly patted K. B. Khuhro and even went to the extent of reprimanding Mr. G. M. Sayed, the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League.

It is further said that Mr. Jinnah accused Mr. G. M. Sayed that he alone was responsible for attempting to break the League Ministry and beguiling the Muslim League members in getting resolutions of no-confidence passed against the Ministry. Mr. Sayed is said to have been further informed that he would be thrown out of his office if he persisted in pursuing such a course of conduct.

When Mr. Sayed, it is further learnt, complained of attempts to sabotage the Jagirdari Bill, Mr. Jinnah told him that K. B. Khuhro had the interests of the Musalmans in Sind more at heart than Mr. Sayed.

The Hari Movement leaders are greatly perturbed on this account and are awaiting the return of Mr. Sayed.

·The *Sind Observer*, 6 August 1944.

Enclosure 2 to No. 29

SHC, Sind I/66

CHARGES OF CORRUPTION

The Muslim League Working Committee passed a resolution[1] at Lahore saying that Mr. G. M. Sayed had withdrawn his allegations of corruption and malpractices against some of the Sind Ministers and therefore it follows they were not guilty of any of the charges made against them. As regards complaint pertaining to administration and legislation, it was resolved [that] they were matters within the competence of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party to which they could be referred without the League high command being seized of the same. Why did Mr. G. M. Sayed, as President of the Sind Muslim League, make these serious allegations and press them for the attention of the Working Committee at Lahore and then withdraw them?

There must be some mistake somewhere. If we know Mr. Sayed at all, he is not, whatever his other faults, at any rate a coward. How could he withdraw charges so openly made in Sind for which, it is believed, he had armed himself with full proof? It is for Mr. Sayed to come forward to explain his strange conduct. Otherwise his reputation for political character and leadership will suffer.

We can very well understand the League Working Committee disposing of a matter of this nature in the way it did. It cannot allow itself to become a party to condemn[ing] any League Ministry for corruption and malpractices. That will be condemning itself. It is a wound to its own stomach and cannot become a party to exposing it. Those who charged Congress Ministries with high-handedness, *zulum* and even corrupt practices cannot pass judgement on their own Ministers as being corrupt and of disgraceful character. Mr. G. M. Sayed should have taken this point into consideration that the high command will not support him however well-founded his allegations. It seems to us that, instead of being judges, the members of the Working Committee became advocates of Sir Ghulam Hussain and K. B. Khuhro, two of the Ministers against whom Mr. Sayed's broadsides have been directed for long.

The question has come to the forefront whether Mr. Sayed has any place at all in the Muslim League after the Lahore resolution because the impression created on the public mind is that he is a foolish person who brought irresponsible and reckless charges against some Ministers

and who collapsed before Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues, when subjected.[2]

[1]See No. 21, note 1
[2]Remaining text not available.

Enclosure 3 to No. 29

SHC, Sind I/67

SIND LEAGUE NOT ABOVE MINISTRY[1]
Khuhro Regrets High-handedness

Bombay, August 8: "The procedure adopted by the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Mr. G. M. Sayed, was not at all constitutional as the Provincial League cannot possibly be regarded as a high command over the League Assembly Party or the Ministry as such," said Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Revenue Minister, Sind, in an interview to the Orient Press.

He added: "According to the Muslim League Constitution, the Ministries are answerable to the Parliamentary Party who in turn can be called upon to answer the Central Parliamentary Board and the All India Muslim League Working Committee, whenever necessary. It is, however, gratifying to note that the matter had been clearly explained to Mr. Sayed by the Working Committee and he understands it now. I regret to observe that it was somewhat high-handed to have condemned the Ministry *ex-parte*?"

Dwelling at length on the achievements of the Sind Ministry, the Sind Minister said: "I am proud to say that during the course of almost two years the League Ministry has been in office, it has put in a remarkable amount of legislative and administrative work for the good of the people of the province. Measures, for which the masses and leaders of Sind had been striving for the last twenty years, have actually been sponsored and got through successfully.

Any civilised government created with some sense will naturally help the agriculturist population in the predominantly agriculturist country, just as the Congress Governments did in Bombay and other provinces. Most of the laws that we have passed in Sind have been passed by the Congress Government wherever they have ruled.—Orient Press.

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, 9 August 1944.

30

Habib R. Parpia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1120/46-8

LENTIN CHAMBERS,
DALAL STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
10 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had the pleasure to know you at the Bombay Bar. I make bold to address you this epistle partly because of our acquaintance but specially because you are the acknowledged leader of the Musalmans of India. Being an Indian Muslim myself, I beg permission to place the following points before you on the eve of your momentous meeting with Mr. Gandhi.

In your latest address[1] before your Working Committee you are reported to have said as follows:

> First take the preamble, the basis of the terms which, if accepted, will completely bind the Muslim League, whereas the Mahatma may withdraw his blessings.

If [*sic*] you will please recall the condition precedent you sought to impose on Mr. Gandhi some time ago when he had tried to negotiate with you. You then wanted Mr. Gandhi to admit from the start that he represented the Hindus and you represented the Muslims. You refused to negotiate unless that admission was made in the first instance. Your insistence was open to the same objection, namely that if the admission sought for had been made by Mr. Gandhi and the negotiations had failed, the admission would nevertheless have remained and Mr. Gandhi or the Congress could never have claimed to represent anybody but the Hindus. This obviously is an inconsistent attitude of yours and many, including myself, fervently hope that you will not make such a condition precedent in the forthcoming conference.

Another inconsistency of yours, I wish respectfully to draw your attention to, is that when the British in Palestine wish to divide that country between the Arabs and the Jews, you and your League object vehemently. But you have no scruples to demand the division of India. Whether Jewish emigration is subsidised or not, the fact remains that there are two nations in Palestine. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India are converts from Hindus and still retain many Hindu customs and ideas. You and I, with our respective

surnames staring us in the face, cannot claim to be very much distinct from the Hindus. I do not know if you remember the occasion about the year 1927 or 1928, when on behalf of a Khoja *Jama'at* I, as their solicitor, approached you to introduce a bill in the Central Legislature providing for the application of Muslim law of intestate succession to the Khojas, when you had rightly said you would not do so, as in your opinion the custom that governed the Khojas was best for them. Apparently we were not, in your opinion, a separate nation then, and if we were not then a separate nation, we could not become one after a lapse of barely 17 years.

You have admitted that we Muslims of western India will be a permanent minority if a separate sovereign state is set up in the north-east and the north-west of India. We, the Muslims of western India have been responsible for your political existence. We elected you from one election to another even when you were thoroughly unpopular with and discredited by the Muslims of the north. I ask you if it is political honesty to leave those by whose vote you have climbed the political ladder, politically dead or mere political orphans in their own land. It is all very well for you to sell your properties in Bombay and migrate bag and baggage to Lucknow or Lahore. Not all of us, who have our roots in western India, are to do likewise. What affinity have we with the Punjab or the Frontier Muslims or the Muslims of Sindh or U.P. except a common religious belief. Job hunters amongst the educated Muslims of Bombay have the bitter experience to find that the Punjab Muslims who are on fat-salaried posts in the railways, the Government offices and the banks, always take care to fill up these posts with Punjabis so that a west coast Muslim has hardly any chance in his own part of the country. Do you realise the anguish felt by a west coast Muslim who may have growing children when he realises that according to your dispensation of Pakistan, his children will be mere pariahs in their own land of birth with no political rights except those of the subjects of a foreign state with which they would have no affinity or attachment? You have no justification to barter away our rights for the sake of those in the Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier or Bengal who are well able to take care of themselves and who have not given even yourself a square deal.

You have no doubt taught the Hindus a greatly needed lesson, but while doing so you have sown a wind which threatens to develop into a whirlwind. The British have secured an undreamt of opportunity to continue their political and economic thraldom over India. If you have

at all given thought to and studied Indian economic history of the last 175 years, you cannot but come to the one and only conclusion that, come what may, the British economic domination over India must come to an end and that too immediately. If you agree with me on this point, there should be no hesitation on your part to agree to a solution wherein federating units of territory or states formed on ethnic lines will have the maximum of political and economic powers instead of Balkanising this country which in the days of old you used to call "my country" and which you are now want to call "this sub-continent". You have seen the result of excessive nationalism in the holocaust which is [*sic*] modern Europe. Please do not leave behind you a legacy of strife and civil war.

The tendency in modern political thought is to combine and co-operate rather than separate or divide. Compare for instance the French and the English who live together in the Dominion of Canada. Compare also the attempts now being made to form a Pan-Arab Federation of hitherto distinct and independent nations—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

In my humble opinion, yourself and Mr. Gandhi can form an excellent team to guide and lead all India in the immediate future. You with your "real-politik" and he with his ideology, you two complement each other. I do not know if you have come face to face with the poverty, the misery, the utter degradation, desolation and decay to which the British have reduced India, both Muslim and Hindu. I have only known you as a spick-and-span barrister-at-law with briefs heavily marked and visibly conscious of your handsome exterior and of your wit and repartee and wonderful placing of point of fact or a legal argument. I have never known you *suo moto* to bring about a consent decree between two litigants in the High Court. I, therefore, tremble to think whether you are at all capable of bringing about a consent decree in this memorable fight between the Hindus and the Muslims. This is your supreme opportunity to deserve the blessings and gratitude of posterity.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB R. PARPIA

·Delievered to AIML Council at Lahore, 30 July 1944. See No. 3, note 1

31

F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/73

THE *TIMES OF INDIA*,
BOMBAY,
11 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Francis Low[1] has asked me to inquire from you whether you could find time early next week from Monday, August 14, onwards to see him. Will you please let me know whether that is possible and when?

Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle* has also asked me to request you for an interview. He would be greatly obliged if you would see him as early as possible at your convenience—perhaps during the weekend.[2] He would have written himself, but he feels that since I know you I might approach you directly. Will you please ask your Secretary to ring me up either at my house 28051, or at the office 30071 (from 10.30 to 5 p.m.) and let me know?

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MORAES

[1]Editor, the *Times of India*.
[2]The interview was given on 3 October 1944. See F. 1023/8-9 & 13-6, *QAP* Not printed.

32

Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/39-40

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL / PERSONAL

QAISERBAGH,
LUCKNOW,
11 August 1944

My dearest uncle,

What I am about to write to you is rather late in the day but there were reasons behind my silence which I need not enumerate at this juncture as I know how busy and preoccupied you must be with much more important works.

I would have refrained from writing this rigmarole of unpleasant facts but in the light of what is happening in these provinces I feel

duty and honour-bound to bring to your notice all facts and truths within my knowledge.

Let me assure you at the very outset that I hold neither any party's nor any individual's brief and whatever I am writing is only with a view to clarifying my own position. You know fully well, Sir, that I have never even attempted to take undue advantage of your affection for me.

Since 1937, whenever there was any danger to the Muslim League, I always apprised you of the situation and you had never found the facts untrue or mutilated. Today, I visualize a similar occasion when our political existence and your seven years' labour is in serious danger of disintegration and dissolution. The provincial council is meeting here on the 13th instant. Neither of the two parties can expect a thumping majority. There will be a margin of 15-20 votes in a house of over 300. The result will be that whichever party loses will adopt obstructive tactics against the one in power, which will result in a serious cleavage between the U.P. Muslims. However, this is only a conjecture and can hardly be 100% accurate.

Now, Sir, as far as I am connected or unconnected with the present crisis, the facts are as follows:

Last year, a series of articles were published by a local daily the *Haque* criticizing [words missing]. There was a competition between Khaliq Sahib [Ch. Khaliquzzaman] and Nawab Sahib [Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan] for the provincial leadership and that while Khaliq Sahib represented the Lucknow group, Nawab Sahib represented all that was anti-Lucknow. This and other similar mischievous propaganda led to deep-rooted misunderstanding between the two veterans and gave a chance to the ambitious mischief-mongers to widen the gulf and form into two distinct and organized parties; (i) pro-Nawab and anti-Khaliq (ii) pro-Khaliq and anti-Nawab.

As these all consuming [*sic*] parties increased and multiplied, even neutral members who belonged to neither of the parties found themselves compulsorily bracketed with one or the other. The provincial office with its chief Rizwanullah— who comes from a very enterprising and adventurous family of eastern U.P.— played their cards very well, and divided their loyalties between the two. Sometimes they would side with the President and at other times with Khaliq Sahib. Rizwanullah, in his capacity as the Provincial Secretary had found a great patron in Mr. (now Sir) Mudie, the ex-Chief Secretary to the U.P. Govt. He and his brother Irfanullah, who is an architect, had also secured some contracts from the Govt. Mudie, who is undoubtedly a very clever tactician, secured a job for Irfanullah in the Improvement Trust. Khaliq

was also instrumental in this business. But Irfanullah soon got into trouble and again Khaliq, Nawab Sahib and Mudie rescued him. So Rizwanullah was and still may be under a heavy debt of gratitude to Khaliq, while Nawab Sahib patronized him in the League. In these circumstances, he could displease neither of the two. Rizwanullah had noticed this breach and was investing all his loose capital of time and money in consolidating his own position. At last, the Allahabad session[1] came and opened new avenue of mercenary transactions. God alone knows how much money was collected. One year passed and no accounts were submitted. Then, another year passed and by this time the thieves fell out amongst each other. Somebody secured a copy of Rizwan's passbook for the Central Bank and handed it over to the editor of the *Haque* on the basis of which he published a series of articles charging Rizwanullah with embezzlement and misappropriation of accounts. These editorials were brought to the notice of the Working Committee which after consideration decided that firstly, Rizwanullah should hand over all accounts and papers to me for scrutiny and audit and secondly, that if the charges levelled against him were merely allegations, then he should file a suit for damages against the *Haque*. I had requested the Working Committee to entrust the enquiry to a sub-committee but they insisted on my working on it alone. Rizwan, instead of helping me to complete the work, adopted dilatory methods and kept on procrastinating for nearly three months. I apprised the President that Rizwanullah was evading enquiry, thereupon the President put pressure on him to expedite and facilitate the work. At last the report— which is enclosed herewith[2]—was completed and placed before the Working Committee. All except Rizwanullah and Nawab Sir M. Yousuf agreed that it was difficult to establish the ownership of the sum of Rs. 20,000 (which Rizwanullah claimed as his own) and that there were more than one reason which placed the burden of proof on Rizwanullah because he was the accounting party. In the light of these conclusions, the Working Committee decided that unless Rizwanullah proves that this sum of Rs. 20,000 is his own, the Working Committee will be compelled to claim the sum.

In March 1944, when I was down with dysentery at Aligarh and a meeting of the Working Committee was held, Rizwanullah placed some sort of ledger before the Committee. Again, with one solitary exception, i.e. Nawab Sir M. Yousuf, all the members, after examining the papers agreed that the exhibits were false and forged and that Rizwanullah may yet be given another chance to clarify his position.

At last in May, the Working Committee decided that although Rizwanullah had failed to prove that the amount under dispute belonged

to him, the Committee in the larger interest of the League, deem it necessary to treat the matter as closed. This decision came to me like a thunderbolt. After opposing this motion vehemently, I insisted on recording my vote of dissent. I know that opposition to majority kills popularity but I could not go against my conscience.

I forgot to mention one important fact which may have been instrumental in softening that attitude of the Working Committee members. Rizwanullah had given a written promise to the President that he will no more seek election to any office in the League.

This in a nutshell is all that I have to say for the present, and if you allow me, Sir, I may run up to Bombay for a day after the 17th and place before you this as well as other important matters in detail. I shall be awaiting your orders.

With respectful and affectionate regards to [your]self and *Phuphie*.[3]

Yours ever,

AMIR

[*Raja of Mahmudabad*]s

PS. The latest news is that the official party is leading by about fifty votes.

[1]Twenty-ninth session held from 3 to 6 April 1942.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Refers to Miss Fatima Jinnah.

33

Suleman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 967/25

KAMANIA GATE,
JUBBULPORE,
11 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of a large circle of politically extremely conscious and educated Musalmans, I have most earnestly to request you to please meet Gandhiji in a great spirit of give and take. For God's sake and for the sake of our great people, please give up, at least for the time being, your political arrogance and obstinacy.

Believe us, all Musalmans like Hindus have, by now, become disgusted with the present corrupt and irresponsible administration which has surpassed all records in human history in its incompetence and has

reduced Hindus and Muslims alike to a state of tremendous degradation. Therefore, please approach the Hindu leader in a great spirit of compromise and with a determination to end the existing state of affairs.

The atrocities of the police and the coercion of the thousands of revenue officials and tax collectors are the everyday tales in our homes. Please understand the real temper of the masses.

May God grant you wisdom and humility to judge the need of the hour.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
SULEMAN

34

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/68

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
12 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of a letter I received from Mr. G. M. Sayed.[1] Mr. Gazdar has also written to you in consultation with me in this connection.[2]

You will see how inconsistent and arbitrary Mr. Sayed is in this matter. When asked by Gazdar, he definitely said he had nothing to place before the League Assembly Party, and now he subsequently [*sic*] writes to say that he wishes me to call a meeting of that Party.

As regards the Syndicates, here too he is quite inconsistent. He wanted to associate zamindars with the Syndicates, thus making it clear that he was for retaining the Syndicates if zamindars were associated with this. But acting on inspiration from the Opposition and out of sheer bravado to show he was a dictator, he demanded the abolition of the Syndicates. I may mention that this whole matter is under our very careful consideration.

We are, therefore, waiting for your instructions as to how we are to act on Mr. Sayed's letter.

Hoping you are doing well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]No. 21.
[2]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 34
M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind I/70

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
12 August 1944

Sir,

I, as the Secretary of the Muslim League Assembly Party, in pursuance of the resolution[1] of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, asked Mr. G. M. Sayed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, to formulate any proposals he had in regard to any matters in which the Ministry had failed to carry out any measures, both legislative and administrative.

Mr. Sayed definitely told me that he had nothing to place before the Muslim League Assembly Party. Therefore, I wired to you and the General Secretary[2] of the All India Muslim League to this effect in my capacity as Secretary of the Muslim League Assembly Party. The Leader of the Party, the Premier, the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, also wrote you and to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, in confirmation of the above.

Now all of a sudden, after a few days, Mr. Sayed sends a letter asking that the resolution of the Working Committee be placed before the Muslim League Assembly Party. After having first said that he had nothing to place before this Party, he now on second thoughts after some days sends a letter asking for a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party.

As regards the Wheat Syndicate, Mr. Sayed discussed the question with all the Ministers. He wanted that some zamindars should be associated with the Syndicate. While we were working to that end, when the Opposition moved a cut [motion] in regard to the Syndicate policy in connection with a supplementary grant, and when they called him the Quaid-i-Azam of Sind, he suddenly, without consulting the Party, flared up and demanded at the point of pistol that the Syndicate should be abolished, and that procurement should be done by Government officers, without realising that he himself had agreed to retain the Syndicate and have zamindars associated with it.

It is impossible to put up with such behaviour on his part. On every occasion, he simply acts on inspiration from the Opposition.

I enclose a copy of Mr. Sayed's letter.[3]

We are waiting for instructions from you as to how we are to act in

this matter.

I have written this letter under instruction of and in consultation with the Leader, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. H. GAZDAR

Secretary,

Muslim League Assembly Party

[1]See No. 21, note 1.
[2]Liaquat Ali Khan.
[3]No. 21.

35

Mangoo Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102 B/480

JULLUNDUR CITY,
12 August 1944

Respected Sir,

I, on behalf of the Punjab Ad-dharam (Depressed Classes) Federation, especially and on behalf of the depressed classes of whole of India, respectfully beg to submit that our community has been put to the greatest loss through Poona Pact.[1] It is a fact that only pro-Hindu *Achhuts* have succeeded in their elections and those elected always sided with the cause of the Hindus and totally neglected the cause of the depressed classes. Now when negotiations and conferences are being held between various parties and leaders, I humbly put forward the following for your favourable consideration:

i. Our seats, voters, election, etc., should always be quite separate from the Hindus. In other words, members of our community be elected through our own votes and not with the joint votes of Hindus and ourselves.
ii. Our population in India is about twelve crore in number and forms the biggest minority. We should be considered a separate community and allotted seats in assemblies and other local bodies according to our population. In the future constitution or national central government, we may be given sufficient number of seats according to our population.
iii. In case our due rights are not safeguarded, then my community

will never acknowledge the Raja[ji] Formula[2] which is the subject matter of the day.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MANGOO RAM
President,
The Punjab Ad-dharam (Depressed Classes) Federation

[1]Agreement reached between Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Gandhi in September 1932 to retain joint electorate for Hindus and Scheduled Castes in return for increase in the number of reserved seats for the latter The Pact was recognized by the British Government as modifying the Communal Award of August 1932.
[2]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol.X, 267-8.

36

Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/102-4

5 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing these few lines on the eve of a very momentous period of our history. You and Mahatmaji are going to decide the destinies of the Indian people. All true well-wishers of the motherland are today praying and wishing that God may give you His true light and guidance so that you may use your entire might and main for the good of all the peoples of this land otherwise we all lose our ventures. For, as of old:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.[1]

You have been approached before about the aims and objects of the Indian Social Congress which are:

i. to promote the ideals and practice of complete freedom in social and religious life and the realization of a common citizenship irrespective of race, religion and sex;

ii. to work for the abolition of caste or class divisions based on birth;
iii. to promote fellowship, fraternization and free association amongst the people of this country;
iv. to promote legislative enactments and other state actions to ensure personal liberty in social and religious matters.

On your last visit to Lahore two years ago, you showed sympathy towards the ideals of the organization. We now seek your direct help. One word from you would encourage our Muslim brothers to join the organization and thus create a strong moral force to stamp out the time-barred and age-long traditions and customs that create the great gulf that today divides different people and prevents them from mixing on equal grounds. Hindus and Muslims have to live together even in Pakistan. Therefore, it would be a far-sighted policy to create an organization to work at top-speed to remove the barriers that today divide us socially. Therefore, I am writing to ask you if you would help us in creating a universal brotherhood where everyone would feel a free and equal citizen.

This organization will work entirely on social grounds and therefore will not clash with anybody's political creed.

Hoping to receive a sympathetic reply,

Yours sincerely,
MRS. K. L. RALLIA RAM
Organizing Secretary,
Indian Social Congress

'From the speech by Brutus in William Shakespeare, *Julius Ceasar,* Act IV, Scene III.

37

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

Telegram, F. 98/28

12 August 1944

Mahatma Gandhi, Sevagram, Wardha

Received your letter seventh[1] this morning. Shall be glad to see you any day after fifteenth that may suit you. Please wire time, date[2] when you can come.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 18.
[2]See No. 47.

38

S. Sajjad Zaheer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/66

RAJ BHUWAN,
SANDHURST ROAD,
BOMBAY 4,
12 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I met you at Lahore for a short while you were good enough to ask me to see you at Bombay. I shall be obliged if you would please let me know when it would be possible for you to see me.

You are no doubt aware that our Party has been campaigning among Congressmen for the last two years for the acceptance of the Pakistan demand as a basis for Hindu-Muslim unity. I would like to tell you about some of our experiences in this respect, the trend of Congress opinion in various provinces, and how the movement for Congress-League unity is developing at present.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. SAJJAD ZAHEER
Communist Party of India

PS. May I also bring with me our photographer? He will not be any trouble to you as he will take some of your informal snapshots.

39

Begum Firdaus Rizvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/60

KISHOREGANJ,
[BENGAL,]
12 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of my letter dated 11.8.44,[1] I beg to suggest that for Eastern Pakistan, instead of Purnea District it will be economically more profitable to claim Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts (of Chotanagpur

Division in Bihar). The amalgamation of these districts will leave us with a majority of 51 per cent. You may have noticed in newspapers that Rajaji admits that Muslim majority of 51 per cent will be enough.

It will lead to confusion if any district, whether profitable or unprofitable, is left out of the present provincial boundaries of Assam and Bengal. Arakan will be taken up later on.

I beg to draw your further attention to the self-determination resolution of Congress[2] after the Cripps offer. Therein Muslims were promised this right, not the whole population. How can Gandhiji go back to [*sic*] that resolution now and claim plebiscite of the whole population? However, we are convinced that even in the plebiscite of whole population the verdict will be for Pakistan if there be mass franchise and adult male Muslims are allowed to vote by proxy for females and children.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM FIRDAUS RIZVI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 605, *TP*, I, 745-8.

40

M. K. Pahade to a Newspaper Editor
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 976/49

SUPARI HANUMAN ROAD,
AURANGABAD,
12 August 1944

Dear Editor,

Gandhiji-Jinnah meeting is being anxiously awaited by all sections of the public in India. It has drawn attention of thinking men the world over. Whether the success of the meeting by itself will lead to the freedom or not, cannot be said, but it is certain that the outcome is bound to have far-reaching effects on not only inter-communal relations but also on Indo-British relations and on the struggle for Indian freedom. The responsibility, therefore, on both the great sons of India is heavy indeed.

In view of this heavy responsibility and far-reaching consequences, vitally affecting the Indian people, it is necessary that such a procedure be adopted in the conduct of the negotiation that in the event of its failure the

points of agreement and differences are clearly and unambiguously brought out for the knowledge of the public at large, enabling it to form its own judgement on merit. In the event of its success, doors should be kept open for adjustment so that the agreed formula be placed before an all-party convention for consideration and approval; and it can be confidently hoped that with Gandhi-Jinnah endorsement there shall not be any major hitch from freedom-loving quarters.

However, an important issue of [the] States deserves attention of all. It has been pointed out by Mr. Jinnah that the unity talks on the basis of Rajaji's Formula cannot be conclusive without the agreement on the plan of interim national government. Similarly it must be clear that the picture of free India cannot be drawn without agreement on the future of Indian States and State subjects. The problem of the States is going to assume serious proportion, and it is absolutely necessary that the different organisations and parties of the Indian people agree upon the place of the States in the future constitution of India, so that the reactionary forces be successfully faced.

M. K. PAHADE
President,
Hyderabad State Maharashtra Parishad

41

Rajagopala Aiyangar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 175/9

6A NORTH AUDAR STREET,
TEPPAKULAM,
TRICHINOPOLY,
12 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to know that you and Gandhiji have decided to discuss the ways and means of ending the Hindu-Muslim question, and I pray to God for the successful termination of your talks. I have always urged that it is far better to fall at the feet of our countrymen than cringe at the doors of foreigners. But at the same time no community should try to outwit the other by unfair means. If the Muslims are pleased to examine the economic consequences of Pakistan they may refuse to touch it. It would reduce the Pakistan States to the level of native States under British protection. This division of India is like Solomon's decision to cut the baby—to whose benefit, God alone knows.

But if the Muslim community is keen upon it, there is no use denying it to them, as the very refusal would rouse unjust suspicions. Above all, I beg to request you to consider whether the majority of Muslims are not the descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. I sincerely believe that separate electorate has kept us separate, and I would grant any weightage to Muslims in a joint electorate. In that case, there should be a communal board to examine all bills to see that they do not affect any community adversely. My father sent this suggestion to Sir John Simon.

I may add that my father was a tutor for minor zamindars under the Court of Wards for eight years before he became a lawyer. His Highness the Prince of Arcot also studied under him, and H.H. has always shown keen interest in the welfare of our family. Sir, I do not wish to entangle myself in communal controversies. I, therefore, appeal to you to solve this question at an early date. You have it in your power to do so. It will bring peace to India, and also better relations between England and India.

I am only a student of political and economic questions, leading the life of a recluse. I am also related to the late Hon'ble Mr. K. U. Rangaswami Ayanger who was on the Imperial Legislative Council. I am acquainted with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, and thanks to the kindness of H. H. the Prince of Arcot's brother, with Sir Mahomed Usman. Copy of my testimonials sent herewith[1] will indicate my antecedents.

With my best wishes for the speedy establishment of communal harmony in India,

I remain,

Yours truly,

R. RAJAGOPALA AIYANGAR
M. A.,B.L.
Advocate

[1]Not traceable.

Ahmed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/96-7

MADRAS,
13 August 1944

Sir,

I need not tell you that we are born in India, i.e. in one country. As

such, there should be no distinction between Muslims and Hindus. Fortunately, we are offered certain privileges by the British people. Why don't you come to an agreement with Mahatma Gandhiji, the incarnation of God, and get freedom from the British. Do you think it wise that the unity of the Muslims and Hindus should be separated [*sic*] by the introduction of Pakistan and India should remain as a slave country subjected to the foreigner's domination? When are we going to lead our lives freely and independently? Our children, the future citizens of India, will also be slaves if you don't come to an agreement. You know, I suppose, the story of a monkey which ate away all the cakes stolen by two cats[1] which quarrelled for equal shares. Likewise, we won't be given [*sic*] if we are not united. United we stand, divided we fall. The rumour is that you are paid by the British for making this disunion [*sic*]. If it is so, and if you are a selfish man, you will surely go to hell after murder and the rising generation will never get freedom. You will be condemned by all. This is the best and the last opportunity for you to settle with Mahatma Gandhiji. Make hay while the sun shines.

Yours truly,
AHMED ALI
President,
Hindu-Muslim Union

[1]Irish fable has it that two cats fought until only their tails remained.

43

An Akali leader to M. A. Jinnah

F. 930/9-10

AMRITSAR,
13 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We have read your statements and Mr. Gandhi's statements in the papers. Gandhi is just toppling over and you are erect like a pillar. These are not the symptoms of an agreement between you and Gandhi. You should also bend to some extent. In all your statements, you are always shrieking at the pitch of your voice that you want self-determination for your community and you want to raise your Pakistan up to the same standard as it was in Mughal days. The days against [*sic*] which our ninth *guru* was sacrificed, 4 *Sahibzadas* were sacrificed, 10th *guru* was sacrificed, 5 *Piyaras* were sacrificed, 40 *Muktas* and many other

precious jewels of Sikhs were also finished. So, do you think, Mr. Jinnah, that we will allow those days to come [back]. No, my dear, no. If you think so, then you are making the greatest blunder of your life.

Pakistan dream will be fulfilled then [*sic*] and then [*sic*] only you will see fifty lakh *Khalsas* without heads in Punjab with some double the amount [*sic*] of Muslims.

You want Pakistan because you, with Muslims, are in minority and you don't want the protection of Hindus. So we have also seen enough of Pakistan from the Punjab Ministry and Haripur tragedy. Is this the type of Pakistan you want to give us? We have no faith in Muslims, if they have no faith in Hindus and we are a part of Hindus. So, the best solution of Punjab problem is *Azad* Punjab. This is, in other words, the proper reply to your Pakistan. We can't protect our sacred *gurdwaras* and other sacred things under your domination.

You always say that Punjab is indivisible, then why are you bent upon dividing *Bharata Varasha*. Punjab should remain solid, [and] India should be divided into so many parts; can you tell me from which philosophy book you have taken these words?

The plain thing is that there are only two solutions of Punjab problem:

i. *Azad* Punjab, or,
ii. As you, in minority in India, want equal seats to the Hindus, we the Sikhs, as minority in Punjab, want equal seats to Muslims in all the services, in all the legislatures [*sic*] of the Punjab and whole of the management of the province should be under these legislatures.

Under these conditions, Sikhs are going to negotiate, otherwise your Pakistan will be a dream for ever.

Yours,
A PROMINENT AKALI LEADER

44

Russa Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/263-9

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

EDDIE HOUSE,
PEDDER ROAD,
BOMBAY,
13 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm the telephone conversation I had with you. I quite appreciate

your point, and, as per your request, jot down here a few of my suggestions. I have been your ardent admirer since the days of my youth, when you used to come to our "Fairholme" Cuffe Parade, to see your sister. This was 1913/1918. I still have the picture of you, Omar Sobhani and my father all in evening dress suit. I am saying all this to you to show to you that I have not just thought of you in your hour of glory. I attended a few years back, with Sir Currimbhoy, your famous meeting held on the Mohmedali Road when Dr. Ambedkar and you both spoke on the Day of Deliverance.[1] Your words uttered that night still ring in my ears. I then realized—and I told all my Parsi friends and my Congress friends—that there never will be a solution of Indian political problems without your assent and cooperation. At last my words have only come too true. I had spoken to Mr. Mahomed Ali Chaiwala on several occasions about you in the same strain. When an attempt to stab you by a Khaksar and your miraculous escape from it brought you innumerable telegrams of congratulations from all except Mr. Gandhi, I pointed the same out to Congress circles and said it was the height of bad form. Few [*sic* for some] Congressmen could not even help expressing their displeasure that this ugly affair did not see the end of you. Nothing would have pleased them more than to find you mortally wounded. However, when Mr. Gandhi lost his wife and he received messages of condolence from many except you, several persons rushed to national press and attacked you vehemently for completely lacking in grace. This gave me the opportunity to remind the followers of Mr. Gandhi how the latter had behaved when you were stabbed, adding that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. So much by way of introduction, lest you might wonder why suddenly I have thought of you at the zenith of your power. Who could now deny your glorious achievements? If nothing else shows, the rousing reception you received from all communities on Friday in Bombay should dispel the doubts of the most sceptical persons. All I can say to you on behalf of the minorities, and especially the Parsees, "Bravo Mr. Jinnah, you have liberated us from the Hindu *Raj*"!

I am not alone in feeling this way; believe me there are tens of thousands of silent admirers, who cannot be heard openly today for lack of moral courage, but who very soon will come out in the open and pat you on the back....[2]

On Thursday last at the second quarterly general meeting of the Indian Merchants Chamber, I spoke vehemently and proved that the so-called Indian Merchants' Chamber was nothing but the voice of the Hindus (the Congress). Mr. Gandhi, who not so long ago had said, "Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide" (*Harijan* 6.4.40). "My whole soul rebels against the idea of Pakistan, to assent to such a doctrine

is for me the denial of God" (*Harijan* 14.4.40). "I consider the vivisection of India to be a sin .... I can never be a party to it" (*Harijan* 24.5.42). This very same man, Mr. Gandhi, today concedes to you the principle of Pakistan, and the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber, who are so fond of issuing every now and then press statements, suddenly felt wise to remain absolutely dumb on this momentous issue. I asked them openly why? Were they sorry for Mr. Gandhi or did they lack courage to tell him he was wrong; or did they also want Pakistan but did not wish anyone to know it? I demanded [of] them to speak out their mind, as this was a vital question for the future of commerce and industry. But I got no reply.

At your momentous forthcoming meeting with Mr. Gandhi, I wish you, from the bottom of my heart, all good luck, and crowning success to your selfless labours in the cause of ninety millions of Musalmans. May God grant you both [*sic*] fortitude, wisdom and character to achieve your goal.

I am told that Mr. Gandhi is in that frame of mind to give in to you wholesale, only to get self-govt. before the war is over. He wants to test the integrity of the British at all costs. I trust, therefore, that you are shrewd enough to make the best of the occasion. Sapru and others are against you, and have tried hard to dissuade the old man. Nehru and others in jail are also shocked to hear of Gandhi's somersault. It is good they are not released; or else I wonder if you would have met Gandhi yet. So make the best of it—get all you can out of Gandhi before that evil genius, Vallabhbhai, is out to poison his ears! Forgive me for saying this to an astute politician like you, but I am carried away by the warmth of events. I know you cannot fail—I know you will not fail. I wish you luck again.

Finally, I want to do my bit for my country. I am a keen student of politics. I want no material gains or a job. I want to serve you and through you the cause of India. The Hindus have no love for anybody but themselves. We Parsees are not in their good books. Will you give me an opportunity to serve you and our country in howsoever humble a manner, and to prove to you my sincerity? I shall await your call and see you at your convenience.

My regards to your sister and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
RUSSA MEHTA

[1]In 1939, following the resignation of provincial Congress ministries, Jinnah called upon "Musalmans all over India to observe Friday the 22nd December, as the Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving as a mark of relief.. " The day was "observed throughout India with complete success in an orderly and disciplined manner." See F. 134 148, *QAP* Not printed Also see Yusufi, *Speeches,* II, 1083-4.

[2]The deleted portion contained uncharitable comments in respect of a particular community

45

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/271

IDARA-I-'ALIYYAH, ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
14 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I send you herewith an exact copy of the letter I have written to Mahatma Gandhi today. The same is to you word by word, with the exception of the second paragraph which relates to him and may [not] interest you.

Most unwholesome and unbecoming words were attributed to you by the distinguished messengers who undertook to take my letter of 30th July[1] last personally to you, but I cannot believe that you uttered these words against me even in fury. My disgrace, anywhere, by anybody is for the good of my people and is therefore acceptable to me with good grace and without the slightest feeling of bitterness against anyone. After that letter, I assure you again that not a word of bitterness has entered my heart.

With these frank words, I request you to come to a settlement with the Mahatma under all circumstances, and if you think that a settlement has become impossible on the conditions that you present, please have patience to inform Dr. Rafique or his assistants at the Bab-e-'Aali, c/o Anjuman-i-Asifiyyah, Wagdevi Street, near Crawford Market, so that they may take steps at once to see the Mahatma and request him with folded hands to come down to an agreement. You may rest assured that the Khaksars are determined to have these conversations come to a tangible conclusion and this can only be if you do not break away abruptly and leave a loophole somewhere. I am sure that we shall prove loyal to you in your difficulties, and I may at the same time warn you, if you do not already know it, that there are hundred and one difficulties in the way of actually getting Pakistan or the independence of India even after you two come to an agreement. The time is very precious indeed and the British would like it to be whiled away as long as it suits their purpose.

With these brief remarks, I wish you glorious success in your efforts.

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]See No. 604, Vol. X, 623-4

Enclosure to No. 45
Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to M. K. Gandhi

F. 905/67-8

IDARA-I-'ALIYYAH,
ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
14 August 1944

My dear Mahatma Gandhi,

On this solemn occasion when you are meeting Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah for the purpose of making momentous settlement concerning the Hindu-Muslim or the Congress-League question, I consider it necessary to convey to you the mind of the Idara-i-'Aliyyah in the matter, also the deep sympathy and concern that the Khaksar movement have with you as well as Quaid-i-Azam in your efforts for settlement.

In my telegram of Aug. 4,[1] addressed to you at Panchgani, I expressed my profound thankfulness to you on behalf of the Khaksar organisation for the fresh invitation you sent to Quaid-i-Azam and the consequent meeting that is now taking place. I requested therein that you would remove the difficulties of the Quaid-i-Azam concerning the Formula[2] put forward by Mr. Rajagopalacharia in the light of the criticism which he made[3] in Lahore before his Council. I have no doubt that this matter has received your utmost consideration. Your statement that the Formula is open to amendment indeed points to that direction.

The mixed batch of Khaksars—Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Achhuts, Parsees, Christians, etc. etc.,—that is now reaching Bombay in order to pay respects to you both, is a representation of the truth, hitherto considered impossible, that all these communities or nations can stand in one line indistinguishably. It is also a reminder to the world that India can stand united. I trust you will appreciate this idea and will encourage yourself to believe that a settlement amicable to all parties can be reached at this critical moment.

I have postponed my coming to Bombay till a later date when I feel that my presence may prove more useful. As a matter of fact, I expect that a settlement will be reached without the slightest difficulty.

In this connection, I find it appropriate to convey to you the following decisions that have been made by the Idara-i-'Aliyyah in order to help

you and the Quaid-i-Azam in the matter of bringing your conversations to a tangible conclusion:

a. It was resolved that an atmosphere of supreme trust of [*sic*] the two leaders be created as long as the conversations come to a tangible conclusion.
b. The two leaders may not create a deadlock or break away from each other under any circumstances.
c. Deliberations be confined, not only to the Rajagopalacharia Formula, but to any formula presented by the Quaid-i-Azam himself or any of his associates or any other formula approved personally by him.
d. Any formula made up of the mixture of various formulae or their part mixture be acceptable to both leaders for discussion.
e. A most representative gathering of Hindus and Musalmans be organised from all over India in the course of conversation under the joint presidency of two prominent gentlemen—one Hindu and one Muslim—which will deliberate independently on Rajaji Formula or other formulae and will present modifications with public sanction to both leaders for the purpose of giving them suggestions for settlement.
f. Deputations from this representative gathering will meet both leaders on suitable occasions in order to facilitate settlement.

Prof. Dr. Rafique of Aligarh has been appointed as the representative of the Idara-i-'Aliyyah for the purpose of organising this help in the very short time at his disposal, if possible. The time at his disposal is indeed very short and he has been directed to meet both leaders for the co-ordination of effort. The services of all Khaksars are at your disposal through him and in case any proposal feasible with [*sic*] the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is forthcoming from you or the Quaid-i-Azam, his duty will be to join wholeheartedly with you in carrying it out.

With best wishes for the termination of the conversations to a successful issue [*sic*],

I am,

Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol.X, 267-8.
[3]See No. 3, note 1.

46

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/320-1

CALCUTTA CITY MUSLIM LEAGUE,
8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you a note.[1] Maps, charts and figures will soon follow. We are discussing the East Pakistan and *Adibasistan* (or greater Bengal) as a confederacy.

Sir Nazim is inclined to this. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Mr. A. Hashim, Mr. Hamidul Huq Choudhury and the Young Party are for greater Bengal and will be content even with a bare majority of 51 per cent as the basic nation in their homeland, provided they get Burdawan's coal mines, iron industries and the iron, coal, copper, manganese, etc., of Singhbhum and Manbhum. This will also ease Hindu opposition. Hindus demand unification of Bhums with Bengal.

Muslims believe that even with 51 per cent they will be safe. All India Hindu imperialism will be finished. The 49 per cent non-Muslims will be Caste Hindus, Depressed Classes, Tribals, Christians, etc. The Muslims, Depressed Classes and the Tribals will unite on common economic policy of socialism and break the backbone of Hinduism.

I will send the otner note tomorrow. I am busy day and night.

Pray *Allah* guide you and enlighten your path,

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]See F. 204/324-9, *QAP*. Not printed.

47

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/29

[Original in Gujarati]

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA (C.P.),
14 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

Your telegram[1] was received yesterday. A copy of the reply is as under:

Thanks. Wire just received, next Saturday[2] four afternoon suits me.

If the train arrived in time on the morning of Saturday, then I will knock at your door at 4 o'clock.

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 37.
[2]19 August 1944.

48

Begum Firdaus Rizvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/61

KISHOREGANJ,
14 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I fear the negotiation[s] may, God forbid, break down on the question of general plebiscite. I, therefore, beg to suggest the following amendment to clause 5 of Rajaji's Formula.[1]

> Clause 5. After the first sentence add: A chance for such transfer of Muslim population from Hindustan area to Pakistan area may be given before the plebiscite, and the population so settling down voluntarily in Pakistan area shall be enrolled as voter and will get a chance of voting in the plebiscite.

I hope my intention is understood. Pakistan State will be the homeland of

the whole [*sic*] Indian Musalmans. A systematic propaganda will induce at least one Musalman of each family in Bihar and U.P. to settle down, specially in the Chotanagpur Division, because Eastern Pakistan without Chotanagpur Division of Bihar will hardly be self-sufficient economically. When a transfer of population is already contemplated in clause 5, surely it is common sense that such transferred population should be given space to live. Rajaji does not speak of mutual transfer. He understood, when he put it into the clause, that Muslims of non-Pakistan areas will try to settle down in Pakistan area because Pakistan will be their homeland.

I hope with Assam, Bihar and Chotanagpur Divisions, as they are constituted at present, taken together as one unit for plebiscite and the suggested chance of a portion of Muslim population from non-Pakistan area settling down in this unit or Eastern Pakistan, will lead us to victory even in general plebiscite.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM FIRDAUS RIZVI

·Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.

49

R. N. Rustomji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/271

CURRIMBHOY HOUSE,
WAUDBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
14 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I am very happy to see your honour's return to Bombay after an absence of over eight months. I do cherish the hope that your well-deserved rest in the salubrious climate of Kashmir must [*sic*] have resulted in the complete recoupment of [your] health.

Your visit this time to Bombay is a very auspicious one since your meeting this week-end with the Congress leader, Mr. Gandhi, will be remembered for many many years to come by both Hindus and the

minorities of varied thoughts and creeds as a very cherished one in the annals of Indian history, and if I am not wrong, it is going to define and fix the destiny of minority communities in special [*sic*].

All sober-minded persons are convinced and agreed that Pakistan is the outcome of a few months of Congress's arbitrary and high-handed rule, more specially towards minorities, who then had the occasion to awake [*sic*] and pause for a moment as to what will be their fate at the hands of Hindus if the dream of complete independence really had ever materialised. As you are well aware, the members of my community are the worst sufferers during the past one decade. Justice and fair play are denied to them. Here is the latest incidence [*sic*] for your information.

Mr. Modak, the City Engineer of the Bombay Municipality, was to retire early this year. His senior Assistant, Mr. Jehangir D. Daruwalla, the virtual incumbent of the post, applied for the post. By virtue of their absolute majority voting power, the Congress Municipal Party elected Mr. Daruwalla's junior Assistant, with the result that Mr. Daruwalla resigned the service and was promptly taken up [by] a leading firm of engineering contractors on an increased salary of Rs. 500 over what he would have got as a City Engineer.

The service and sacrifice of the Parsees are entirely lost sight of. Parsees do not ask for special and extraordinary privileges, but they do desire that absolute partiality towards Hindus should not be displayed in any cause [*sic*]. I do, therefore, appeal to you that in the agenda to be discussed at the next meeting with Mr. Gandhi, you will please include the question of minorities, and more specially the microscopic community like the Parsees, and call from him a clear-cut clarification of their position. Parsees rely upon your goodwill and support.

May Almighty bless you with the early fulfilment of the growth of Pakistan, in which, I hope, all minorities will have a just and rightful place, and that He may give you a long life with sound health to enjoy the fruits of your labour.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Most respectfully yours,

R. N. RUSTOMJI

50

Syed Zahirul Hasnain Naqvi to M. A. Jinnah

F.976/50-1
[*Original in Urdu*]

PRIVATE

673/97 AZAMPURA,
HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
14 August 1944

Pride of India, Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Eyes, not only of India but of the entire world, are centred on the talks between you and Gandhiji. God willing, we shall achieve Pakistan through your efforts. The best brains of India are visiting Wardha and having daily meetings with Gandhiji and as per newspaper reports, even those who are dead against Pakistan return from such meetings highly satisfied. These reports cause anxiety that this sorcerer of Wardha, this Bania, by apparently offering Pakistan may not get some such terms accepted by you which may result in permanent dominance of Hindus in Bengal and the Punjab. It is, therefore, imperative that we should beware of Sapru, Jayakar, Moonje and Savarkar and above all of Gandhi himself. The demand for Pakistan and other Muslim demands should be accepted in clear-cut and unequivocal terms. If they acknowledge Muslim demands in unambiguous terms, then you should not get involved in secondary issues lest the world says that the talks were broken due to your intransigent and uncompromising attitude.

Secondly, after our demand for Pakistan has been accepted, let us accept the joint electorate with certain conditions. This will help bring real and true representatives to the assemblies and the councils. Presently, very ordinary and unknown persons get elected, against such stalwarts as Justice Syed Wazir Hasan and K. B. Moulvi Kalb-i-Abbas.

Forgetting personal qualities and abilities as well as individual's national service, people discriminate between *Rafzis* and Sunnis and thus even the most competent persons are defeated. Hence joint electorate or some such conditions may be introduced so that such illiterate and narrow-minded people do not get elected and only the competent people are returned to the assemblies and councils. In India and Pakistan areas, no injustice should be done to the Shias so that they could live in peace and harmony. The Shias suffer at the hands of Hindus and Sunni Muslims

alike. While Hindus consider them Muslims and try to inflict injury upon them, the Sunnis call them *Rafzi* and leave no stone unturned to hurt them, forgetting their services to the nation and the country. Your responsibility to protect the Shias is twofold. Firstly, you have to assure every minority that you will fully safeguard their rights. Secondly, we are lucky to have the pride of India (yourself) in the ranks of this downtrodden community. So while protecting other minorities' rights you may specially care for this sect as well.

Lastly, I cannot help submitting that people like me, living so far away, cannot help feeling anxious about your safety and security. While you rule over [*sic*] the hearts of crores of people, there are your innumerable enemies amongst the non-Muslims. Even within Muslims there are some dubious people who are against you. Besides, there is a possibility that there might be people amongst those whom you trust who feel jealous of your extraordinary popularity and consider you a stumbling block in their own advancement. They may be aspiring to become a second Jinnah. You should therefore be more cautious of such people than the strangers. That wretched Khaksar who attacked you and hurt the feelings of crores of your admirers, after all, called himself a Muslim. Hence, whether in a hotel, a party, a banquet or at home—wherever you may be, you have to be most careful. Whether it is a cigarette, a cigar, or any other eatable, unless you get it tasted by somebody else you should never use it. Here people are suspicious of the circumstances in which Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang expired. Till now the Government has failed to hold an inquiry into the causes of his death. Your life, may God save you from an evil eye—is very precious for the Muslims and is the combined asset of 100 million Muslims.

With regards,

SYED ZAHIRUL HASNAIN NAQVI
Section Officer,
Municipal Board

51

M. A. Jinnah to Richard Tottenham

SHC, Misc I/55-6

BOMBAY,
15 August 1944

Dear Sir Richard,

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has sent me your letter addressed to

him, No. 70/44 Poll (1), Home Department, New Delhi, August 1944[1] along with a copy of his reply to you dated August 10th 1944.

I beg to inform you that undoubtedly the word "it" refers to the "substance" of the letter. I do not know whether you have noticed that I read the text of Mr. Gandhi's letter of May 4th 1943[2] (which was released to the press) in my speech and then followed the passage in question. I cannot understand how it is possible that anyone could suppose that the word "it" might be taken to mean the letter itself.

May I also draw your attention to the statement that I issued at the time I received your communication, and a copy of the communique that the Government of India proposed to issue in connection with this matter? It is as follows:

> I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated May 24,[3] that Mr. Gandhi's letter merely expresses a wish to meet me, and this letter, Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me... merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the kind of ephemeral letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr. Gandhi should write, and which has been now stopped by the Government.

This statement of mine was released to the press on May 28th 1943,[4] immediately after the communique[5] was issued by the Government. Later on, while I was at Karachi, at a press conference[6] on June 4th 1943, I said, replying to a questioner who suggested that I could not have known the full contents of Mr. Gandhi's letter: "Apparently, Mr. Gandhi has merely expressed a desire to meet me and nothing more. At present I have no reason to doubt this information."

If you wish to have the full text of the statement, I think it will be found in any newspaper of the day, as it was broadcast all over the world. I have only quoted the above passage for your information.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Richard Tottenham, I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary,
Home Department,
Government of India,
New Delhi

[1] Enclosure to No. 27.
[2] No. 692, *TP*, III, 953-4
[3] See F. 1025/67, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4] See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1728-30.
[5] See No. 729, *TP*, III, 1005.
[6] See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1730-3

52

P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/36

15 GENERAL PATTERS ROAD,
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS,
15 August 1944

My beloved leader,

I was so happy at the right royal reception accorded to you on your return to Bombay and I think every one realised your unrivalled eminence and statesmanship. Minorities look upon you as their saviour. Now the whole of India is looking forward to the meeting of Mr. Gandhi with you and we, your admirers, have no doubt whatsoever as to the result of the coming meeting. We do know that you would come out triumphant, but I should like to submit to you my request, viz. to remember the Dravidasthan in your discussions with Mr. Gandhi.

> A few days ago, Mr. S. Ramanathan, ex-Congress Minister, said: The demand for Dravidasthan is no less urgent and insistent than Hindu-Muslim unity and referred to the prevalence of acute differences between the non-Brahmins and Brahmins, whether it be the North or the South.

I am putting forth this request to you, because the leadership of my Party is in very bad hands.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
BALASUBRAMANYA

53

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind I/62

BOMBAY,
16 August 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

Many thanks for your letter of August 8th[1] and the press cuttings which you were good enough to send me, the contents of which I have

noted. My repeated and earnest request to you and others is that for the sake of our cause and the welfare of our people you should all put an end to these private controversies and bickerings, for unless you people rise above them, you will be doing a great harm to our cause, and none of you is going to benefit by it, except a momentary personal victory of one against the other at the cost of our national cause, which can give no satisfaction to any decent man, let alone the Muslim leaders of Sind. I wish you would show this letter to everyone of them—call them together and put matters right. I have also been receiving some communications from Mr. Sayed with press cuttings.[2] Please put an end to all these differences, and if there is any culprit, deal with him unitedly on a higher plane, as it may be necessary for the prestige and honour of the Muslim League. I cannot say more.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 22.
[2]Enclosures 1-3 to No. 29.

54

B.N.C. & Others to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind II/2-2(a)

KARACHI,
16 August 1944

Dear Bapuji,

We are writing this humble letter to you in connection with your forthcoming historic talks with Mr. Jinnah and must, therefore, be read before proceeding to Bombay for the talks, though we are very much doubtful if this letter will reach you in time. However, there is nothing like trial and we hope and pray that this letter may meet [*sic*] you before you meet Mr. Jinnah.

Now, let us come to the point. We beg to state that it has always been our firm opinion, since the days Mr. Jinnah and his League began to condemn the most democratic and famous Congress Ministries in almost eight or nine provinces of India, that looking to the communal tension in the country and very common feeling of utter distrust of Congress movements on the part of practically every Muslim in India, the best way of ending the tension and solving the constitutional problem of India is to create a "Council of the Wise" which should rule the country both at the Centre and in the Provinces. This "Council of the Wise" must consist of wise men and men of absolutely non-communal outlook in every walk of life. This Council should be appointed irrespective of any communal considerations and only those should be eligible for it who have the good of the country, including all communities and sub-communities of India, at heart. And, above all, the personnel [*sic*] of such Council should never be disclosed lest it should satisfy some and disappoint others and thus create some trouble in the country. The general public in the country must only be convinced (of course by the deeds of the Council) that the Council is purely national in character and, therefore, harmful to none.

Above is the view of ours in a nutshell. If you appreciate it we shall be much pleased and obliged if you kindly move the same before Mr. Jinnah and know his opinion. If not, you can very gladly reject it. But we would, however, appeal to you to kindly consider it at least ten times before rejecting it. We are not discussing here any merits or demerits of the suggestion of ours in this letter. You are more [*sic*] wise and much more experienced than us and can understand the proposal better than we can.

We shall be much obliged if you would kindly reply to this humble letter of ours, through the press.

Yours obediently,
B.N.C. AND OTHERS

55

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/56

BOMBAY,
16 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

Many thanks for your letter of August 8th.[1] I am glad that you have

drawn my attention to certain matters, although they were not absent from my mind, but [it] is just as well. I always welcome any suggestions from thoughtful people who are watching the situation.

As regards your request to let you have the text of the speech[2] that I delivered at the League Council meeting at Lahore, I have asked my Secretary to enclose a copy of it along with this letter, and I hope that you will duly receive it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh,
U.P.

[1]No. 23.
[2]See No. 3, note 1.

56

Makhdum Murid Hussain Quraishi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 666/3-4

MULTAN CITY,
16 August 1944

On behalf of my million followers welcome your ensuing historical [*sic*] meeting. India's independence has reached the stage of impossibility except [through] Hindu-Muslim unity. This meeting of prominent beloved leaders of two communities at this critical juncture is a good fortune and a beam of hope in eternal darkness of Indian politics. Losing this golden chance will certainly widen the gulf between the two nations. Whole world's eyes anxiously awaiting a happy and respectable settlement.

Heartily pray God for your success,

NAWAB MURID HUSSAIN QURAISHI
Member, Central Assembly

57

Secretary, Kegalla Hartal Committee, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 760/172

KEGALLA, CEYLON,
17 August 1944

We Indian Muslims and Ceylon Muslims of Kegalla Ceylon express solidarity with the cause of Muslims in India and give pledge of support moral and otherwise until the aims of Musalmans of India are reached [*sic*].

The above resolution was passed unanimously at a crowded meeting held today here by Indian and Ceylon Muslims observing *hartal* in response to your call.

SECRETARY, KEGALLA HARTAL COMMITTEE

58

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

Telegram, F. 98/31

EXPRESS *17 August 1944*

Mahatma Gandhi, Sevagram, Wardha

Extremely sorry. Laid up with temperature. Doctor's advice impossible meet you Saturday nineteenth. Will intimate date immediately I am well enough.

M. A. JINNAH

59

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rauf Abbasi

SHC, P&P III/72

[BOMBAY,]
17 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 10th.[1] The suggestion made

by you amounts to this, that I should advertise the daily *Haque* and get more subscribers to it. If I were to undertake this mission, there would be no end to it, as there are many other newspapers in India which are rendering a very great service to the creed, policy, and programme of the All India Muslim League by their advocacy and are enthusiastic champions of forwarding the cause which we all have at heart. Your proper course is that you should get in touch with your Provincial Muslim League and make your paper as popular as possible by various methods which are open to you to adopt. I quite appreciate the services of the daily *Haque* and I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

M. A. Rauf Abbasi, Esq.,
Managing Editor,
The daily *Haque*,
Golaganj,
Lucknow

[1]No. 28.

60

M. A. Jinnah to E. V. Ramaswami

SHC, Non-Muslims I/34

BOMBAY,
17 August 1944

Dear Mr. Ramaswami,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 9th,[1] and thank you for it. I have always had much sympathy for the people of Madras, 90 per cent of whom are non-Brahmins, and if they desire to establish their Dravidasthan, it is entirely for you people to decide on this matter. I can say no more, and certainly I cannot speak on your behalf. I have made the position clear to you and your colleagues when I was in Madras more than once, but hitherto I have noticed that in your activities you have been indecisive. If the people of your province really desire Dravidasthan, then it is for them to assert themselves. I hope that you will understand my position, that I can only speak for Muslim India, but you have my assurance that wherever

and whenever I have a say in the matter, you will find me supporting any just and fair claim or demand of any section of the people of India.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

E.V. Ramaswami, Esq.,
Justice Party,
Erode,
Madras

No. 25.
[2]Also see No. 74.

61

Mohamed Azam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/12

[HYDERABAD, DECCAN,]
17 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I herewith send a copy of *Syed-ul-Ambia,* which is a literal translation of [Thomas] Carlyle's[1] second lecture on *Hero-Worship.* The first edition of this Urdu version is exhausted and now its second edition is under print. It is my earnest desire that it should have a foreword from your pen and I shall be much obliged if you could find time to write a few lines by way of introduction to this second edition.[2]

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMED AZAM
Lecturer, Urdu Department

[1]Scottish historian of the French Revolution and political philosopher who assailed the social injustices and materialistic attitudes that the Industrial Revolution brought in its wake. He wrote *Heroes and Hero-Worship.*
[2]See No. 84.

62

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 98/33

EXPRESS *18 August 1944*

Your phone and wire.[1] Deeply grieved. Hope you will soon recover. Anxiously await further news.

M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 58.

63

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/32

[*Original in Gujarati*]

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA, C.P.,
18 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

You were suddenly taken ill. The entire world was looking forward to our meeting. I had built up high hopes but had misgivings as well. Therefore, I shuddered when sister Fatima told me of your illness. I hope and pray God will grant you speedy recovery, and our meeting, which was being eagerly awaited by all India and the world, will soon take place and do India good. I hope sister Fatima, or someone else, will keep me posted about your health.

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

PS. A copy of the telegram I had sent you is enclosed.[1]

[1]No. 62.

64

Mohammad Hussain Khwaja to M. A. Jinnah

F. 967/34-5

HUSSAIN BUILDING,
NEAR IMPERIAL BANK,
AMRITSAR,
19 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is just now that everybody read with surprise the latest correspondence[1] between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. Earth beneath everybody gave away [*sic*] but to me it was not at all surprising. Here it is not out of place to quote a well-known Persian proverb for such political jugglers: *Kuja Mi Numayad Kuja Mi Zanad*.[2]

I was quite sure from the very beginning that Mr. Gandhi's object is not to come to an agreement with Quaid-i-Azam for Muslim demands but his real aim is to threaten His Excellency "See, if you do not concede to my demand of Hindu *Raj*, I, by joining hands with the Musalmans, a great fearless and brave nation, will overthrow the British Government."[3]

Very sincerely yours,
M[OHAMMA]D HUSSAIN KHWAJA

[1]Refers to the Government of India publication *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, August 1942-April 1944*, New Delhi, 1944.
[2]Aim, ostensibly, at one point and hit another.
[3]Jinnah acknowledged receipt of the letter on 26 August. See F. 878/285, *QAP*. Not printed.

65

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/34

BOMBAY,
19 August 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I duly received your wire of August 18th.[1] Many thanks for it, and now I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th,[2] which reached me this

morning. I am sorry to say that I was entirely helpless in postponing the meeting, and I hope that you will excuse me if I caused you any inconvenience. I am glad to tell you that my temperature has gone down to-day, and I hope that within a few days I shall be able to inform you when I can meet you in Bombay. Health permitting, our meeting shall not be delayed any longer. I am fully alive to the importance of it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahatma Gandhi,
Sevagram,
Wardha, C.P.

[1]No. 62.
[2]No. 63.

66

M. Farooqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/40

URDU BAZAR, JAM'E MASJID,
DELHI,
19 August 1944

CONGRESS-LEAGUE UNITY DAY CELEBRATION IN DELHI

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Delhi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India celebrated 18th August, Friday, as Congress-League Unity Day for the success of the forthcoming meeting between you and Mahatma Gandhi. In the morning, eight Communist unity squads went round the city from street to street explaining the significance of the forthcoming meeting. About 100 street-corner meetings were held and between fifteen and twenty thousand people were covered in the morning campaign. We also sold about two thousand Gandhi-Jinnah photo-cards which fetched us over two hundred rupees. We have docketed this amount for further campaigning for Congress-League unity among the people.

In the evening, at Gandhi Grounds a huge mass rally, about ten thousand strong, was held and a resolution on Congress-League unity was unanimously adopted amidst shouts of *Gandhi-Jinnah Meeting Zindabad, Congress-League Unity Zindabad*. We are enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution.[1]

Herewith you will also find copies of Urdu-Hindi handbills[2] brought out by our Party on this day.

In the capital city of India, the people as a whole wish success to the forthcoming meeting between the nations' leaders. Congressmen and Leaguers are anxiously looking forward to the day when the Congress and the Muslim League have united against deadlock and famine.

We, Communists, are pledged to work harder and harder to win all-out support of our people behind you and Mahatma Gandhi in your efforts for Congress-League unity.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. FAROOQI
Secretary,
Delhi Provincial Committee,
Communist Party of India

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/45. Not printed.
[3]Jinnah thanked him for the letter. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/42. Not printed.

67

Shaukat Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/44

98 UPPER MALL,
LAHORE,
20 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending Danyal Latifi with a copy of the letter[1] sent by the Governor in answer to my letter.[2] I have attempted to draft a reply which I would like to show you before despatch. I am also enclosing the relevant documents[3] which may be helpful. I most sincerely apologise for the encroachment on your most precious time.

Praying for your speedy recovery,

Yours sincerely,
SHAUKAT HYAT

[1]Enclosure 1
[2]Enclsoure 2
[3]Enclosure 3. Also see *SHC*, Punjab III/45 & 47-8. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 67
Brander to Shaukat Hyat Khan

SHC, Punjab III/49

BARNES COURT,
SIMLA,
16 August 1944

Dear Sardar Sahib,

His Excellency has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 6th instant[1] (received by him on the 10th instant) relating to your dismissal from your office as a Minister. He has been surprised by your suggestion that you have been given no opportunity of explaining the affair which led to your dismissal. He asks me to remind you that at the Council meeting where the question concerned was discussed, all the relevant papers were laid on the table, that you were given full opportunity to defend your conduct and that such explanation as you were able to offer entirely failed to carry conviction either to your colleagues in the Ministry or to His Excellency himself. It is not clear to His Excellency, therefore, on what grounds you remark that you "have waited patiently long enough" for an occasion to uphold your actions. Neither at the interview which you sought with His Excellency on the afternoon following your dismissal nor, so far as he is aware, on any subsequent occasion prior to the receipt of your letter under reply you suggested to him that you had any wish for a further explanation.

You have referred in your letter to the effect which your dismissal may exercise on the good name of your family. His Excellency, as he thinks you must be aware, was visited by various members of your family shortly after your dismissal from office. While they very naturally deplored what had occurred, they made no attempt to defend your action, and H.E. understood that in the interest of the family they wished that your conduct as Minister should receive as [*sic*] further publicity as might be practicable; he was given good reason to believe that in taking up this attitude they had your full concurrence. H.E. entertains a high regard for the members of your family and it appears to him that due respect should be paid to their wishes, the force of which he has found no difficulty in appreciating.

Yours sincerely,
BRANDER
Secretary to the Governor, Punjab

[1]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 2 to No. 67
Shaukat Hyat Khan to Bertrand Glancy

SHC, Punjab III/48

6 August 1944

Your Excellency dismissed me from ministership of the Punjab Government on the 26th of April 1944, and the only indication given by the Government was that it was on account of a very serious case of injustice in the exercise of my powers as minister. That casting the gravest reflection on my honour and integrity and it [*sic*] constitutes a blot on my public life involving moral turpitude, to say nothing of the effect on my family. You will realise that I have waited patiently long enough. May I, therefore, even after this lapse of time since my dismissal, and apart from a consideration of the grave public issue involved in it, request you on the plea of the barest justice to me, to be good enough to let me have, even now, particulars of the charge that was before you, and to give me an opportunity of a hearing and giving such explanation that I may have in my defence, which is the right of the meanest citizen before he is condemned and convicted.

I shall await your reply and I do sincerely hope that you will not deny me my defence. But in any case, and apart from the technicalities whether you could dismiss an individual minister under the Government of India Act of 1935 or not it is incumbent on you that you should publicly state the charge against me and the ground for which you thought fit to dismiss me as one of the ministers.

If I do not hear anything about it within a reasonable time I shall release this letter to the press. This I shall be forced to do because I must make my position clear before the public. Finally, I do hope that Your Excellency will comply with my request and give me every opportunity in my defence.

Enclosure 3 to No. 67
Statement by Shaukat Hyat Khan

SHC, Punjab III/46

28 April 1944

Impartial observers in touch with events will, as they must, view my dismissal with the background of recent developments in the Punjab. I owe it, however, to the public opinion, in and outside the Punjab, to state the facts.

It is officially stated that my dismissal is due to "a serious case of

injustice which has come to light in the exercise of my powers as minister." I cannot at this stage go into details of this case which resulted in removal from service under my orders of a Lady Superintendent of the Lahore Corporation. I have requested the Premier that in fairness either the whole record of this case may be published or I should be free to refer to its salient features. I can, however, state without divulging any secret information that there were charges of corruption against this lady, which were thoroughly enquired into. I gave both the sides of the case my serious consideration, and on the evidence on record and the advice of competent officers before me, I came to the conclusion about three months ago that she was unfit for municipal service. I still believe that my order was bona fide and just.

There is always scope for honest differences of opinion in administrative no less than in judicial cases. Such differences have not resulted in dismissal of ministers or judges concerned.

Certain facts are writ large in the recent political events in the Punjab. I have held the view, which I have publicly reiterated, that we are committed unequivocally to the creed, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I wrote to the Premier in July 1943 that "it is fair both to ourselves, to the Province, to our community and to our colleagues that we should have a clear outline of action to these fundamental issues. Mere drift will not help."

Events were coming to a head over a week ago and I told the Premier, which he has repeated to some responsible common friends, that with all my personal regards for him, if he did not come to terms with the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, I will have to resign and stand by the Muslim League. I further informed the Premier, after contacting Mr. Jinnah, that in view of the reasonable position taken by the latter in regard to our war effort, the statement of my late lamented father known as the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and other essential items, he should resist those whose object seemed to divide the Muslims at this critical juncture. My signed resignation has been with him for over a week. And yet why my resignation was not accepted and I was dismissed one day before the Premier's break-up with Mr. Jinnah, is a performance which speaks for itself.

The label of dismissal will not frighten me or my friends who stand pledged to the All India Muslim League. I am proud to be called upon to make the first of, maybe, a series of sacrifices for our cause. The writing on the wall is clear; God willing we shall not fail.

68

Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/154

COLOMBO,
21 August 1944

We Indians in Ceylon have been anxiously waiting for the moment of liberation of India. Circumstances have placed securing of liberation in the hands of you both. The love of both of you for liberation of the country is indisputable. You may arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of liberation of India is the earnest wish of every Indian in Ceylon. I wish you both success.

AZIZ
President, Ceylon Indian Congress

69

M. Anis Bin Haji Ismail Effendi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/6

SHIBLI MANZIL,
PEREIRA LANE, WELLAWATTE,
COLOMBO, CEYLON,
21 August 1944

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Sir and brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

We the Muslims of Ceylon [are] greatly pained to learn the news of your honour's illness at this hour and invoke the blessing of Almighty *Allah* in this holy of holy [*sic*] month, the *Ramazan al-Mubarak,* which now began, for your speedy recovery and good health, long life to revive back [*sic*] Islam's glory in India and abroad.

Allaho Akbar

Khadimul Islam,
M. ANIS BIN HAJI ISMAIL EFFENDI
Editor,
The Muslim Views

70

S. Mahdihassan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/15

PERSONAL

THE OSMANIA MEDICAL COLLEGE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 August 1944

Dear Sir,

As the recognised leader of the Muslims and as the best well-wisher of the community, I beg to approach you with what I feel is a noble appeal. For the past four years, I have been trying to get in touch with Muslim industrialists and capitalists who would cooperate with me in starting a factory or two. I had before me the noble example of the late Ghulam-us-Saklain who resigned his post here and went to Aligarh and started a factory which had to be closed because he did not get honest colleagues. Last year, I promoted a company with a capital of fifteen lakh rupees, the Biochemical and Synthetic Products Ltd., whose managing agents are mainly Hindus. Muslim India needs to be industrialised. He is far from being a lover of technique and as such cannot compete with the Hindus.

As a boy, I lived for some time with our sister, Mrs. Mir Aun Ali, whose father-in-law was Khan Bahadur Mir Abdul Ali. I remember that you used to come to him and if I mistake not, I have seen you a number of times. My brother was Badrul Hassan who was in politics and was a great friend of Omar Sobhani[1] who is now here. I enclose two papers for your information.[2]

I should be grateful for an answer[3] whatever may be your decision.

Yours respectfully,
S. MAHDIHASSAN
Reader in Biochemistry

[1]An eminent philanthropist.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Jinnah suggested that he get in touch with the Secretary, Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry, New Delhi. See *SHC, Hyderabad I* 16. Not printed.

71

Jaswant Rai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/60

HALL BAZAR,
AMRITSAR,
22 August 1944

On 20th August, Amritsar, the city of martyrs of Jallianwalabagh, was electrified with the announcement of a public meeting to support Gandhi-Jinnah move for a settlement. The meeting was convened by the Amritsar Communist Party.[1] With hardly a couple of hours at their disposal, the Party squads moved round the *mohallas,* lustily announcing the meeting. Wherever they went they had a fine reception, faces brightened up everywhere.

It was surprising indeed to find that more than two thousand had turned up at the Nimak Mandi Chowk at such a short notice—so deep and widespread is the urge for unity. Sardar Sohan Singh Josh, MLA, a veteran Sikh leader, presided. In a powerful speech, Comrade Josh declared that fifty lakh died last year in Bengal, our patriotic stronghold, because there was no national Govt. More will die this year if the bureaucratic rule continues. The only panacea of our ills is Congress-League settlement.

Speeches were also made by Comrade Wasdev Singh, General Secretary, Punjab Kisan Committee and Comrade Tara Singh, released Congress leader, welcoming the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting.

A resolution, which was unanimously adopted amidst deafening shouts of Mahatama Gandhi *Zindabad,* Congress-League unity *Zindabad,* declared:

> This meeting welcomes Gandhi-Jinnah meeting for achieving Congress-League unity on the basis of right of self-determination. It sends its greetings for the successful conclusion of negotiations and feels confident that the two leaders will declare their acceptance of the self-determination for Sikhs also.

The atmosphere at the big gathering was in strange contrast with what prevailed at the so-called All Parties Sikh Conference held in the earlier part of the day, which rejected Raja-Gandhi Formula.

With greetings,

JASWANT RAI
for Communist Party Office

[1]Also see No. 66.

72

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Laik Ali

SHC, Hyderabad II/112

BOMBAY,
22 August 1944

My dear Laik Ali,

I received your letter of July 26th[1] on my arrival at Lahore but as I was overwhelmed there with other matters, I could not attend to your letter. Since my return to Bombay, I have been ill, but I am feeling much better now.

I am anxious to know what progress the Al-Meezan has made. Please let me know if the permission has been granted, and if not, why not. I am glad that your deputation is not proceeding to Europe at present, and that you have made up your mind to take up the work yourself for two or three months and make a definite start. I am sure things will right themselves soon, and I hope that you will expedite the matter and let me have some good news at an early date.[2]

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mir Laik Ali,
Begumpett,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]See No. 591, Vol. X, 601-2.
[2]See No. 352.

73

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/35
[*Original in Gujarati*]

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA, C.P.,
23 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

By the grace of God, you no longer have fever. I learnt from

newspapers that since you are still weak, doctors have advised visitors not to insist on seeing you. May *Allah* soon restore your health. I don't want to hasten our meeting, but I do wish you to tell me when you can spare the time for it; this will help me to fix time for my other engagements and for meetings with visitors. I shall be grateful if you will have someone write[1] to me or inform me by telephone or telegram.

Your brother,
M.K. GANDHI

[1]See No. 85.

74

M. H. Saiyid to E. V. Ramaswami

SHC, Non-Muslims I/35

BOMBAY,
23 August 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to Mr. Jinnah's reply to you dated 17th August,[1] will you please note that he has added some words to the last sentence of his letter, and the sentence should now be read as follows:

> I hope that you will understand my position, that I can only speak for Muslim India, but you have my assurance that wherever and whenever I have a say in the matter, you will find me supporting any just and fair claim or demand of any section of the people of India, and particularly the non-Brahmins of Southern India.

The words added are those underlined [italicised] above.

Yours faithfully,
M. H. SAIYID
Secretary to M. A. Jinnah

E. V. Ramaswami, Esq.,
Justice Party,
Erode, Madras

[1]See No. 60.

75

R. Bora to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1119/64

JORHAT,
23 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to forward herewith the following resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-Assam Ahom Association on 20-8-44, for favour of information and guidance.

RESOLUTION

In view of the peculiar position of Assam, both geographical and otherwise, and the great preponderance of the Mongolian races with their distinctive languages, cultures and religions, in the population of the province, this Association is of the opinion that Assam without Sylhet has a legitimate claim to free and independent existence in the event of India being divided territorially into Pakistan and Hindustan Zones. This Association, therefore, urges on Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to leave the question of Assam without Sylhet to the people of the soil to settle.

Yours sincerely,
R. BORA
General Secretary,
All Assam Ahom Association

76

Mohammad Akrum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 337/4

THE *AZAD*,
AZAD MUNZIL,
PATHARCHAPTI,
MADHUPUR,
24 August 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have not yet recovered from my illness. But on an urgent call from

my revered leader Sir Nazimuddin, I went to Calcutta and attended a meeting of the Working Committee of Bengal Provincial Muslim League. Then I heard some statements which were prepared for your consideration. So I felt it my duty to send you my humble opinion[1] about the East Pakistan. But I am sorry it had become unnecessarily lengthy. As you know my defects of English knowledge, I am confident that you will be kind enough to forgive this.

I pray to *Allah* that you recover from your illness and fulfil the great task which is entrusted on [*sic*] you by His gracious command.

Khadim,
M[OHAMMA]D AKRUM KHAN

PS. Just after writing this I was attacked by malignant malaria and became bed-ridden. But by the grace of *Allah* from yesterday my condition seems to be out of danger. I am sending this letter from my sick-bed.

Yours,
MOHAMMAD AKRUM KHAN

[1]See F. 337/5-22, *QAP*. Not printed.

77

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/57-57(a)

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
24 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your kind letter dated the 16th,[1] and also a cutting of your Lahore speech.[2] I am very grateful to you for your kind consideration.

We were all deeply concerned to hear of your illness. The latest reports, however, are re-assuring, and I hope and pray that you may very soon be restored to complete health.

The last instalment of correspondence[3] between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, which was recently released, again shows how he was striving behind the scenes to strike a bargain with the British Government over the head of the Muslim League and leads one to suspect

that his move for a settlement with the League was only intended to be an eyewash. The tremendous hue and cry being raised in the Hindu press and by Hindu leaders against the C.R. Formula and the attempts now being made by them to dissuade Mr. Gandhi from pursuing negotiations with you are all very discouraging. But you must have noted that the Muslim public and the Muslim press have heartily responded to your appeal and faithfully followed your instructions to observe a truce till the outcome of your talks. I think it is all to the good, as it strengthens your hands, heightens the position of the League and reinforces the moral basis of our claim before world opinion.

Though the Viceroy's reply[4] to Mr. Gandhi gives one the feeling that Government want to raise fresh difficulties in the way of a Hindu-Muslim agreement, it should, however, be an eye-opener to Mr. Gandhi. The Viceroy's insistence that any transitional government can only be within the framework of the present constitution and its formation is contingent on a prior agreement between the Indian parties as to the method of the framing of the post-war constitution, supports in a sense the stand taken by the League and should make Mr. Gandhi realise the futility of the course he has been following and the necessity of closing with the Muslim League at any cost. Of course, Government must be having their own motives in making these stipulations, but we can use the position to our advantage and force the hands of the Congress to agree to our Pakistan demand unequivocally.

I am encouraged to lay my views before you by your kind remark that you 'welcome any suggestions from thoughtful people who are watching the situation'.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]No. 55.
[2]See No. 3, note 1.
[3]See No. 64, note 1
[4]See No. 445, *TP*, IV, 841-3.

78

M. A. Jinnah to S. G. Mehdi

SHC (123)

BOMBAY,
24 August 1944

Dear Lieut. Mehdi,

Many thanks for your letter dated August 14th.[1] I appreciate very much indeed your enthusiastic support to our demand for Pakistan and thank you for your kind personal references to me. You know that at present neither the All India Muslim League nor I desire Musalmans to make any big individual sacrifice in the way of giving their contribution or otherwise. I have, therefore, left it to each individual to make some contribution which he can, compatible with his means and position, towards the fund of the All India Muslim League, in order to achieve our goal—Pakistan. I am glad that Muslims are better organized today than they have ever been before. Yet much remains to be done and I know that when the time comes Muslims will give their all, if necessary, in order to accomplish our goal of establishing Pakistan. It is a matter of life and death for Muslim India and we will not rest content until we have, once for all, unfurled the flag of Pakistan, where our homelands today stand.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lieut. S. G. Mehdi,
1/15 Punjab Regiment,
23 A.B.P.O.

Lt. S G. Mehdi, had offered to donate, for the Muslim cause, twenty-six acres of land which was to be allotted to him by the Punjab Government as a sequel to the award of Military Cross to him for gallantry during World War II. See *SHC* (111). Not printed.

79

Gurbanta Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 930/21

SAIN DAS A. S. HIGH SCHOOL,
JULLUNDUR CITY,
25 August 1944

The following statement authenticated by the prominent leaders of the Scheduled Castes of the Punjab has been received by me:

The Raja Formula is against the interest of the depressed classes. This proposed partition of the country will spill [*sic*] the depressed classes of India into two parts and each part will be predominated by the majority community. These classes have already been much suppressed by the higher communities and now when these hope to heave a sigh of little relief, if Pakistanist [*sic*] thunderbolt is thrown upon these classes, it will go to crush these for ever. That is why all of us, with one voice, condemn the Raja Formula in the strongest possible terms and with regard to the forthcoming meeting of the Mahatma and the Quaid-i-Azam, we challenge both these leaders that no settlement arrived at by them will be acceptable to the *Achhuts* unless and until this settlement carries the sanction of our representatives because none else but our representatives is entitled to mould our future. This Formula is harmful to other minority communities only in the respective areas affected by it but it is totally harmful to the depressed classes throughout the country. We, the aborigines of India, will never tolerate the partition of our motherland and, even if something like this happens, people will see one-fourth of the country exclusively under the sway of the *Achhuts* and to get this end realized, every *Achhut* is quite prepared to sacrifice his all.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
GURBANTA SINGH
Member, Jullundur Dist. Board,
Manager and Editor, Ravidas Jaikara

80

Rashid A. Munshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/554

MUKHYE KATCHERI,
DEWAS STATE,
25 August 1944

INDUSTRIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CENTRES FOR LEAGUE

Respected Sir,

I am sorry I couldn't see you due to your varied activities.

Personally I am interested in industrial and education[al] drive for the Muslim masses.

The Congress has Wardha and Sevagram Centres for their industries and Hindus. It is a pity the League has none.

Since the Indian politics are [*sic*] in favour of partitioning and Pakistan, I should like to propose if we, as Leaguers, could have industrial centres and so educational ones.

It is my wish that this be run along and akin to Congress doings.

I have ready made schemes and suggestions for central, provincial and district industrial homes.

This would bring our doings in line with the Congress. Could you approve of my suggestions and establish industrial [and] educational centres as well.

A line from you would oblige.

Yours sincerely,
RASHID A. MUNSHI
B. Agriculture
Agricultural & Administrative Officer

81

A. Sattar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/62

GUNTUR,
25 August 1944

Sir,

The meeting of the Muslims of Guntur, under the auspices of

the Primary Muslim League, [was] held under the presidentship of *Janab* Gazi Ismail *Sahib* in Anjuman Prayer Hall at 5.30 p.m. on 25 August 1944. The following resolution had been unanimously passed:

> In view of the continuous and glorious victories of the Allies in all theatres of war, this meeting of the Muslims of Guntur urges upon the Government of India to arrange all possible facilities for the Muslim pilgrims (to Hijaz) for this year and thus satisfy the religious sentiments of the Muslim community of this country and at large [*sic*].

A. SATTAR KHAN
President, Primary Muslim League

82

M. A. Jinnah to Shaukat Hyat Khan

SHC, Punjab III/51

BOMBAY,
25 August 1944

Dear Shaukat Hyat,

I have received your letter of August 20th[1] along with certain papers, and I regret that I am unable to comply with your request, for I have told you from the very commencement, when I had an interview with you immediately after your dismissal, that I cannot act as your adviser, legal or otherwise. I defined my position at the Sialkot Punjab Muslim League Conference regarding the matter of your dismissal.[2] You are also aware that the Council of the All India Muslim League have expressed their views in a resolution[3] which was passed at its meeting at Lahore on July 30th. You can, therefore, very well understand my position, and I regret that I cannot undertake the responsibility of acting as your legal adviser or otherwise advocating your case, nor am I in a position to judge the question of your innocence or guilt without knowing the full facts and merits of the case which may be disclosed by both parties. It is, therefore, for you to fight out your case vis-a-vis the Governor, your Chief, and your colleagues in the Ministry, and vindicate your character before the public.

Many thanks for your kind enquiries. I am glad to tell you that I am much better now.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan,
98 Upper Mall,
Lahore

[1]No. 67.
[2]See Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Punjab M.L. Conference, 29 April 1944, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 476-7.
[3]Resolution No. 3 by Punjab M.L. Conference, 29 April 1944, ibid., 479-80.

83

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/8

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
26 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending you the cutting of a statement I gave to the press yesterday and which has come out in all English and Urdu papers. Khurshid Ali Khan is playing his usual dirty game and in his latest statement made an attack on you as well as on the Muslim League. This I could not tolerate, so I had to answer him. When Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was here last month, he particularly asked me to keep a look out for Khurshid Ali's statements and to answer him on behalf of the League. This time there was again a reflection on you, and I could not tolerate it.

Yours sincerely,
NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN

PS. I was very glad to know from your telegram[1] that you are much better now.

See *SHC*, Punjab I/7. Not printed

Enclosure to No. 83
SHC, Punjab I/9

RASHID ALI KHAN'S REJOINDER[1]

Insinuations Utterly Baseless

The following press statement has been given by Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, President, Lahore City Muslim League, and a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League:

"I have seen reported in the press a statement[2] by Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, one of those who never wish to see any communal settlement arrived [at] in this country and who always oppose any move calculated to solve the political deadlock and lead to salvation of this country. He is not at all happy about the coming talks between Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, and suddenly there has sprung up in his breast sympathy for other interests in this country.

He questions the motives and integrity of the two greatest Indian leaders. For anyone, particularly a Muslim, to doubt the integrity of character and honesty of purpose of Mr. Jinnah is indeed to stoop very low. There are suggestions about consulting representatives of Indian soldiers in solving the communal deadlock and there is again an insinuation against Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League that no help has been given in the war effort.

In answer to the first suggestion I have to say that we have the greatest admiration for Indian soldiers fighting for the cause of democracy and fair play in the world and for the safety of India. Their reward is marked for them and we would welcome it. At the end of the war they will receive gifts, land, pensions, decorations and various other benefits. But the soldier is above politics. His is a joint [*sic*] responsibility limited to the military field. In no democratic country are military representatives allowed to interfere, take part, or be consulted in political problems or shape policy, and India cannot be an exception.

In answer to the insinuation that Muslim Leaguers have not played their part in the war effort, I can say we treat this insinuation with contempt. I might remind Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan and others of his way of thinking that, in India in general and the Punjab in particular, a large number of office-holders and prominent members of the Muslim League have contributed large sums of money to war funds and have helped the war effort in several ways. In the Punjab there are many prominent members of the Muslim League whose near relatives are serving in the Army, and a few have been prisoners of war. These

insinuations are made with a view to discrediting the Muslim League. They are utterly baseless. The caravan goes on to its cherished goal."

[1]The *Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 August 1944.
[2]Not traceable.

84

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Azam

SHC, Hyderabad I/13

BOMBAY,
26 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 17th,[1] and I am glad to send you the following few words, as desired by you, in the shape of a Foreword[2] from me:

> I am very glad indeed that you are bringing out a second edition of the Urdu translation of Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*. Amongst the various works of Carlyle, I read this one in English when I was a student in England, and ever since I have held the Sage of Chelsea in great admiration. He has done a great service not only to the Musalmans but to the rest of the world in giving an impartial picture and the history of the life and career of our great Prophet [PBUH], and your venture to have a second edition of the Urdu translation is welcome, and I wish you every success.

I have received the Urdu translation you have sent to me, and I thank you for it.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohamed Azam, Esq.,
Lecturer, Urdu Department,
Osmania University,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No 61
[2]He thanked Jinnah for the Foreword. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/14 Not printed

85

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/36

BOMBAY,
26 August 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 23rd,[1] and thank you for it. I am glad to say that I am much better now, and in all probability I shall be able to see you in the first week of September. I shall wire to you the exact date a few days in advance, and I hope that this will be convenient to you.

Many thanks for your good wishes for my recovery.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahatma Gandhi,
Sevagram,
Wardha, C.P.

[1]No. 73.

86

Nadershah Cursetji Kias to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1058/14-5

PERSONAL

505 DARUWALLA BUILDING,
GIRGAUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
26 August 1944

Dear Sir,

You will perhaps remember that I had written two letters[1] to you, one at Delhi and the other in Bombay, in connection with the present-day Hindu Congress and you were good enough to send an acknowledgment[2] to me of the letter written in Bombay.

As every one knows a meeting has been arranged to take place between you and the Hindu Congress leader, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, for coming to some settlement between the Muslims and Hindus in order to break the deadlock. It is a matter of great surprise to all fair-minded people that there should at all be such a

meeting having regard to the bitter feelings which Mr. Gandhi and his Congress associates have [had] against the Muslims and other minorities for years together. Please remember what they did after coming into power for twenty-seven months. The question is what made Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalachari to seek the friendship of Muslims at this late hour. Apparently something is being done with ulterior motives behind the so-called generous spirit shown by these two persons together with their Hindu friends who are silently pulling the wires. The motives are:

(1) to set free their Hindu Congress brothers who are still in jails,

(2) to assume powers in provinces which they formerly represented,

(3) to indirectly induce the British Government to forget taking drastic action against Mr. Gandhi and his friends for inciting people to revolt etc., etc., as stated in the 80-page book called *Congress Responsibilities,* which Government got printed and circulated throughout India. Of course, Government has not thought fit to include in the book certain other grave charges against the Congress. There is no doubt that when Mr. Gandhi came to know of the result of revolt, etc., which was crushed by the Government with strong measures after his "Quit India" announcement, there was only one alternative for him and that is to take you [*sic*] his confidence and to destroy the fair name, regard and respect which the Government have for Muslims by putting them on important Government high posts in the Government of India and elsewhere, and

(4) if possible by Mr. Gandhi accepting all your terms about "Pakistan", etc., and making you giving [*sic*] vent to your temper against the British Government for not giving [*sic*] heed to your settlement and indirectly inducing you to use harsh words against the British Government which might excite the Muslims in such a way as to create a chaos in the country, you might be put to nasty trouble and annoyance and in an awkward position, in which Mr. Gandhi and his associates find themselves at present. In short, the whole programme of these persons is to ruin your fair name and honourable position. You can never understand the mind of a Hindu or a *Bania*. It is as subtle and deadly as that of a rattlesnake [*sic*]. According to them, you are guilty of snatching Hindu *Raj* from their hands. Please beware. Further, you will also have to show the consent of all minorities to your settlement with Mr. Gandhi which you will never be able to get. As you are aware, everything will have to be done after the war so far as India is concerned. Who knows what happens then? Why this unnecessary worry now, I don't understand? At the same time, please do not forget that a few months ago there was a plot hatched against you to wipe you out but which miserably failed by the grace of God.

May God bless you to fight the battle single-handed for the welfare of your community and other minorities. The only words I could use for the Hindu Congress guided by Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and his associates are "callous to the core".

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

Yours faithfully,
NADERSHAH C. KIAS

[1&2]Not traceable.

87

Ahmed Husain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/41

SERVER MANZIL,
PERUMAL CHETTY STREET,
VEPERY, MADRAS,
28 August 1944

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Hope this will find you in the best of your health.

A copy of my work, *Principles of Unani Medicine,* has been submitted to you by its publisher in a separate cover.

Knowing as you do how Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib in the prime of his effort at reviving *unani* medicine lost himself by turning a nationalist in good faith of the Gandhian type and shunned [*sic*] the progress of *unani.*

Ayurveda finds a place in the national life of Hindus whereas *unani* failed to progress due to neglect of Musalmans.

This is to request you to find time to go through this small book and if you are sufficiently convinced that *unani,* as science and art of healing, can still serve the people, you may include revival and encouragement of *unani* in the reconstruction programme of the League.

Yours sincerely,
AHMED HUSAIN

88

Resolutions by the Tea & Potato Growers Meeting

F. 905/107

OOTACAMUND,
28 August 1944

At a meeting of tea and potato growers, subjects relating to export of potatoes, tea, manure, etc., were discussed at length and the following resolutions were passed unanimously. Sri Rao Bahadur H.B. Ari Gowder, B.A., M.L.A., presided.

RESOLUTION 1

This meeting fully endorses His Excellency the Viceroy's recent pronouncement to the effect that it is not enough if the Congress and the Muslim League agree but that also the Hindus, the Muslims and other groups and minorities also [*sic*] should agree on the future constitution. In this connection, the meeting also desires to submit to the notice of the Government of India that, besides the depressed classes and other recognised minorities, there is a very large number of backward classes, including hill tribes all over India, whose views also should be taken and that in any enquiry that may be instituted thereon their representatives should be given an opportunity of making their representations.

RESOLUTION 2

This meeting urges the desirability of bringing about unity not only between the Hindus and the Muslims but also among all the communities of India on the basis of complete equality of status, proportionate representation of all communities with special consideration to the backward classes in the administration of the country not only under the future constitution but also under the present constitution.

89

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 98/37

WARDHAGANJ,
28 August 1944

Hope you had my letter[1] and your progress continues.

M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 73

90

M. Ishaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 967/40

JAMI'A MILLIA ISLAMIA,
JAMI'A NAGAR,
DELHI,
28 August 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Six leading professors of the Jami'a Millia Islamia, whose names are attached along with, have signed a joint statement regarding the forthcoming meeting between you and Mahatma Gandhi. A copy of the statement with the names of the signatories is enclosed.

Respects,

M. ISHAQ
B. A. (Jami'a)

Enclosure to No. 90

F. 967/41

STATEMENT BY JAMI'A MILLIA PROFESSORS

The forthcoming meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is such an historic event that its importance cannot be over-emphasised. It is a turning point in the history of Hindu-Muslim relations and offers us an opportunity to make a decisive shift in the national political situation. The whole people fervently

desires the meeting to succeed and we share the common hope that it will result in Congress-League unity and that both Hindus and Muslims will forge a united front against deadlock and famine and for national government based on the recognition of the right of self-determination for Muslims and other nationalities.

It is most urgent that the entire people must back up Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in their efforts to arrive at a Hindu-Muslim settlement based on self-determination. We firmly believe that through self-determination we can and must win our national government which alone will meet the needs of the people, both Hindus and Muslims, in the situation of today.

In the end, we make an earnest appeal to all patriotic sections of the people to create an atmosphere in which unity can be achieved. Let us unite to defeat the forces of disruption that are trying to prevent the building up of Congress-League united front.

SYED ABID HUSSAIN,
M. A., Ph.D.
M. MUJEEB
MUHAMMED ASLAM JAIRAJPURI
MUHAMMED AQIL
SALAMATULLAH
A. KALAM

91

M. Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, AIML/73

152 F MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
29 August 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the privilege to enclose[1] a copy of my article on the *Economic Problems of Pakistan* which was recently published in the *Eastern Times* of Lahore. It is rather elementary but has raised many important points which need your and League's serious consideration. I am asking the Muslim English dailies if they would let me initiate and participate in the discussion of these points; this would help to clarify the issues and enable the Planning Committee to arrive at correct conclusions.

I am a senior Professor of Economic Development and of Business Organisation at the University College, the Haily College of Commerce,

as it is called. I have been recently helping the Punjab Government in their programme of industrial survey of the province and I shall deem it my duty and privilege to render assistance to our common organisation.[2]

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
M. HASSAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah advised him to send his ideas to the Chairman of the Planning Committee See *SHC*, AIML/74. Not printed

92

Lakshmi Narayana to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102B/504

CHAH KAMAL, HAPUR,
DISTRICT MEERUT, U.P.,
29 August 1944

Respected Sir,

I am sending herewith to your honour one hundred questions[1] on the Pakistan problem. I have forwarded a copy to Mahatma Gandhi for perusal.

Kindly throw light on these questions and oblige.

I am,

Yours sincerely,
LAKSHMI NARAYANA
MLC
Ex-Parliamentary Secretary, U. P.

[1]Repetitive and hypothetical questions have been omitted and others renumbered in consequence

Enclosure to No. 92

F. 1102B/505-20

QUESTIONS ON THE PAKISTAN PROBLEM

1. Is it the religion alone that determines a nation?
2. Are the Muslims in the world, the Turks, the Arabs, the Egyptians, the Persians, etc... one nation?
3. Are non-Muslims in India all one nation, or there are as many nations in India as religious communities or groups there are in it?

4. Does nationality of a person change with the change in his religion?

5. Will the Pakistan consist of one nation or two nations, Pakistan Muslims and Pakistan Hindus, also will the Hindu India consist of one nation or two nations, Hindu India Hindus and Hindu India Muslims?

6. Have Hindus and Muslims nothing in common that goes to make up a nation?... Are not the economic problems of the Hindus and the Muslims in India mostly in common? Do not the national calamities, famine, flood, pestilence and the foreign subjection affect them both in the same manner?

7. Have not the renowned historians, the distinguished travellers and the foreigners treated Indians in India and outside India as one nation?

8. Did not Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Maulana Mohammad Ali, hold Indians to be one nation, and do not Maulana Hussain Ahmed, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah Khan, Maulana Habibur Rahman, the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama, Ahrars, Momins, Khaksars, Krishak Praja Party and the Muslim Majlis, hold Indians to be one nation?

9. Will the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in Hindu India enjoy rights and privileges of a nationality or of a minority?

10. Does a religious minority, in any region in a country, if it attains religious majority in that region, attain the right of secession from that country or not?

11. What is the philological significance of the word Pakistan? What Islamic sanction is behind it and what practical conception does it convey?

12. Can the Hyderabad State with the Hindu majority population with a Muslim ruler be called Pakistan, or can the Kashmir State with the Muslim majority population and with a Hindu ruler be called Pakistan or none of them till they are independent units?

13. As Pakistan will not be a contiguous unit, shall there be a confederation of Pakistan in India? How will they be politically and economically related with each other and with Hindu India?

14. Shall the Sikhs in the region where they, along with other non-Muslims, are in majority have Sikhisthan?

15. Can a Muslim majority province, region or state, with the majority of the total population of the province, region or state or with the majority of the Muslim population of the province, region or state refuse to join with Pakistan and join with Hindu India?

16. Why do Muslims in Muslim majority regions in China and in Russia not, like Muslim League in India, attempt to create Pakistan in China and Russia.... Is it not because in those countries there is none to

divide them?

17. Will not the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindu India disintegrate the Muslims and the Hindus of India by further sub-dividing them into Muslims of Pakistan and Muslims of Hindu India and into Hindus of Pakistan and Hindus of Hindu India?

18. Does not the Muslim League in India stand for the democratic form of government in India? Shall it adopt democratic form of government in Pakistan, and if not, shall the form of Govt. in Pakistan, at centre and provinces, be theocratic totalitarianism?

19. Shall the constitution of Pakistan be framed by the constituent assembly of Pakistan... or by the Muslims of Pakistan or by the Muslims of India?

20. Are not joint electorate and joint representation the basis of democracy and separate electorate and separate representation the negation of democracy?

21. Will the population basis for services, civil and military, for Muslims and non-Muslims in Pakistan, at centre and in provinces, be acceptable to the Muslim League in Pakistan?

22. Will the Muslims of Hindu India demand any weightage or safeguards in legislature and services? If they would, what shall it be?

23. What will be the means of communication between the N[orth] W[est] and N[orth] E[ast] Pakistan, as they are not contiguous and as the eastern Bengal shall have no seaport, Calcutta being situated in the Hindu majority western Bengal region?

24. What shall be the seat of Government of Pakistan? Will it lie in N.E. or in N.W. Pakistan or will it be rotating to both?

25. Does the Muslim League mean to forgo the demand of Pakistan if, under the present constitution, Muslims in India are... granted representation equal to non-Muslims in central legislature, or shall they further claim equal representation in services, at centre, civil and military, or not?

26. Shall on the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindu India, all those persons that at present serve the Central Government in various central departments, civil and military, including all the imperial services, be divided into those attached to Pakistan and those attached to Hindu India?

27. Shall all those institutions, associations, organisations or concerns, that have been established at different places in India from an all-India standpoint and are supported by all-India central funds, on the partition of India lose their all-India standing and character? Shall similar institutions, associations, organisations or concerns be established in Pakistan and Hindu India from Pakistan and Hindu India standpoint, and be supported only from the Pakistan and Hindu India funds?

28. What shall be the basis of apportioning the Govt. of India credit and liabilities between Pakistan and Hindu India Governments?

29. In case there is a difference between Pakistan and Hindu India on those points, shall it be referred to the British Government, if not, how shall it be settled?

30. Shall, after the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindu India, there remain no communal or religious differences between the Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan and in Hindu India?

31. Could the British rulers in India quit quicker if the Hindus and Muslims unite or if the Hindus and Muslims divide?

32. Cannot the position of the Muslim League be summed up as Pakistan first, independence or no independence and the position of the Muslim nationalists as independence first, Pakistan or no Pakistan.

33. Shall the Muslim League flag be the flag of Pakistan or shall the Hindus of Pakistan have also a place on the flag of Pakistan or not?

34. Will Muslim culture, Muslim learning, Muslim language, Muslim historic monuments, and Muslim interests in Hindu India, with ten per cent Muslims, be more safe than they are at present in India, with twenty-five per cent Muslims?

35. Are not the sufferings of Hindu-Muslim masses in India 99 per cent due to foreign domination and hardly 1 per cent on account of each other's making?

36. Does the Muslim League contemplate any movement against the British Government for the attainment of Pakistan and put a brake to the independence movement in India, till Pakistan is attained?

37. Is the establishment of Pakistan necessary according to those Muslims who dream of Muslim rule in India or those Muslims who fear Hindu rule in India?

38. In case the Two-Nation Theory is conceded and Muslims in India on its basis achieve equal representation at Centre, does the Muslim League propose to forgo the Pakistan demand?

39. If Pakistan is established, will the Muslim League on Two-Nation Theory not further extend claim to equal representation for Muslims at Centre in Hindu India?

40. Will independent India, without Pakistan, help or not help the lot of the Middle East Muslim countries?

41. Will it be acceptable to the Muslim League, if the Hindu-Muslim question or the Pakistan problem, is referred to an arbitration board, constituted of representatives of independent Muslim countries?

LAKSHMI NARAYANA

93

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/41
[Original in Gujarati]

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA, C.P.,
29 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

I received your letter.[1] Since I had received no telegram, or letter in the following mail, I got worried and sent you a telegram.[2] Then I received your reply. Thank God you are now well. I am glad.

I have fixed my engagements till 7 September, and shall have no meetings after that. Therefore, I shall come over whenever you invite me, for the 9th or thereafter.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 85.
[2]No. 89.

94

Richard Tottenham to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc I/59

HOME DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
29 August 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of August 15th[1] which we received a few days ago through Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. We are glad to have our own reading of your speech confirmed by you and to know that the interpretation of the *Hindustan Times* was incorrect. That newspaper, however, has not taken the matter further, nor, so far as we know, has the point been pursued in other quarters. We do not think, therefore, that any further action is necessary at present.

Yours sincerely,
R. TOTTENHAM

[1]No. 51.

95

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/4

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
30 August 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

Under the last para of my letter to you on Sind affairs, dated the 6th of August,[1] I sent to you a copy of my letter[2] to Mr. Hoshang Dinshaw regarding your Lahore speech. I enclose herewith Hoshang's reply[3] with the Editor's explanation, just received. These may please be returned as Hoshang has called back his Editor's letter and I also want to deal further with the matter.

A copy of my letter dated the 26th instant[4] to Professor Haleem was also sent to you the next day for your information.

A fortnight ago, a Hindu friend of mine came to see me. He is a prominent Sindhi Congressman and was with Gandhi at Panchgani. The latter had entrusted him with the job of securing Sindh Congress support to the C.R. Formula, which he has successfully done. This friend was in jail for nearly two years, and so we sat down for a long chat. Three titbits of what he said I pass on to you:

i. Gandhi is weighed down horribly by the realization of the failure of his life-long mission of non-violence.
ii. He is, on the other hand, tremendously impressed by the consistent and uniform discipline which the Muslims showed in maintaining strict neutrality during the period when his open rebellion was launched, and was being carried out. He himself had feared serious Hindu-Muslim clashes.
iii. The consensus of opinion tendered to Gandhi by his co-workers is that he should ask you to support the release of the detained Congress leaders. This should be pressed as a preliminary first step and only when you have done so and the Working Committee released, should the rest of the steps be considered. The old man apparently does not want to heed their advice.

Trust this finds you in improved health.

May God restore you to your normal health, is our daily prayer,

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]No. 13.
[2]Enclosure to No. 13.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]See *SHC*, AIML/72. Not printed.

96

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/65

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
30 August 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On my arrival, I had a long talk with Sir Nazimuddin on the lines laid down. He has assured me of prompt attention.

When I last saw you I forgot to tell you that the young man, whose rice purchases in Bareilly (U.P.) were confiscated by the Government on the order of the trying Magistrate, received notice from the U.P. Government, after the judgment of the Sessions Judge, that he would receive payment from that Government for the full value of the rice seized and declared forfeited to it. The amount was paid to him long ago. So, the persecution and prosecution ended with a fine for what the Sessions Judge called a *bona fide* technical breach of the Food Order.

I trust you have fully recovered from your recent indisposition.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

97

M. A. Jinnah to M . K. Gandhi

Telegram, F. 98/38

30 August 1944

Your telegram.[1] Hope you have received letter of August twenty sixth.[2] Shall be glad meet you seventh September if convenient to you

or any day thereafter. Please let me know.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 89.
[2]No. 85.

98

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/40
[*Original in Gujarati*]

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA, C. P.,
31 August 1944

Brother Jinnah,

Thanks for your telegram.[1] You will have received my letter of the 29th[2] by now. I had stated therein that I had fixed my appointments [for] up to 7 September. Therefore, I shall be able to leave on 8 September and arrive there on 9th September. Kindly let me know if that day suits you.

Your brother,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 97.
[2]No. 93.

99

K. Rangarajam to Evan Jenkins
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Non-Muslims I/46

RUKMANI BUILDINGS,
MAMBALAM WEST, MADRAS,
31 August 1944

THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Sir,

I thank you for your letter of the 21st instant[1] acknowledging receipt of the above paper and I sincerely hope that you will kindly place the same before H.E. the Viceroy.

Modern politicians, both Indian and European, know only the

westerner's version of Indian history and had taken for granted that western institutions and modes of government represented the acme of perfection. Messrs Gandhi, Jinnah and Nehru are western products and they could not represent true Indian culture or its civilization which they know only second-hand through the writings of their foreign teachers, which they had studied and had accepted as gospel truth.

There is no communal problem in India, since each community is a part, and an essential part, of a whole living organism which is Indian society. No community could function by itself without the help of other communities. It is clearly based on a division of labour. The higher castes were never in any period of history given power over the lower castes to requisition their services without their consent or without paying for their services. Social degradation is not slavery, since even in Great Britain, the chimney sweeper does not hold the same status as that of the merchant, or the merchant as that of the aristocrat.

The main problem before India is not the communal problem, but the problem of communal leaders. They come in their Rolls Royce having no necessity to work for their living and create communal discord through the medium of their lectures. It is the poor misguided people that suffer, since in case of communal riots these so-called leaders take care to be as far away from the scene as possible. I cannot understand why the Government should take upon itself the duty of restoring order, and allow these gentlemen to take a holiday during that period. They should be brought to the scene of the riots and punished if they fail to stop the riots. The lives of innocent people are certainly much more precious than those of these comfortable [*sic*] and irresponsible leaders.

The popularity of a communal leader could not be judged from the crowds he is able to collect. Alien rule and the knowledge that there was somebody above to set matters right, created irresponsibility and any bravado could collect immense crowds, if only to disturb the ordinarily placid and uninteresting atmosphere of Indian political life.

The activities of the lawyer class should be restricted since they had developed their intellect at the expense of character (I concede that there may be exceptions), defended God or the Devil, according to as to who paid them, made money out of human discord and the inharmonious [*sic*] in human nature, and had brought the conception of plaintiff and defendant even in administration where there could be only one party, the party to the good of the people. The future peace of the world depends upon eliminating from the political and judicial fields, this super-intellectual tribe who should of course be at perfect liberty to give free advice to the people.

The conception that a government should be only an amplified

family and not a hunting ground for ambitious and often unscrupulous politicians in search of power over the common people, should be brought home to every Indian. We want back a scion of the Moghul emperor who carried both Hindu and Muslim blood in his veins. If this is not possible, an emperor may be selected from the English royal family, who was willing to stay in India and become an Indian.

Political war is invariably followed by an economic war, and to ensure international peace, the first step should be to see that each country manufactured only that amount of goods required for its own consumption and such extra goods were required to send outside its borders for being exchanged into goods that could not be produced within the country itself and which were necessary. All import and export duties may be done away with. Industrialisation is mere moonshine, since this will lead only to further fierce competition and ultimate catastrophe.

Machine industries, where the object was to save labour, should be under the direct supervision and control of the Government so that these did not unhealthily compete with the manual worker. Any saving in labour should benefit the workmen and not the clique who were at the top. Workmen should have spare time for cultural pursuit and should not be treated merely as wage-earners to provide food for themselves and their families. Hygienic conditions for factory workers do not proceed from humanitarian motives. It is the realisation of the factory owner that a healthy man like the perfect machine meant more production and less cost.

Government duties should as far as possible be done by honorary workers, and where necessary should be paid salaries consistent with the economic level of the general population. To avoid envy and bad blood among the various communities, the salaries between the highest paid and the lowest should not exceed the proportion of about 5 to 1. If a clerk gets Rs. 40 a minister need not be paid a higher salary than Rs. 200. If he grumbles, he is a self-seeker and does not deserve to be a minister.

All western systems of government treat man simply as a food and comfort-seeking animal in a competitive world where the prevailing religion was Darwinism or the survival of the fittest. I treat him as a human being with a higher purpose in life and not exactly a brute.

I sincerely hope that you will study my paper. I hate this publicity business which I consider a trick of exploitation. If my paper is good, well let it commend itself; if it is bad, let it go to oblivion. In either case, my personality does not count.

Yours sincerely,
K. RANGARAJAM

100

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Ali Zaheer

SHC (127)

BOMBAY,
31 August 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 25th,[1] and I regret I cannot discuss the points raised by you through and by means of correspondence. I enclose herewith[2] a copy of a press report of my interview with a deputation of the Shias of the Punjab, dated March 30th, for your information. I am confident that the majority of Shias are with the Muslim League, and such of them as are still outside the League under some sort of misapprehension, are in my opinion unwise in not joining the Muslim League without any reservation in the interests of the Shias as well as of Muslim India generally. The Muslim League stands for justice and fair play, and will always stand for these fundamental principles, and there is no need for the Shias to think that they will not be justly treated by the All India Muslim League. I think it is a great disservice to the Muslim cause to create any kind of division between the Musalmans of India as I do not see any real cause or occasion for it. Our organization is now in a position to mete out justice to every individual and recognise the merits wherever we have any voice or power to do so, and as time goes on it will grow more and more in that direction. The Muslim League cannot recognise any other Muslim political organisation. Besides, most of the points that you have raised are matters for the Musalmans themselves to deal with internally, and some of them are totally irrelevant and are raised under a misapprehension and not in accordance with facts.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Ali Zaheer, Esq.,
23 Outram Road, Lucknow

No. 587, Vol. X, 595-7.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 445-6. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 100

JINNAH RECEIVES SHIA DEPUTATION[1]

Lahore, March 30: A deputation of the Shias of the Punjab consisting of Nawabzada Muzaffar Ali Khan, MLA, President of the Punjab Shia Political Conference; Khan Bahadur Karamat Ali, MLA; Khan Bahadur Zakir Hussain, MLA, and Shia 'Ulama waited on Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the residence of the Nawab of Mamdot and assured him that the Shia community of the Punjab would cooperate with the Muslim League and would not hesitate to make any sacrifice for the achievement of Pakistan.

The deputationists placed before Mr. Jinnah their views about safeguards for Shias in the proposed Pakistan State. Mr. Jinnah said that the first and basic principle of the constitution of Pakistan would be "freedom for all religions." The constitution of Pakistan would be framed on democratic lines and all religions would have perfect freedom. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that unity among Muslims and complete toleration was an essential condition precedent to the achievement of Pakistan. So long as this condition was not fulfilled they were not fit to get Pakistan, he added.—API

[1] See *Star of India*, 31 March 1944.

101

Report of the Committee of Action for the period February to July 1944

SHC (97)

[Undated] August 1944

The Committee of Action set up under Resolution No. 1[1] passed at the annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Karachi in December 1943, held their first meeting at Lahore on the second of February 1944.

It is about six months since and the Committee have so far met half a dozen times at different places—thrice at Lahore, twice at Delhi and once at Abbottabad.

During this period of six months, the members of the Committee visited, on behalf of the Committee, all the provinces of northern India barring U.P., namely Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Delhi, Punjab and NWFP, with a view to gaining first-hand knowledge and enabling the Committee to adopt effective measures for strengthening and consolidating the League organization.

Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib and Nawab Sahib of Mamdot were

deputed to visit Assam and Bengal and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib was deputed to visit Bihar in the beginning of April last. The Chairman, the Convenor and Haji Sattar Sait Sahib were deputed by the Committee to settle the local disputes of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League and to have fresh election, etc., held under their own management and supervision which was accomplished with very satisfactory results.

In the Punjab, the Committee assembled thrice, took disciplinary action[2] against Hon'ble Malik Khizar Hayat who had issued a statement[3] offensive to the fundamental principles and the aims and objects of the All India Muslim League. The Committee have also opened, as a temporary measure, their branch office at Lahore to watch and guide the activities of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League in view of the special circumstances arising out of the disruptive and destructive campaign started by a group of the so-called Unionist Musalmans.

The Committee made an extensive tour of the NWFP, in the last two weeks of June, visited all the six districts of the province, even the rural areas, and collected fullest information as to the real state of affairs in the province so far as the League organization and League Ministry were concerned.

They have found it necessary to overhaul the entire structure of the League organization in the province and place it on a sound basis. For this purpose they have deputed Qazi Mohammad Isa Sahib to take charge of the work of re-organization and have given him necessary instructions and powers.

The Committee have, during this short span of six months, taken the following specific measures for the constitution of Provincial League Organization:

1. A model constitution[4] for Provincial Muslim League has been drafted and circulated to the various provinces for comments. On receipt of these comments, the model constitution shall, after necessary amendments, be given a final shape and enforced in all the provinces with a view to achieving uniformity of constitution and procedure in all the Provincial Leagues.
2. A uniform procedure has been drawn up for the enrolment of primary members and election of office-bearers and representatives, etc., in all the provinces, and instructions[5] to this effect have been issued to all Provincial Leagues.
3. A Sub-Committee has been formed to recommend possible and appropriate measures for infusing true Islamic spirit among Musalmans and for removing un-Islamic customs and ideas which have crept into the Muslim society. Mr. G. M. Sayed, the

Convenor of this Sub-Committee, has collected comprehensive information in this connection and intends to convene a meeting of the Sub-Committee in the near future.

4. Haji Sattar Sait Sahib, one of the members of the Committee, was deputed to draw up a questionnaire, which was finally approved and issued by the Committee for collecting necessary facts and figures regarding trade, industry and occupational unions among Musalmans so that an effective scheme may be formulated for implementation by the various Provincial Leagues. Replies to this questionnaire are still coming from various parts of India and the Committee now proposes to take up the work of formulating the said scheme in the near future.
5. Another Sub-Committee was set up to draft a constitution for the All India Muslim League National Guards. The draft was examined and finally approved by the Committee after necessary amendments. Nawab Saddique Ali Khan Sahib, who was appointed as *Salar-i-A'ala,* has so far toured eight provinces where he has appointed Sub-Salars and initiated genuine efforts for running the Guards organization in accordance with the new constitution and rules. A *Majlis-i-A'ala* has also been appointed to assist the *Salar-i-A'ala* in his work .
6. The Committee have appointed Syed Zakir Ali Sahib, a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, to inspect the affairs of the Provincial Leagues and to submit reports showing the actual state of affairs of the offices in particular, and of the entire organization in general, and suggesting effective measures for their improvement. He has so far inspected the offices of the Provincial League in Bihar, U.P., Ajmer, Punjab and NWFP and was recently deputed to visit Orissa with a view to forming a Provincial League in that province. His report about Orissa is awaited.
7. An Education Committee, with the following terms of reference, was set up in March and it has held a number of meetings at Aligarh and has appointed various Sub-Committees and an Advisory Committee of experts in respect to the different stages and branches of education, e.g. primary and secondary education, higher education, scientific and technical education, teachers training and cultural education.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

To examine the system of education in vogue in India, taking into consideration the existing conditions and problems as well as those which are likely to arise after the war, to make such

recommendations as are necessary for the preservation, fostering and promotion of Islamic traditions, culture and ideals, and the general well-being of the Muslim nation and to suggest ways and means for implementing the recommendations in various parts of India. The recommendations are to cover education in all stages and aspects, namely primary, secondary and higher education.

8. A Writers Committee has also been set up with a view to coordinating the efforts of Muslim writers and authors according to a suitable plan in keeping with the aims and objects of the League of obtaining from them for publication [of] articles and booklets on social, cultural, emotional, political and other matters with special reference to the needs and ideology of Musalmans. Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, the Convenor of the Committee, has taken some preliminary steps for starting the work and it is expected that the Committee will begin functioning very shortly.
9. A Committee consisting of four Muslim MLAs (Central) has been set up with Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan Sahib as Convenor, to watch the rights and interests of Musalmans in Government services and take such feasible and appropriate measures as it may deem necessary and to get the legitimate grievances of Musalmans redressed and secure for them their due share in services. All the Provincial Leagues have been instructed to set up similar committees consisting of Provincial MLAs in each province.
10. The work of the All India Muslim League Civil Defence Committee has been taken over by the Committee of Action and all the Provincial Civil Defence Committees have been instructed to make a systematic drive to do all that is humanly possible for ensuring the safety of life, honour and property of the people and for mitigating their hardships which they have or may have to face due to the war conditions and also for safeguarding the interests of Musalmans in regard to the rationing and food procurement scheme.
11. A scheme for workers training camp is under the consideration of the Committee and views and suggestions have been invited in this connection from the various Provincial Leagues. As soon as the replies are received, the Committee intend to work out a scheme and see that it is implemented by the Provincial Leagues.
12. The Committee of Action met the Executive of the All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee, and after prolonged discussion over the role and status of the Women's Sub-Committee and their programme of work, have issued necessary instructions to the Provincial Leagues.
13. The Committee have instructed all the Provincial, District, City

Leagues to open libraries at their headquarters where suitable literature is proposed to be supplied by the central office on concessional rates.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 680.
[2]Ibid., 814-6.
[3]Ibid., 798-807.
[4&5]Not traceable

102

Draft Resolution for the All Muslim Parties Conference

F. 139/6-7

[*Undated*] *August 1944*

The following resolution is for the consideration of the All-Muslim Parties Conference to be held on the 17th and 18th of August, 1944, and called by the Muslim Majlis at Delhi.

RESOLUTION

Whereas it is essential to secure the transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India to Indians, and whereas this object cannot be achieved without political unity among various communities inhabiting this country, the following proposals are presented for the consideration of all the parties interested in the solution of the Indian deadlock.

a. Irrespective of the present provincial boundaries, geographically contiguous areas of British India shall be demarcated into states on the following principles:
   i. the regions in which the population of Hindus, Muslims or any other community is 65 per cent or more shall be demarcated into states;
   ii. each state shall be nearly as big as a province of moderate size and shall be self-supporting;
   iii. there must be language [*sic*] and cultural affinity in the areas so demarcated into states;
   iv. each state shall have reasonable facilities necessary for the proper development of its trade and industries, e.g. by fixing quotas in mines and mineral products, etc.
b. The states so demarcated shall be autonomous and sovereign in character.
c. Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in such states for the

protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them. And among other measures adopted to give effect to this policy of protection, areas shall be reserved in each state where such minorities may locate their national and religious institutions and have an opportunity to develop their culture in accordance with their ideals.

d. Consequent on the above demarcation of British India into autonomous and independent states, separate electorates and wieghtage, at present enjoyed by certain communities, will be abolished and the system of territorial representation with joint and mixed electorates and representation of seats on population basis shall be introduced in these states.
e. There shall be a federation of all autonomous and independent states as constituted under these proposals.

And irrespective of population proportions

either

the Centre shall consist of:

i. Hindu members (including representatives of Hindu Sch[eduled] Castes)	45 per cent
ii. Muslim members	45 per cent
iii. Members of other minorities (Sikhs, Aboriginals, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, etc.)	10 per cent

or

the electorate should be so manipulated as to ensure an equality of voting strength as between Hindus and Muslims in the constituencies which would send representatives to the Centre.

f. The language and script of each state shall be the language and script of the majority community of such state.
g. Every federating state shall have a right of secession exercisable by means of the plebiscite of all the inhabitants of such state held on the basis of adult suffrage.
h. All transfer of power shall be from Parliament to states and no subject shall be made federal without the consent of autonomous units.
i. The constitution will provide for the appointment of a permanent commission to facilitate migration of minorities inhabiting these states to their majority areas if such minorities so desire and to assess compensation to be awarded to them.

S. TUFAIL AHMAD
Member, Working Committee, Muslim Majlis

103

M. A. Jinnah to I. I. Hazaree

SHC, FC II/22

BOMBAY,
1 September 1944

Dear Mr. Hazaree,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] enclosing a bank draft for Rs. 748-4-0 and thank you for it. Will you please convey my thanks to Mr. Ahmed Saley Mayet and Mr. Ismail Fakir Seedat, whose initiative and zeal resulted in the collection of this handsome amount? As desired, the amount will be credited to the All India Muslim League Fund.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

I. I. Hazaree, Esq.,
Hon. Secretary,
Transvaal Muslim League,
Transvaal, South Africa

[1]See *SHC*, FC II/21. Not printed.

104

Syed Arjumand Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/300-1

VILLAGE SYEDPUR,
P.O. JAGANNATHPUR,
DIST. SYLHET, ASSAM,
1 September 1944

Hon'ble Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very much anxious to know the aims and objects, policy, programme, activities and the like of the All India Muslim League, but owing to extreme financial stringency I could not enrol my name as a member of the Home Study Circle so long. But, fortunately, now I have been able to save five rupees which I am remitting to you herewith in order that you may enlist me as a regular subscriber of the aforesaid Circle. During membership, I wish to have all the publications meant

for free distribution among the members, and, in addition, all the speeches delivered by you, beginning from 1940 (Lahore Session) to the present day—not excluding even the ensuing unity talks between your honour and Mahatma Gandhi. In fine, I pray to you, Sir, kindly to allow me the concession of having the aforesaid speeches gratis, in addition to the free publications due on membership. Hope you will kindly do me the service and oblige.

I hope you have recovered your health by this time by the grace of the Almighty.

May God grant you a long and prosperous life so that you may lead the valiant Muslim juvenile forces of India victorious to the goal of Pakistan in [the] near future.[1]

Praying [for] the favour of your condoning the mistakes and other foibles, if any.

With *salaam,* and thanking you in anticipation,

Adieu!

Yours most obediently,
SYED ARJUMAND ALI
A third-year student of M.C. College

[1]Next para which showed his address omitted.

105

K. Ranga Rao to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/522-3

KISTNA,
ANDHRA,
2 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Congressmen and other people including Musalmans, are all supporting you and Mahatma Gandhiji in your endeavours to bridge the gulf between us. We have the respect to [*sic*] you and we have confidence that you will both surely come to a settlement.

But just [as] a son appeals to his father, we are appealing [to] you that without a pact between you, there will be no freedom to [*sic*] us. We are all supporting the Muslim demand.

We believe the pact between you and Mahatma is a bombshell to

British imperialism and a great boon to Hindus and Muslims. Without this pact we cannot gain Hindustan or Pakistan.

This time, if we fail to reach a settlement, then we are unfit for *Swaraj* and we must be slaves for ever. So we request you to see [*sic*] in all ways to reach a settlement. We are sure that after a settlement with Gandhiji, you and Mahatma can settle with Sikhs and other minorities in Hindustan or Pakistan. Dear Jinnah Sahib, we all are supporting you and wish you both success—long live Hindu-Muslim unity.

Down with British imperialism. Long live Azad Pakistan and Hindustan.

Yours,
K. RANGA RAO

106

Jagdish Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 930/44

PESHAWAR,
3 September 1944

ANTI-RAJA[JI] FORMULA DAY

While celebrating the Anti-Raja[ji] Formula Day, the following resolutions were passed at the general meeting of the Modern Sikh Federation, Peshawar:

i. We condemn strongly Mr. Rajagopalacharia's Formula which is approved by Mr. Gandhi, as it crushes absolutely the interests of such an important minority of India like the Sikhs.
ii. We have complete faith in the leadership of Sharomani Akali Dal, the only representative body of the Sikhs in India. We fully authorize Master Tara Singh to negotiate with other parties to safeguard the interests of the Sikhs.
iii. We declare that none except Sharomani Akali Dal has the right to represent Sikhs whether it may [*sic*] be Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah.

JAGDISH SINGH
President,
Modern Sikh Federation, Peshawar

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Gurdit Singh to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 1102/524

PESHAWAR,
3 September 1944

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sikhs of Peshawar in their big gathering held in Gurdwara Shriman Bhai Joga Singh Ji, Peshawar City, on Sunday the 3rd September 1944:

> The Sikhs of Peshawar have received great shock to read the [*sic*] Rajagopalacharia's Formula. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi has endorsed this Formula has created a great disappointment and unrest among the Sikh circles. According to this Formula, India will be divided into two communal zones, one part will be ruled by the Hindu majority and the other by the Muslims. The Sikh community has always stood against such a communal *raj*.

Today we are celebrating this *panthic* day to declare that we would sacrifice our all to fail [*sic*] this anti-national Formula.

GURDIT SINGH
President,
Gurdwara Committee Shriman Bhai Joga Singh

108

Ahmedmia Sarumia Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/303-5

JAMALPUR ROAD,
AHMEDABAD,
3 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you will excuse me for my impudence in writing to you on constitutional matters. I am a staunch Leaguer and am always prepared to obey any of your orders. We know that you are the only Muslim God has given to the Muslim nation as its saviour.

Rajaji's offer and Mr. Gandhi's indirect consent to it may only be a ruse under the present circumstances. He has been trying to woo two lovers at a time. But in case he is serious, and you are the best and the

only judge to conceive Muslim demands, you may kindly consider the following suggestions on the question of plebiscite:

After the zones are demarcated, not district-wise but province-wise, we may agree to the joint plebiscite on the condition that:

a. After plebiscite if Pakistanists [*sic*] are in majority, the issue remains settled.
b. If non-Pakistanists [*sic*] are in majority, all Muslim votes from both the sides may be counted.
c. Yourself and Mr. Gandhi may fix a definite percentage from these Muslim votes for the purpose of seceding.
d. If that percentage of Muslim votes is reached, the issue then remains settled for Pakistan.

We are all, no doubt, for self-determination of Muslims only. But this is a via media having Muslim self-determination as its ultimate object.

These are humble suggestions from your loyal follower who is prepared to sacrifice his all at your command.

May the Almighty bestow all His favours on you, the only saviour of the great Muslim nation. We pray to Him that you may always be hale and hearty.

Your humble follower,
A. S. SHAIKH
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader

109

Kulukund Shivrao to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/112-3

MANGALORE,
4 September 1944

Dear Sir,

I am forwarding herewith a copy of the resolution passed unanimously at a public meeting on the 3rd, organized by the local Communist Party and presided over by me.

Yours truly,
KULUKUND SHIVRAO

RESOLUTION[1]

This meeting of the Mangalore citizens is of opinion that Congress-League unity is the only way out of the political deadlock that has

been in existence for more than two years now and that Congress-League unity only will enable the formation of an all representative national Government to fight foreign aggression, famine and disease.

We fully support the efforts of Gandhiji to establish a united national front by agreeing to the principle of Muslim self-determination.

We pledge our whole-hearted support to Gandhiji and Jinnah in their efforts to come to an agreement.

[1]Copy sent to M. K. Gandhi.

110

Shabbir Hussain Bukhari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/310

ISHRAT MANZIL,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
4 September 1944

Hazoor Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank God that you [have] recouped the health. I welcome your interview with Gandhiji. May your both leaders' interview be profitable for the cause of freedom of India and attaining Pakistan. My heartly pray [*sic*] is with you.

SHABBIR HUSSAIN BUKHARI
Secretary,
Gurdaspur District Shia Conference

111

M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/135

5 MANSINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
4 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am coming to Bombay on the morning of the 10th September,[1] after visiting Surat and Ahmedabad *en route*. I shall be at Bombay till

the afternoon of the 15th, and I am anxious to meet you one of these days convenient to you to discuss one or two very important points in connection with the question of scientific and industrial researches among the Muslims about which a scheme has just been drafted by a non-official committee. There are also one or two other matters which I would like to take the occasion to discuss with you. I shall try to put myself in telephonic touch with you on my arrival.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQUE
Member of [the Viceroy's] Executive Council for Commerce, Industries & Civil Supplies

[1]See No. 145.

112

M. H. Saiyid to Ghulam Qadir

F. 878/309

BOMBAY,
4 September 1944

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah desires me to thank you for your letter of August 27.[1] By the grace of God he is fully recovered now and is quite alright.

Mr. Jinnah had promised the authorities of the *Yatimkhana* to send 500 rupees for the institution, but he is sorry that he could not do it earlier. I shall, therefore, request you to let me know the address of the gentleman in whose name the accounts of the *Yatimkhana* stand so that Mr. Jinnah may be able to send you the promised sum of Rs. 500, as soon as possible.[2]

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. H. SAIYID

Raja Ghulam Qadir, Esq.,
Muhtamim,
Yatimkhana wa Madrassa,
Anjuman Faizul-Islam,
Rawalpindi

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 146, note 2.

113

Miss Nora Roy to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (130)

URGENT

ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE,
LUCKNOW,
5 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am negotiating the publication of a book in the U.S.A. in which I have referred to the Muslim League and Pakistan. Now I feel I should give a fuller account of the League's history, including its services to the masses of the community and the case for Pakistan from the Muslims' point of view. Like everyone else I can think of no one but yourself as the authority on it.

I am aware that it is a very big thing to ask of a busy person like you, but would it be possible for you to contribute such an account?[1]

Since my MSS. has already reached the U.S.A. and some time must be allowed for censorship, I should be grateful to receive it at an early date. Also, since the material will have to be sent by air mail, may I request that you instruct your secretary to type it on very thin paper. And would you mind signing the article so that, in case it seems best to insert it as a part of the appendix instead of working it in with my own comments, it may be printed above [*sic*] your name.

I hope it will be possible for you to spare some time for this contribution to enable me to make a correct interpretation of the League's aims. A broad outline of its history and work and a simple but lucid explanation of Pakistan would meet the needs of the public there. If it is in order, the inclusion of the trend of your coming talks with Mr. Gandhi would bring it up to date and be greatly appreciated.

Will you kindly send me written permission to use your contribution for my book in any form it seems most suitable?

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
MISS NORA ROY

[PS.] The account may be between two to three thousand words.

[1]Jinnah regretted his inability to comply with her request but advised her to contact Liaquat Ali Khan for obtaining material relating to AIML. See *SHC* (133). Not printed.

114

B. C. Ghosh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/70

95 KESHUB CHUNDER SEN STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

In pursuance of a resolution unanimously adopted at a conference of the Brahmo Samaj of India, in which the congregation of the New Dispensation Church was largely represented and which was held at the Bharatvarshiya Brahma Mandir (Tabernacle of the Church of God), Calcutta, on the 19th August 1944, I am desired to tender the hearty felicitations of our community on the eve of your momentous joint deliberations for the attainment of amity and harmony among the different communities, and more especially among the Hindu and Muslim communities in this country, which, it is hoped, will be fruitful of far-reaching and epoch-making results.

As believers in the faith of New Dispensation, one of the teachings of which is harmony of religions, and in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, irrespective of nationality and religion, we heartily welcome your united efforts in the sacred cause of communal harmony, which you cherish so much in your heart of hearts, and beg to convey to you our whole-hearted sympathy and support.

We believe in the all Merciful Providence Whose hand directs and guides the destinies of peoples and has implanted in all men a love for fellow-men in the deepest recess of our hearts for mutual forbearance and mutual acceptance.

We pray in all humility and in a spirit of hopefulness that it may please God Almighty, the Giver of all good, to bless you both as well as those who, like you, are inspired by a true sense of patriotism and love for the country to dedicate their lives to the great cause of national unity.

Yours in God,
B. C. GHOSH
Chairman,
Bharatvarshiya Brahma Mandir

115

Resolution by Asansol City Muslim League

F. 829/76-7

ASANSOL,
5 September 1944

At an especial [*sic*] meeting of the City Muslim League, Asansol, held at the City Muslim League office, on Friday the first September 1944 at 8 p.m. under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Basshaar Abdus Sattar, the case of Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana States in the formation of Pakistan was discussed, and the following resolution was unanimously passed.

That the Working Committee of the City Muslim League, Asansol, bring to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam and the high command of the Bengal Provincial League, the demand for the inclusion of Assam with Bengal in the Eastern Pakistan, and that Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana States, which formed a part of Bengal uptil 1912, are not a Hindu-majority zone. The *Adibasis* (Aboriginals, Tribals, Mundas, Oraons, Santhals, etc.) are in absolute majority—their total population being 6,366,973 and the Hindus with the *Harijans* being 5,213,727. These *Adibasis* being non-Hindus and non-Aryans want freedom from Aryan domination and separation from the supremacy of Hindustan. They have been, therefore, demanding separation of Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana States, and their constitution as a separate and free homeland of the *Adibasis* to be called *Adibasistan*. These States should, therefore, not be allowed to be annexed by Hindustan and every effort should be made to establish a separate and autonomous state of *Adibasistan* with safeguards for Muslims of East Pakistan, and that *Adibasistan* should form a confederal union. The State of *Adibasistan* will have its own assembly and government and the State of East Pakistan will have its own legislature and government. This federal union of *Adibasistan* and East Pakistan will manage common subjects like (a) currency (b) customs (c) communication (d) Bengal-Nagpur Railway (e) defence and (f) posts and telegraphs, etc. etc. Joint executive boards be formed for administering these joint subjects but Pakistan and *Adibasistan* will equally share the benefits of the E.I.R[ailwa]y, B.N.R[ailwa]y, port of Calcutta, and the workshop of Tatanagar. They can utilise the resources of each other, and the betterment of the economical [*sic*], and industrial conditions of the public in general will be their

main object.

The Working Committee of the Asansol City Muslim League request Quaid-i-Azam to consider the confederacy of East Pakistan and *Adibasistan* favourably. Because this will preserve the Muslim majority in the East Pakistan State of Bengal and Assam intact while at the same time, the great manpower and the immense natural resources of *Adibasistan* will come in the sphere of influence and control of Pakistan, and the danger of Hindustan dominating and oppressing the Muslims in East Pakistan or Chotanagpur or Bihar and Hindustan by superior power of capital and industry will be eliminated. If Chotanagpur is annexed with Hindustan, the Hindus will not only politically wipe out the *Adibasis* and the Muslims but use Chotanagpur and Tatanagar to strangulate the life of Calcutta and Bengal and subjugate East Pakistan, will reduce them to a pauper state without any industry and always at the mercy of Hindustan and foreign aggressor. This is the greatest danger and should be avoided by all means.

Hence, in the opinion of this Committee, there are two alternatives for Chotanagpur—first the separation of Chotanagpur be acknowledged and confederacy between it and Pakistan be formed; thus, the demand of the *Adibasis* for *Adibasistan* will be fulfilled and Bengal will remain in touch to [*sic*] the industries.

Secondly, if it is not possible to make Chotanagpur a free state of *Adibasistan*, it will never be called justice and fair play if the whole of Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana are given to the Hindus to form their Hindustan, as a free gift, specially when the *Adibasis* are against this and consider the Aryans of Hindustan their enemy. Now, the best thing will be to divide Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana equally between Pakistan and Hindustan. Those districts which are adjacent to Bengal should be given to Pakistan, i.e. Santhal Pargana, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum (Tatanagar), all these districts should be given to Pakistan for their proximity to Bengal, and the rest of Chotanagpur be given to Hindustan.

We once again request Quaid-i-Azam to consider our suggestions favourably.[1]

MOHAMMAD YASEEN
Secretary, City Muslim League

[1]Jinnah replied that the suggestions would be considered. See F 829/75, *QAP* Not printed.

116

M. Atiullah Khan Soharawi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/311-2
[Original in Urdu]

MARRIS ROAD,
ALIGARH,
5 September 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

As a Muslim and as your ardent admirer I request you to bring into full play your innate intelligence. The Muslims have accepted you as their political leader and are ready to carry out all your commands. It behoves you to provide them with valuable advice and solve their political problems with wisdom. Slightest negligence on your part is liable to prove fatal for them. I know that you have made the service to the Muslims your ideal in life; you do not take rest at night; you have discarded for ever your opulent lifestyle and have started to live as a commoner. You are all the time worried how best to overcome the present economic and educational backwardness of the Muslim nation so that they become an important Indian nation alongside their compatriots. You are fully conscious of performing your duty which as a supreme political leader of the historically great nation rests on your shoulders.

Our fellow-countrymen are very clever. Their leaders are past masters in politics. They control every segment of life in India. They do not feel happy on seeing a Muslim succeed in any field of life. Their environments have made them narrow-minded and bigoted. You have to deal with leaders of such a community and bargain with them so that your co-religionists are able to live honourably according to the injunctions of their faith in free India and no human power is able to usurp their legitimate rights.

Respected Sir,

September 9, 1944, will be a historic day. The eyes and ears of every educated Muslim will be fixed on Bombay on this day. Everybody will be praying to *Allah* from core of the heart to bestow on you the strength of mind and heart and make available to you advisers possessing sound judgement so that you are able to save the sinking nation from the storm of misfortune and steer it safe to the shores of the political sea.

We are a bruised people. During the Non-Cooperation Movement[1]

sacrifices in the name of the country and religion were demanded of us. We did make sacrifices even beyond our capacity. We contributed to the *Swaraj* fund; we abandoned our studies; we resigned from our jobs; we gave up our legal practice; we bore losses in trade; endured beating; went to jails; faced bullets and many of our brethren faced even martyrdom. But in 1937 when the Congress came into power, all our sacrifices were consigned to oblivion and rewards were bestowed on the Hindu community. Their members, who had participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement were called back from their homes and given jobs while the Muslims were completely ignored. Not only this, they were harmed in many other ways in the name of cow-slaughter and such other pretexts.

In the light of above, we do not trust our Hindu brethren that when they will get power they will treat us well. We, therefore, request you to keep the ideal of Pakistan in view during your negotiations with them. You should not make any agreement with them unless and until Muslims get equal rights with them.

Were it not for my deep deference to you, I might write more.

May you live long with good health. *Aameen*

Wassalaam

Yours obediently,
MUHAMMED ATIULLAH KHAN SOHARAWI
B.A. (Alig.)

[1]Launched pursuant to the Congress Resolution adopted in December 1920. See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress, 1916-20*, Vol. VII, New Delhi, 1979, 659-62.

117

Noor Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/318-9

BANGALORE,
6 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After failing in all his attempts to achieve his object, Mr. Gandhi has at last approached you, though to save his own face. This attempt is made through Mr. C.R. It looks as if he has made up his mind at last to concede the rights and demands of the Muslim nation. He is now all sweetness and humility itself. But let us not forget that a *Bania* sometimes

even stoops to conquer, when all the other means fail. He assumes attitudes that might sometimes disarm our innermost and deeply laid suspicions of him. I pray the Almighty to steer your course away from all the wiles and pitfalls of the enemy.

Always yours,
NOOR AHMED

118

K. K. Kannan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/75

ERNAKULAM,
6 September 1944

Respected Sir,

I have the honour to forward the following resolution passed unanimously at the representative board meeting of the All Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha, held on 3-9-1944, at Mulavukad.

RESOLUTION

The All Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha welcome the coming meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah in order to arrive at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem on the basis of the Rajagopalachari's Formula. But the Board of the Mahasabha declares at the same time that any decision arrived at by the two leaders will not be binding on the Harijan community unless it is accepted by Dr. Ambedkar, the accredited leader of the Depressed Classes. The Board views with grave concern the future of the Harijans in the provinces where either the Caste Hindus or the Muslims have a majority. It believes that even constitutional safeguards can be made ineffective in their actual working by powerful influences. The Board of the All Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha, therefore, feels that a separate homeland alone will be able to emancipate the Harijans when the Muslims and the Caste Hindus agree to the division of India.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
K. K. KANNAN
President,
The All Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha

119

Sisir Roy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/71

64 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,
CALCUTTA,
6 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had addressed a letter to you on the 13th of August[1] last in which I placed before you certain proposals regarding the solution of the deadlock and the communal issue. I hope you have duly received that letter. I have been so long expecting a reply to my letter as I am sure you do not fail to reply to correspondents who may have political differences with you on important points. I think the extraordinary pressure of work with [*sic*] which [you] must now be engaged prevented you from replying to me promptly.

We are glad to see in the daily papers that you are going to meet Gandhiji on the 9th September next. We earnestly desire that you two should come to an understanding as that would be the first step towards the solution [*sic*] of the deadlock for which we are striving. We hope that an understanding between yourself and Gandhiji will not end there but will be the prelude to an all-parties understanding which is essential for stamping out all oppositions in the path of progress.

We are strongly of the opinion that a speedy conclusion [*sic*] of the deadlock will create a situation that will enable Indians to play a leading role in the post-war deliberations and activities on an international scale. The Indian parties headed by you and Gandhiji should immediately declare their readiness to accept the Cripps offer for what it is worth and demand the immediate formation of a government at the Centre with the representatives of different parties agreed to by all the parties in a conference. This alone, we think, will take the wind out of the sails of the British reactionaries and pave the way for closer unity among the Indian parties and ensure a fully democratic state in India after the war.

We very earnestly hope that your efforts for a Hindu-Muslim understanding should succeed and you would, after such an understanding, convene an all-parties conference for a settlement between all the parties. We reiterate that no more time should be lost and urge upon you to immediately voice your readiness to accept the Cripps offer if an assurance is given by the British authorities on the question of Viceroy's veto similar to that offered to the Congress before it accepted ministries in

the provinces in 1937. In this connection we fully endorse the press statement issued by Rajaji on his arrival in Madras from Panchgani where he was staying with Gandhiji during the period of the latter's recovery.

We hope our suggestions will get your most serious consideration and we will be favoured with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
S. ROY
General Secretary,
Bolshevik Party of India

·Not traceable.

120

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/66-9

MOHOMAD WADI, BARODA,
7 September 1944

My dear Mohammadbhai,

I am an old Muslim Leaguer. I have read all your statements uptill now. If Pakistan comes into existence, I can assure you that Muslims as a whole will become more unhappy than what [*sic*] they are to-day. If you really desire to lead and guide all of us, namely all Indian Muslims, you should forget yourself as Mohammad Ali Jinnah and instead become [*sic*] Mohammad, *Paighamber* the great. Forget everything and think that all Muslims and Hindus are the sons [*sic*] of *Allah* the Great. If you do like this, you will feel very happy and satisfied and you will die a happy death. After your death the Great *Allah* will ask you, "What have you done being the most well-known lawyer in India"? You would proudly say, "Mr. Gandhi and I, the sons of one mother, namely India, have driven away the foreign dogs and have made Hindus and Muslims free and happy. To-day they live in one country like the sons and daughters of one mother in one home". This will be your reply given to *Allah*.

Remember this and act accordingly, if you really desire to become Mohammad *Paighamber* the great, and not only the well-known lawyer of India [*sic*]. May *Allah* help you.

Your most sincere follower and an old Muslim Leaguer.
[ANONYM]

121

Abdul Aziz Abid Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/71

MALEGAON,
DIST. NASIK,
7 September 1944

On behalf of Primary Muslim League,[1] Malegaon, we heartily welcome the proposed historical [*sic*] meeting of you both, the great leaders of great nations of India, and request you to end the differences at such a critical moment creating a united India to achieve national government during the war and full freedom after it. India is quite hopeful of your meeting. Unproportional awards will not be more harmful than the failure of the meeting, and hence once again we request you to reach at [*sic*] such a good settlement so that a united India may secure national government, victory over fascist Japan, protection from starvation and *Purna Swaraj (Azadi-e-Kamil).*

We are,
Yours sincerely,
ABDUL AZIZ ABID ANSARI
Joint Secretary,
District Muslim League

[1]An exactly similar letter was sent by Jamiat al-'Ulama, Malegaon See F. 878 323, *QAP*. Not printed.

122

Atturi Purnachalapati Rao to M. A. Jinnah

F. 926/76-7

KAIKALUR,
7 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Working Committee of Kaikalur Taluk (Kistna) Kisan Sabha unanimously agreed to send this letter to you.

We, the members of the Working Committee of Kaikalur Taluk Kisan Sabha, are of the opinion that your meeting with Mr. Gandhi on the 9th September must not fail. We firmly believe that your arrival at

a common conclusion with Mr. Gandhi will illuminise [*sic* for illuminate] the way to national government and will make the present food crisis and national deadlock a thing of the past. The *kisans* of this Taluk are behind you and strengthen your hands to unite and think that the reactionary role played by the Hindu Mahasabha should not hinder your progressive steps.

Sincerely yours,
ATTURI PURNACHALAPATI RAO

123

Mohammad Ismail & Dhiren Mazumdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/320-1

249 BOWBAZAR STREET,
CALCUTTA,
7 September 1944

Resolution adopted at the meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and the tramway men, convened by the Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union, held on 4th September at Wellington Square, Calcutta.

Thirty-five lakhs of people—Hindus and Muslims—died in the last famine, and the whole famine-stricken country is struggling hard against the epidemics. The workers are labouring almost double [*sic*] now than before, but they are not getting requisite amount of dearness allowance nor there is any increment in their basic wages. When it is a question of all-round endeavour for increasing the production for war, we find a general decrease in production of essential goods, such as coal, cloth, etc. The hoarders and profiteers are doing their best to maintain the black market; essential commodities and medicines, so much needed by the people, are not found generally, or if found at all, very rarely.

Just the opposite picture one finds on the fighting front. Everywhere fascism is losing ground. Blows from Soviet Russia and the heroic struggles of the world peoples against fascism weaken fascism everyday; and the fascist-trodden countries are rewinning their independence.

And in our country people are still now prey to hopelessness and callousness. We have not yet been able to get rid of these. Imperialism is endeavouring hard to maintain this state of affairs. And this effort of Imperialism can only be smashed and a national govt. be formed in its

stead by the united move of the National Congress and Muslim League on the basis of the principle of self-determination. National govt. only can solve all the acute problems of the country.

With this in view, this meeting of the tram workers and the citizens of Calcutta, organized by the Calcutta Tramway Workers Union, wholeheartedly supports the united move of the great leaders of our country, Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, to unite the two great organizations, the National Congress and Muslim League. The meeting is of the opinion that the principle of self-determination is the most legitimate demand of every nation, and a vast country like India can maintain its integrity only by endorsing this principle of self-determination. This meeting, therefore, not only supports the move for unity of Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, but assures them wholehearted co-operation for the realization of this.

[MOHAMMAD ISMAIL
DHIREN MAZUMDAR]

124

Y. C. Chinwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/332

LACHHMAN BHUVAN,
MARINE DRIVE,
BOMBAY,
7 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Whilst wishing you every success in your forthcoming talks with Gandhiji, I take this opportunity to remind you that next Sunday, the 10th instant., being the 21st day of *Mah-e-Ramazan,* you will please withhold your discussions for the day.

Thanking you and hoping to be excused,

I remain,
Yours truly,
Y. C. CHINWALA

125

Hooseini Doctor to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 967/47-51

ALLI CHAMBERS,
TAMARIND LANE, FORT,
BOMBAY,
7 September 1944

Respected and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am addressing this open letter to you at the most critical juncture of India's struggle for political and economic advancement and at a crucial moment of the history of the human race. This is in connection with your proposed meeting with Mr. Gandhi for the purpose of discussing the terms of the settlement of the communal question. This has attracted the attention of the entire political world and has created hopes for a better future for India.

Really speaking, India's communal problem is a constitutional problem which has arisen out of historic[al] and political reasons. Indeed it demands an immediate solution and all efforts in that direction must be encouraged by every one of us who desires to see India free and liberated.

At long last, it now seems that the problem is about to be solved. What was considered to be poison by an eminent political leader like Mr. Gandhi has become a matter of fervent advocacy. However, an average man asks himself, as if bewildered, the question "what is this sudden change on the part of Mr. Gandhi?" The answer to this puzzle is difficult to find. Nevertheless, it can be traced by analyzing the causes which has [*sic*] led Mr. Gandhi to give his blessings and moral support to the Formula sponsored by the clever Madras leader.

You know that Mr. Gandhi has been always a bitter opponent of the idea of Pakistan and all opposition had been blessed by him. Thanks to the sagacity of the British rulers, they, having recognized the reality of the situation in India, lost no time in showing their inclination to admit the justice underlying the Muslim demand. This was done through the Cripps proposals made to Indian political organisations early in 1942. Subsequently, the Congress allowed themselves to be committed to the principle of self-determination. For, they hoped to win over at least a section of the Muslims to the fold of the Congress while in rebellion. However, the Congress commitments and the British declaration were the result of your sustained and hard work in properly

leading and guiding the Muslim League ever since 1936. The energetic campaign carried on by the League in favour of the assertion of the rights of the Muslims of India to Pakistan and its universal acceptance by Indian political organisations and the British rulers [*sic*]. Under your guidance the Muslim League has acquired the support of the entire Muslim community. It has made itself felt at every stage of political development in our country.

Coupled with these facts the "lamentable" political set-back received by Mr. Gandhi in his recent campaign to acquire political power for the benefit of the vested interests hovering round about [*sic*] him is mainly responsible for his sudden change of front [*sic*]. For the dream of the national Government as visualized by Mr. Gandhi never became a reality. Mr. Gandhi, once again free from his detention, set himself to the task of realising this dream.

Apparently the slogan of national Government looks to be very progressive. But the critical examination of this much coveted haven [*sic*] of Mr. Gandhi reveals very clearly a well-planned scheme to get political power for those who are surrounding him at the moment. For, whatever has been done and written ever since his release from detention, all indicate his anxiety to place his worshippers into the position of power—of course leaving out of all considerations the masses of the Indian people, both Hindus and Muslims. These are the causes which eventually have led Mr. Gandhi to seek rapprochement with you and the League. All the facts at our disposal only bear out the truth that the present attitude of Mr. Gandhi is not born of convictions but of sheer political necessity—a necessity which must be translated into reality, so that a handy instrument is made available in the hands of his worshippers, who are anxiously waiting to do their best in the work of unhindered exploitation of the Indian people in the post-war period.

Let us grant that you are able, in your forthcoming meeting with Mr. Gandhi, to reach an agreement. Coalition ministries are formed in various provinces now under the direct rule of the Governors. Possibly the Viceroy's Executive Council is enlarged by addition of one or two more members. And after the war, in accordance with the Cripps proposals, Indians are allowed to determine their own constitution. Political developments in India may work out in this manner. In that eventuality, what is the type of the constitution which will be evolved and how the demand for Pakistan will be enforced? The deplorable reality of the situation is that neither the Congress (whosoever they represent) nor the Muslim League —the accredited political organization of the Muslims of India—has so far presented a clear picture of either free India or free Muslim sovereign state—Pakistan. In order to create

a sanction even behind the agreed solution, a clear formulation of the fundamental principles of constitution is an absolute and urgent necessity.

The progressive Muslim youth look to you as an emblem of moderation. They regard you as their leader who will help in the great task of freeing the Indian Muslims from ideas of antiquity and assist them to travel speedily on the road to enlightenment which alone will guarantee real freedom and happiness. Therefore, you must be warned against Gandhism and all it stands for. There is nothing common between you, a modern human being [*sic*], and Mr. Gandhi who represents nothing but the dying past of India. You may come to an agreement. But I am convinced beyond [doubt] that there is nothing common between you and him.

I wish you will meet Mr. Gandhi on his own ground. He wants to placate you. But you must request him to make it plain how exactly is he going to help in the enforcement of the joint demand. The answer to this question will reveal to you many things, one of which is that Mr. Gandhi, with all his sincerity, does not stand for the welfare of the Indian masses. Because of [*sic*] this reason, today the Congress does not represent the Indian people—not even the Hindu masses—the man in the street. It indeed represents the economically well-established section of Hindus with a few so-called Muslim nationalists to decorate its platform. Today it acts as a lever for deception of the Hindu masses. I am sure you will not play into the hands of Mr. Gandhi and allow yourself to be used as a cat's paw. I remember once you had declared that the mission for which you were working was not only the mission for the freedom of the Indian Muslims but also that of the freedom of Hindus. Before India can be free, it is necessary to discard the antiquated dogmas of Gandhism. You must contribute your best in this direction. Your meeting with Mr. Gandhi may bear some fruit only if you stick to your past declarations. You know India needs a radical change in the existing conditions. But this change can only take place if the leaders act with courage and sagacity required by the exigencies of the situation.

The primary task with which the Muslim League is faced to-day is the organization of the vast masses of the Muslims under its banner. In order to do this, a clear picture of the constitution of the free Muslim State should be presented to them. This must be certainly in your mind. I pray the Muslim League Working Committee may shoulder this responsibility and, in the nearest future, formulate the fundamentals of this constitution. Such a move on your part will not only create the

necessary enthusiasm in the Muslims of India but also create the required sanction behind the demand for Pakistan which then will be no more a distant objective.

Yours sincerely,
HOOSEINI DOCTOR

[1]Jinnah replied that his suggestions would be carefully considered. See F. 967/52, *QAP*. Not printed.

126

A. A. Gheewala & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1056/9

BELGAUM,
7 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of a meeting of prominent Hindu and Muslim gentlemen of Belgaum, held here yesterday evening under the presidentship of Mr. A. A. Gheewala, MLA, Bombay, we beg to express our sincere and keen desire that the forthcoming discussions between yourself and Mahatmaji may be crowned with full success. At the meeting mentioned above, Messrs G. B. Deshpande, A. B. Latthe (ex-Finance Minister, Bombay), Abdul Razak Inamdar, who is the President of the Muslim League of the District, and others expressed the urgent need of a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, satisfactory to both sides and to all other Indians. The meeting further resolved to request you both to do your utmost to reach a settlement and not to move without doing so. A prayer was offered at the end of the meeting by Moulvi Nazimuddin for the success of the great task which both of you have undertaken for the common good of India, our beloved motherland. Your task is indeed difficult. But with your burning patriotism and your common determination to achieve freedom for the whole of India, we have full confidence that your forthcoming discussions will lead to the solution of all the difficulties in the path of India's freedom.

Yours sincerely,
A. A. GHEEWALA
A. B. LATTHE
GANGADHAR B. DESHPANDE

127

M. A. Jinnah to Hatim A. Alavi

SHC, Sind II/5

7 September 1944

Dear Mr. Alavi,

I have received your letter of August 30th[1] and the enclosures, namely a letter from Mr. Hoshang Dinshaw as well as the Editor's letter regarding your complaint, and as desired by you, I return the correspondence herewith. Obviously there is no justification for what was done by the *Daily Gazette*. However, you can handle it in such manner as you think proper. These things will continue, and I entirely agree with Mr. Dinshaw that it is high time that the Musalmans had at least one English daily in Sind, and that is the best answer you can give, and I do hope that some of your leaders will seriously make an effort in that direction. I think it will also pay commercially if it is properly managed, and I am sure that the Sind public will wholeheartedly support the paper if it is in proper hands.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hatim A. Alavi, Esq.,
Alavi Manzil,
Karachi

[1]No. 95.

128

S. M. Abdul Jalil Gardezi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 533/209

MULTAN CITY,
8 September 1944

Hussaini Board representing Shia community Multan pray for the success of your conference with Mahatma Gandhi. India expects you both will rise to the occasion.

SYED MOHAMMAD ABDUL JALIL GARDEZI
President,
Hussaini Board

129

Mannan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/37

C/O DELHI PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
8 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Over 125 students and 10 prominent professors[1] of the Ayurvedic Tibbia College, Delhi, have signed a joint statement regarding the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, which says:

Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah are meeting together tomorrow to solve the Hindu-Muslim question on the basis of the acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Muslims. The eyes of every patriotic Indian are turned towards them. The people of our country are anxious that the two leaders may come to an agreement which shall pave the way to break the deadlock, to combat the food crisis and famine and for the speedy formation of our national government.

We pray for the successful outcome of this historic meeting and assure Gandhiji and Jinnah Sahib that we students and teachers of this institution of the late Hakim Ajmal Khan are behind them following [in] the footsteps of the late Hakim, who in his life-time strove hard to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
MANNAN

[1]Names of ten professors given at the end of the letter are not printed.

130

M. Nurul Anwar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/101

19/A MOMINPUR ROAD,
KIDDERPORE, CALCUTTA,
8 September 1944

Respected Sir,

The first annual conference of the 24 Parganas District Muslim Students'

League, Bengal, is going to be held at Basirhat on the 23rd and 24th September 1944, under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Minister Mr.H. S. Suhrawardy and we have also invited Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan to hoist the Muslim Students' League flag and the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to open the conference.

The duty of the Muslim students and youth to-day is to propagate the ideals of the Muslim League and to organise the nation to achieve Pakistan. We, the Muslim students of this District, are trying in our little way to achieve these ideals. A message from your great-self on the occasion will inspire the Muslim students of this District a thousand fold to carry on the ideals and message of our great Quaid-i-Azam.

We fully know that you have never disappointed the Muslim students and we too shall not be disappointed in getting a message[1] from you.

Our best regards to you,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient
follower & worker,
M. NURUL ANWAR
General Secretary,
24 Parganas Muslim Students' League

N.B. Please communicate to 137, Kantalberia Road, P.O. Bartala, 24 Parganas, Bengal.

[1]Jinnah wished the conference success and urged the Muslim students to stay united and support the creed, policy and programme of the AIML See *SHC*, Students I/102 Not printed.

131

Prosanta Sanyal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/72

350 LAMINGTON ROAD,
BOMBAY 7,
9 September 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We share with the rest of the country great joy and happiness on your meeting with Gandhiji to build national unity which will end the political deadlock and take us forward to freedom.

Students all over India are eager for Congress-League unity and

will stand four square behind any settlement that you may arrive at with Gandhiji.

We students are the most anxious that this meeting should end in success, for our entire future is at stake.

Most earnestly we pray for a happy outcome of this meeting.

Yours sincerely,
PROSANTA SANYAL
General Secretary,
All India Students' Federation[1]

[1]Indian Section of the World Students' Association.

132

Bogra Muslim League & Communist Party to M. A. Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F. 533/258

BOGRA,
9 September 1944

Thousands Bogra Hindus-Muslims rally wish success your meeting.

MUSLIM LEAGUE & COMMUNIST PARTY

[1]Copy sent to M. K. Gandhi.

133

Yoosuf Faizullabhoy to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/190

SURAT,
9 September 1944

Wish Gandhi-Jinnah meeting all success. Muslim students have full confidence in your leadership. We are confident that your decisions will always [be] for the good of Muslims in particular and Indians in general.

YOOSUF FAIZULLABHOY
President,
Surat Muslim Students

134

Ishtiaq Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 532/198

ALIGARH,
9 September 1944

Forman Christian College Lahore Muslim Students extreme [*sic*] faith in your leadership and establishment of Pakistan. Pray success talks.

ISHTIAQ AZIZ
President,
Muslim Students Union of F. C. College, Lahore

135

Secretaries, Muslim & Ahmedabad Students' Unions to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 533/204

AHMEDABAD,
9 September 1944

The meeting organized by Ahmedabad Students' Union and Muslim Students' Union wish you successful negotiations.

SECRETARIES, MUSLIM & AHMEDABAD STUDENTS' UNIONS

136

Tapase to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 533/215

SATARA,
9 September 1944

This meeting of workers of Congress, Muslim League, Khaksars, Communists and Harijans of Satara City welcomes the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting and wishes them complete success.

TAPASE
Pleader

137

M. A. Jinnah to President, City ML, Multan

Telegram, SHC, Punjab I/11

9 September 1944

President, City Muslim League, Multan

Congratulations League victory Multan Municipal by-election. Am glad voters and Muslim public generally have given this significant verdict at Multan. I am very thankful to them for their support and hope that this is only the beginning and a pointer which will lead to further success in every direction to vindicate the honour and prestige of All India Muslim League and safeguard Muslim interests.

M. A. JINNAH

138

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/59-62

10 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

With reference to our talk yesterday, September 9th, I understood from you that you had come to discuss the Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity, and not in any representative character or capacity on behalf of the Hindus or the Congress, nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be someone on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and, if possible, come to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent, and that this raises great difficulties in my way. As you know, I can only speak on behalf of Muslim India and the All India Muslim League, as the President of the organization which I represent, and as such I am subject to and governed by its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realize and will admit that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is the foremost and major hurdle, and unless the representatives of these two nations put their heads together, how is one to make any headway with it?

Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore Resolution of March 1940,[1] and tried to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in that Resolution, but you not only refused to

consider it but emphasized your opposition to the basis indicated in that Resolution, and remarked that there was "an ocean between you and me", and when I asked you what is then the alternative you suggest, you put forward a Formula of Mr. Rajagopalachari,[2] approved of by you. We discussed it, and as the various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant, and what were its implications, and asked you for explanations and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that Formula. After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing my points that I thought required or called for explanation and clarification, and to communicate with you and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday, September 11th, at 5.30 p.m. I am, therefore, submitting to you the following points which require clarification:

i. With regard to the preamble: In what capacity will you be a consenting party if any agreement is reached between you and me?

ii. Clause 1: With regard to "the constitution for free India" referred to in this clause, I would like to know first, what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it, and when will it come into being? Next, it is stated in the Formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence". Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August Resolution of 1942[3] by the All India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term, for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for freedom and independence of the whole of this sub-continent, and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan.
Next, it is stated that the Muslim League "will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period". I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it.

iii. Clause 2: Who will appoint the commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings? What is the meaning of absolute majority referred to in it? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken districtwise or, if not, on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise or other practicable franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above-mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation be entitled to choose to join

either state or also those outside the present boundaries would have the right to choose to join either state?

iv. Clause 3: Who are meant by "all parties" in this clause?

v. Clause 4: I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the "mutual agreements" referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by "safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes"? Safeguarding against whom?

vi. Clause 6: "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India". I would like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency, and when?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and I hope that you will let me have full details with regard to the various points that I have raised, in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before I can deal with them satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahatma Gandhi,
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]Annex.
[2]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.
[3]No. 470, *TP*, II, 621-4.

Annex to No. 138

Resolution[1] Proposed by A. K. Fazlul Huq at the 27th Session of AIML

AFM 214/99-100

LAHORE,
23 March 1940

1. While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August,[2] 17th and 18th of September,[3] and 22nd of October 1939,[4] and 3rd of February 1940[5] on the constitutional issue, this session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and

unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country, and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

2. It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939,[6] made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo*, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

3. Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

4. That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

5. This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

[1]This Resolution, which came to be known as the Lahore Resolution, and later also as the Pakistan Resolution, was adopted unanimously on 24 March 1940 See Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 340 & 347.

[2]Resolution No. 8 by AIML Council See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 621

[3]Proceedings of AIML Working Committee meeting, ibid , 644 6

[4]Resolution No. 1 by AIML Working Committee, ibid., 646-7.

[5]Resolution No. 1 by AIML Working Committee, ibid., 648.

[6]Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, ibid., 560-6.

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Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/70

NEPEAN HOUSE,
NEPEAN ROAD,
BOMBAY,
10 September 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah

Today being the 21st *Ramazan*, which has a special importance and which you, with the rest of Muslims, are observing, I am sending for you and Miss Jinnah a few dishes of *Iftaar* prepared in Patna style by my cook who once felt highly flattered and proud when you expressed your appreciation of some of his dishes during your stay with me at Patna in December 1938.

I am still ill but have been able to fast today. My condition is almost unchanged since you saw me last.

I intend to return to Patna about the end of next month. People there are pressing me to do so.

I am, with the rest of India, eagerly looking forward to hear[ing] a satisfactory result of the momentous talks between you and Mr. Gandhi. No two persons of eminence are fitter than, or as fit as, you and Mr. Gandhi to solve the political problems which have so far defied a settlement. It is impossible to satisfy every one or every group but if an agreement is reached between you and Mr. Gandhi, at least on the major issues, more than half the battle would be [*sic* for will have been] won for the freedom of India and all that is good and practicable for it.

I pray for your continued health and vigour and success of the task in which you are engaged.[1]

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

SYED ABDUL AZIZ

[1] Jinnah thanked him for sending dishes for *Iftaar* and for his good wishes for success of talks with Gandhi. Jinnah prayed for his recovery from illness. See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/71. Not printed.

140

Mohammad Muslim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 967/58-9

UNION STORES,
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST,
BHOPAL,
10 September 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Respects to you who has forwarded [*sic*] the step towards Hindu-Muslim unity. The matter was lying in words, now it has come in action. We bless every day for this cause in our prayers. I request you to please confer with Allama Mashriqi, the innocent leader of thousands of brave soldiers. In the battlefield of Pakistan, no force can come except Khaksars. Unorganized movements like August revolution[1] ever fail. Khaksar is the only organisation today in existence. Sikhs are organised martially and they have terrorized the whole of the present politics. Nobody dares to ignore them. Muslims are twenty-five times [more] than Sikhs but are ignored because they are not interested in military formation.

May you, Gandhiji and Allama Mashriqi, come to a conclusion and India might be freed and Pakistan might be achieved.

MOHAMMAD MUSLIM

[1]Presumably refers to the Quit India Movement launched in August 1942 by the Congress.

141

Primary Muslim League Tenali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/73-4

PRIMARY MUSLIM LEAGUE,[1]
TENALI,
DISTRICT GUNTUR,
11 September 1944

Honoured Sir,

We, the Muslim Leaguers of Tenali, bring to your kind notice that we collected at the '*Idgah* a sum of fifty rupees (Rs. 50) for the election

campaign fund, on the day of *Ramazan*.

We, the Muslims of Tenali, are poverty-stricken and so we are sending such a small sum to you and hope to send you a still [*sic*] larger amount next time.

We wholeheartedly believe that you will receive this scanty sum of ours as a token of faith and confidence of the Muslim Leaguers of Tenali towards their Quaid-i-Azam.

We beg to remain,

Yours most obediently,
MUSLIM LEAGUERS OF TENALI

[1]The letterhead bore the names of Sayed Khasimgori and S. Mahaboob as President and Secretary, respectively, of the Primary Muslim League, Tenali.

142

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/63-6

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
BOMBAY,
11 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I received your letter[1] yesterday at 3.30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, it is implied in the Rajaji Formula, and I have stated publicly that I have approached you as an individual. My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together. I am glad therefore that you did not break off our talks when I refused to assume or accept representative capacity. Of course, I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. May I remind you that the Rajaji Formula was designed, in the first instance, for your acceptance and submission thereafter to the League?

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But

that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The Lahore Resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it a shape.

Now for the points raised by you:

i. I have already answered this in the foregoing.

ii. The constitution will be framed by the provisional government contemplated in the Formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British power is withdrawn. The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands.
The basis for the formation of the provisional interim government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.

iii. The commission will be appointed by the provisional government. "Absolute majority" means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.

iv. "All parties" means parties interested.

v. "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. "Safeguarding defence, etc." means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

vi. The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is to the provisional government. The Formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned I would like the transfer to take place as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 138.

143

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/67-8

[BOMBAY,]
11 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter of September 11th[1] at 5 p.m. to-day. I note that you have approached me as an individual, and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take it that I acquiesce in the position

that you have adopted for which there is no precedent. Nevertheless, I proceeded to discuss matters with you naturally because I am anxious to convert you to my point of view, if possible. I urged you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, and proceed to settle the details forthwith. You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the Resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary, he has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League at Lahore on the 30th of July 1944.[2]

2. You say the "first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together". This in my opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All India Muslim League, and you are only holding on firmly to the August Resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India, it is essential, in the first instance, that there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement. Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me, but that is not enough in my judgement, although it will be a very valuable help to me. I once more ask you please to let me know what is your conception of the basis for the formation of a provisional interim government. No doubt, it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think in fairness you should at least give me some rough idea or lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now, and I would like to know what are your proposals or scheme for the formation of a provisional interim government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

3. You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the commission, and also it is not clear to me what you mean by "absolute majority", when you say it means "a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province". You have not even replied to my question as to

who will decide the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the Formula.

4. The answer does not carry any clear idea when you say "all parties means parties interested".

5. You say, "mutual agreement means agreement between contracting parties". Who are the contracting parties once a provisional interim government is established of your conception? Who will appoint the central or joint board of control, which will safeguard defence, etc., and on what principle, through what machinery and agency, and subject to whose control and orders will such a central or joint board be?

6. You say, "the power is to be transferred to the nation, that is to the provisional government". That is all the greater reason why I would like to know full details of the provisional government, as contemplated by you and of your conception.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Mahatma Gandhi,
Birla House, Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]No. 142.
[2]See Address by M. A. Jinnah to AIML Council, 30 July 1944, F. 810/202-10, *QAP*. Not printed.

144

N. B. Lonkar to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1246/6-7

HUSEINI HOUSE, ROOM 21,
FIRST FLOOR,
PAREL, BOMBAY 12,
11 September 1944

We are [*sic*] great pleasure to send a letter which was passed by the Executive Committee of the Rohidas Tarun Sudharak Sangh.

Since 1932 you have directed some efforts towards the uplift of the Untouchables. You resorted to a fast the same year as a protest against the Communal Award which awarded the Untouchables with a separate constituency. The end of it was the Poona Pact.[1] Therefore, the Untouchables were named Harijans. You started an all-India campaign for their uplift and the Harijan Fund was created. After the critical [*sic*] enthusiasm

the movement went away [*sic*]. However, still the Harijan Fund is being utilized for prayer and the Congress campaign and there has been no betterment of the Harijans whatsoever.

For centuries, the Harijans have suffered persecution at the hands of the Hindu community. They have no social status. In respect of education, there has hardly been any progress. Economically, they lie on the lowest rung of the ladder. It is necessary that the Harijans should stand on their own legs rather than rely on the dubious support of the Hindu community. It is necessary, if the Harijans are to be emancipated, they must have their legitimate political rights. The Muslims in India constitute ten crores of our population and the Harijans not less than eight crore. You have expressed your readiness to concede political rights to the Muslim minority. Strangely enough, you have remained silent on the question of conceding the same rights to the Harijans. The Harijans are convinced that they can no longer trust the Hindu community for their uplift. Their emancipation must be considered as a part of our politics. To ignore them is to strangle them non-violently.

We, on behalf of above Sangh, therefore request you to kindly consider our claims for the same political rights which you are prepared to concede to the Muslim minority and to kindly negotiate in this respect with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the acknowledged leader of the depressed classes.

A copy of our annual report is enclosed herewith[2] for your information.

Yours sincerely,
N. B. LONKAR
Secretary,
Rohidas Tarun Sudharak Sangh

[1]See No. 35, note 1.
[2]Not traceable.

145

M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/136

N.W.R. SALOON NO. 28,
VICTORIA TERMINUS,
BOMBAY,
12 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been here for the last few days, but as you are in the midst of

momentous discussions, I did not like to disturb you. I shall be leaving Bombay on Friday [15 September] by 2.00 p.m. I shall be grateful if you kindly let me know[1] whether any time on Thursday or any time on the morning of Friday, before 1 p.m., would suit your convenience when I can come over to your place.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQUE

[1]M. H. Saiyid informed him to see Jinnah on 14 September. See *SHC*, Bengal III/137. Not printed.

146

Raja Ghulam Qadir to M. H. Saiyid

F. 139/2
[*Original in Urdu*]

ANJUMAN FAIZUL ISLAM,
RAWALPINDI,
12 September 1944

Gracious Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Received your letter of 4 September 1944[1] and was happy to learn of the recovery of Quaid-i-Azam from illness. About the donation of five hundred rupees, this is to inform you that the Orphanage has a regular account in the Central Bank of India. Therefore, a crossed cheque in favour of Anjuman Faizul Islam (Manager, Faizul Islam Orphanage) may be sent so that it may be deposited in the account of the Anjuman.[2]

Wassalaam

Yours obediently,
RAJA GHULAM QADIR

[1]No. 112.
[2]Jinnah sent a cheque for Rs. 500 on 30 September. See F. 139/4, *QAP*. Not printed.

147

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/69

[BOMBAY,]
13 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

When you arrived here on the morning of the 12th to resume our talks you were good enough to inform me that you had not had time to attend to my letter of September 11th,[1] which reached you the same day at 10.30 p.m. We met again to-day without having received your reply, and I am still waiting for it. Please, therefore, let me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various points mentioned in my letter to you of September 11th.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahatma Gandhi,
Birla House, Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay

[1]No. 143.

148

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/75-8

BOMBAY,
14 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have your letter of 13th inst.[1] I understood from our talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was, therefore, taking the matter in a leisurely fashion, even hoping that as our talks proceeded and as cordiality increased, mutual clarification would come of itself and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other view-point. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties in understanding the Rajaji Formula and you should do likewise regarding yours, i.e. the Muslim

League Lahore Resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore Resolution, as agreed between us, I shall deal with it in a separate letter.

Perhaps at the end of our discussion, we shall discover that Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form.

Indeed, in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement.

So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

As to the second, I do hold that unless we oust the third party we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean that I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing a living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. I imagine that if we two can agree, it would be for us to consult the other parties. I can say this, that any provisional government to inspire confidence at the present moment must represent all parties. When that moment arrives I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me, or I you, or by mutual conversion we have become one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point, the provisional government being the appointing authority will give effect to the findings of the commission. This I thought was implied in my previous answer.

Rajaji tells me that "absolute majority" is used in his Formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provisional interim government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area.

As to fourth, "all parties" means you and I and every one else holding views on the question at issue will and should seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the provisional government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matter of common interest, but the

same has to be confirmed and ratified by the governments of the two States. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will, in the first instance, be planned by the interim government but subsequently will be matter for settlement between the two Governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to sixth, I hope the foregoing makes superfluous any further reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 147.

149

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/70-1

[BOMBAY,]
14 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter of September 14th[1] at 4.45 p.m. to-day in reply to my letter of September 11th[2] (and not of September 13th as you state, which seems to be a mistake) and I thank you for it.

Please let me have as soon as you can your promised letter indicating in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution[3] is "indefinite".

With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula[4] that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence", I asked you in my letter dated September 10th,[5] "Does it mean the Congress demand for independence as formulated in the August 1942 Resolution[6] by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term", to which you replied by your letter of September 11th[7], "The independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands". Hence I again ask, does it mean on the basis of a united India? I find that you have not clarified this point satisfactorily.

As regards the next part of this clause, the Formula proceeds to lay down that "the Muslim League will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of the provisional interim government for the transitional period," I requested you by my letter of September 10th to let me

know "the basis or the lines on which such a government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it, to which you replied by your letter of September 11th under reply that "the basis for the formation of the provisional interim government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress." But that is not meeting my request for clarification or giving me at least the outlines of such a government, and that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed provisional interim government according to the Formula, so that I may have some idea. Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim government will represent all parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence, at the present moment, of all the parties. I can quite understand that when the moment arrives certain things may follow, but before we can deal with the Formula, in a satisfactory manner I repeat again that, as it is your Formula, you should give me a rough idea of the provisional interim government that you contemplate and of your conception. What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, and what will be its composition, etc. You, being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it, that I may understand what this part of the Formula means.

In your letter of September 14th in reply to my letter of September 11th, you inform me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. "I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties", but that is just the point. Unless I have some outlines or scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to discuss in order to reach any agreement?

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 148.
[2]No. 143.
[3]Annex to No. 138.
[4]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8.
[5]No. 138.
[6]No. 470, *TP*, II, 621-4.
[7]No. 142.

150

G. V. Deshmukh to M. A. Jinnah & M. K. Gandhi

F. 1102/546

PEDDER ROAD,
BOMBAY 6,
14 September 1944

My dear Jinnah and Gandhiji,

In order to add substance to the talks going on now, I shall thank you to consider the way of substituting joint electorate in the place of separate electorate with reasonable number of seats to satisfy the minorities.

In spite of India being sectioned into two or more *Stans*, the problem of minorities will remain for ever in India, as minorities in our country are in vast numbers, [and] are rooted to the soil, and cannot be transferred from province to province. You two leaders, giving the lead in this direction, is [*sic*] likely to be followed by all thinking Indians, and the Government cannot refuse our self-improvement.

Yours sincerely,
G. V. DESHMUKH
M.D. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.)
MLA (Central)

151

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/79-85

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
BOMBAY,
15 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is in terms of our talk of Wednesday, 13th inst.

For the moment, I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League.

You must admit that the Resolution itself makes no reference to the Two-Nation Theory. In the course of our discussions, you have passionately

pleaded that India contains two nations, i.e. Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, etc. cease to have their special characteristics if all of them became converts to Islam? These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying today to throw off that subjection.

You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem. The only real though awful test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom we may quarrel among ourselves and for want of a common master holding us together in his iron grip seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant.

With this background, I shall present you with my difficulty in accepting your Resolution.

i. Pakistan is not in the Resolution. Does it bear the original meaning Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan out of which the name was mnemonically formed? If not, what is it?
ii. Is the goal of Pakistan Pan-Islam?
iii. What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion? Is he different from a Turk or an Arab?
iv. What is the connotation of the word "Muslims" in the Resolution under discussion? Does it mean the Muslims of the India of geography or of the Pakistan to be?
v. Is the Resolution addressed to the Muslims by way of education, or to the inhabitants of the whole of India by way of appeal or to the foreign ruler as an ultimatum?
vi. Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute "independent

states", an undefined number in each zone?

vii. Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British rule?

viii. If the answer to the last question is in the affirmative, the proposal must be accepted first by Britain and then imposed upon India, not evolved from within by the free will of the people of India!!!

ix. Have you examined the position and satisfied yourself that these independent states will be materially and otherwise benefited by being split up into fragments?

x. Please satisfy me that these independent sovereign states will not become a collection of poor states, a menace to themselves and the rest of India.

xi. Pray show me by facts and figures or otherwise how independence and welfare of India as a whole can be brought about by the acceptance of the Resolution?

xii. How are the Muslims under the Princes to be disposed of as a result of this scheme?

xiii. What is your definition of "minorities"?

xiv. Will you please define the "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" for minorities, referred to in the second part of the Resolution?

xv. Do you not see that the Lahore Resolution contains only a bare statement of the objective and does not give any idea as to the means to be adopted for the execution of the idea and the concrete corollaries thereof? For instance,

a. Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained?

b. What is the provision for defence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore Resolution?

c. There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disfranchised?

d. Does this not lead again to placing the Resolution of the League before the people of the zones concerned as a whole for acceptance?

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the Resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India. Believe me, I

approach you as a seeker. Though I represent nobody but myself, I aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, for I realise in my own person their misery and degradation which is their common lot irrespective of class, caste or creed. I know that you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses. I want you to use your influence for their total welfare which must include the rest.

In this hastily written letter, I have only given an inkling of my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

152

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/72-4

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
15 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have yours of the 14th inst.[1] received at 9.40 a.m.

I woke up at 3 a.m. today to finish my promised letter on the Lahore Resolution.

There is no mistake about the date for I wrote in answer to your reminder of the 13th inst.[2]

Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. Resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a united India. If we come to a settlement it would be on the basis of the settlement, assuming of course that it secures general acceptance in the country. The process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India becomes free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji Formula.

As to the provisional interim government, I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for the provisional government, if you have one in connection with the Lahore Resolution, which also, I presume, requires an interim government, we can discuss it.

The Formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. I accepted it in equal good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in the circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps you want to know how I would form the provisional government if I was invited thereto. If I was in that unenviable position I would see all the claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My co-operation will be available in that task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry, "What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible," the provisional interim government will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less that of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by the other parties.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 149.
[2]No. 147.

153

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/86-90

[BOMBAY,]
17 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have your letter of September 15th,[1] and I thank you for it. I note that you have for the moment shunted the Rajaji Formula and are applying your mind very seriously to the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League. It is my duty to explain the Lahore Resolution to you to-day and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity. I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners, and if I can convert you, exercising as you do tremendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small

assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on these talks in your representative character or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested with a representative status and authority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

You have stated in your letter dated September 11th[2] that the Lahore Resolution is "indefinite". I therefore naturally asked you to please let me know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite, and now I have received your letter of September 15th under reply.

The third paragraph of your letter is not seeking clarification but a disquisition and expression of your views on the point whether the Musalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whether the Musalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this sub-continent. For the moment I would refer you to two publications, although there are many more,—Dr. Ambedkar's book[3] and M.R.T.'s[4] *Nationalism in Conflict in India*. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation. Now I shall proceed to reply to your various points:

i. Yes, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned in the Resolution and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution.
ii. This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.
iii. This point is covered by my answer that the Musalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the Resolution.
iv. Surely you know what the word "Muslims" means.
v. This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore Resolution.
vi. No. They will form units of Pakistan.
vii. As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

viii. In view of my reply to (vii) your question (viii) has been answered.
ix. Does not relate to clarification.
x. My answer to (ix) covers this point.
xi. Does not arise out of the clarification of the Resolution. Surely this is not asking for clarification of the Resolution. I have in numerous speeches of mine and the Muslim League in its Resolutions have pointed out that this is the only solution of India's problem and the road to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India.
xii. "Muslims under the Princes". The Lahore Resolution is confined only to British India. This question does not arise out of the clarification of the Resolution.
xiii. The definition of "minorities." You yourself have often said minorities means "accepted minorities".
xiv. The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for minorities referred to in the Resolution are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective States, viz. Pakistan and Hindustan.
xv. It does give basic principles and when they are accepted, then the details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties.
    a. Does not arise by way of clarification.
    b. Does not arise by way of clarification.
    c. The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslim India.
    d. No. See answer (c).

As regards your final paragraph, before receiving clarifications from me you have already passed your judgment and condemned the Lahore Resolution, when you say "As I write this letter and imagine the working of the Resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India". I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India, but when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours. It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realize your true position and the realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India to-day. I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully. As I

have said before, you are a great man and you exercise enormous influence over the Hindus, particularly the masses, and by accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of the Hindus or of the minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greatest gainers. I am convinced that true welfare not only of the Muslims but the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed by the Lahore Resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme in which you have persisted which has been the principal factor of "ruin of whole of India" and of misery and degradation of the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than anyone else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having these talks with me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you may yet revise your policy and programme.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 151.
[2]No. 142.
[3]*Thoughts on Pakistan*, Bombay, 1941.
[4]Mohamed Sharif Toosy, Headmaster, DBC High School, Chawinda, District Sialkot. See Anis Khurshid, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Annotated Bibliography*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1978, 381.

154

Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/78
[Original in Urdu]

RAWALPINDI,
18 September 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

How do you do? May God grant you full recovery from illness. *Aameen*. By virtue of this holy month, may God grant you eternal life. Muslims of every denomination and thought are sincerely praying for the success of your proposed talks with Gandhiji.

You will be happy to learn that for checking the epidemic of cholera, Muslim League office was turned into a dispensary. Such a demonstration

of service to the people was given that Muslim League achieved extraordinary popularity. Five thousand persons were given preventive drugs and five hundred sick Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were saved by providing free medicines to them. This process still continues. In this connection the Muslim League brought responsible members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj, Sanatam Dharam, Sangh Sabha, Jami'at-i-Naujawanan-i-Islam, and Communist Party on to one platform. This is being brought to your notice.

Wassalaam and *'Id Mubarak*

Yours sincerely for life,
SYED GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH KHALID GILANI
Honorary Organising Secretary,
Rawalpindi Division ML

Note: Bengali orphans and staff of Faizul Islam Orphanage wish you *'Id Mubarak.*

155

Abdul Khalique to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/550

P 284 DURGA ROAD,
P.O. CIRCUS, CALCUTTA,
18 September 1944

Dear brother in Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahamatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I take the liberty of writing these few lines to you on the question of one-nation theory of Hindus and Muslims of India which is truce [*sic*] to be made out by a certain class of interested Hindu propagandists. H.E. Lord Minto told the Muslim deputationists at Delhi when he was Viceroy and Governor-General of India that "the Muslims in India form a nation, distinct and separate from the Hindus". After this statement of Lord Minto what our present Viceroy Lord Wavell may say[1] as to the Indians being one nation (it is not so even geographically and was never so) cannot but be an interested opinion.

May the all Merciful *Allah* crown your efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity in India with success and grant you long life and health to serve God and do good to His creatures particularly our backward nation.

Aameen. We, the Muslims, are grateful to Mahatma Gandhi for his efforts and labour to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity and freedom to India.

ABDUL KHALIQUE
Sub-Judge (retired)

PS. We, the Muslims, want free Islam in free India and a homeland for the Muslims with autonomous government.

[1]See No. 137, note 2, Vol. X, 165.

156

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/91-3

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
19 September 1944

'Id Mubarak

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for yours of 17th instant.[1]

I am sorry to have to say that your answers omitting i, ii and vi do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore Resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect any one to agree to or shoulder the burden of the claim contained in the Lahore Resolution without for instance answering my questions xv (a) and xv (b) which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis, while it is ably written, has carried no conviction to me. The other book mentioned by you, I am sorry to say, I have not seen.

Why can you not accept my statement that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspiration may never be realised is beside the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me. I hope you will never lose it but will persevere in your effort to convert me. I ask you to take me with my strong views

and even prejudices, if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose is, as a lover of communal unity, to place my services at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore Resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word, there is little hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

No. 153.

157

Joachim Alva to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/134

23 HAMAM STREET, FORT,
BOMBAY,
19 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just returned from Poona after having interviewed a dear jail companion of mine, whom I met for the first time only in jail—Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, formerly of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He has now been in detention since June 1940 and is thus rotting there for the last four years. I have been the only person outside his family circle to have been permitted by the Bombay Presidency C.I.D. to interview him. He spoke to me at length and was very keen on conveying his most cordial regards to you. He recalled with pride his association and friendship with you during his stay along with you at Faletti's at Lahore and at New Delhi somewhere in 1936, when he was travelling the country on behalf of his Berlin paper. He has very warm attachment for you as well as great regard. He is all out for Pakistan expecting that

there will be a united front for independence.

You can write to him straight:

Dr. A. G. Tendulkar,
Security Prisoner, Yeravda Central Prison,
C/o D.I.G., C.I.D., Poona

We have been trying our best to get him out, for the only charge against him is his long stay and association with Berlin, but with the impending collapse of Germany, at least he ought to get out.[1] He will be operated for appendicitis at Sassoon Hospital next month.

I am sending you herewith a few copies of our paper which, I hope, you have seen by now. We have put you on the complimentary list.

With respectful regards from us and the best greetings for the *'Id*,

Yours sincerely,
JOACHIM ALVA
Editor,
Forum, the weekly news magazine

Jinnah replied that the matter would receive his careful consideration. See *SHC,* P&P III 135.
Not printed.

158

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/94-8

21 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 19th,[1] and I have already given you my answers to all your questions relating to clarification of the Lahore Resolution[2] or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say, it may be that "all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore Resolution", but you particularly emphasize your points xv (a) and xv (b).[3] I regret to say it has no relation to the context of the Resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspondence which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification, so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11th.[4]

1. You say, "My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence, the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If

such joint action is, unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together."

2. The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14th,[4] while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula,[5] you were pleased to observe: "I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement." In your letter of September 15th,[7] you say, "Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. Resolution of 1942."[8] It is, therefore, clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy and that you adhere firmly to your policy and programme which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme, and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass civil disobedience in terms of 8th August 1942 Resolution, and you have made it more clear again by stating in your letter of September 19th as follows: "As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant." You know that the August 1942 Resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. Then again, in the course of our discussion when I asked you for clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, you were pleased to say, by your letter of September 15th, as follows: "For the moment, I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League." We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to our point of view. I discussed the Resolution at great length with you, and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though you have emphasized more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15th you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore Resolution: "Believe me, I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself", and that you were open to conviction and conversion. You had informed me by your letter of September 11th as follows: "It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The League Resolution is indefinite." I naturally, therefore, proceeded, in reply, to ask you by my letter of September 11th[9] as follows: "You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the Resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is

indefinite", and I sent you a reminder on September 13th,[10] to which you replied by your letter of September 15th, not confining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters, with some of which I had already dealt, in reply to this letter of yours of September 15th, by my letter of September 17th,[11] and furnished you with all the clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence. I have already given you all the clarifications you require so far as the Lahore Resolution goes and its text is concerned. You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds and continue to persist in a disquisition on the point, amongst others, whether Muslims of India are a nation, and then you proceed further to say: "Can we not agree to differ on the question of 'two nations' and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination?" It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the word "self-determination". Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated above, can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birthright? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of "a territorial unit" which, by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet, and there is no Union or Federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign Central Government. Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing Union, which is *non est factum* in India. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Musalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

I hope you will now understand that your question xv (a) does not arise out of the Lahore Resolution or of any part thereof. As to xv (b), again it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign body representing Pakistan vis-a-vis the constitution-making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There cannot be defence and similar matters of "common concern", when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign states. I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore

Resolution, in the hope of converting you as an individual "seeker".

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 156.
[2]Annex to No. 138
[3]No. 151.
[4]No. 142.
[5]No. 148
[6]Enclosure to No. 251, Vol. X, 267-8
[7]No. 152.
[8]No. 470, *TP*, II, 621-4.
[9]No. 143.
[10]No. 147.
[11]No. 153.

159

Mohammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, UPI/42

RUDAULI,
BARA BANKI,
21 September 1944

Sir,

The election of the Executive Officer of Allahabad and the failure of Mr. Kidwai, the Congress candidate, is an eye-opener to those who still had any hopes from mixed electorate. Mr. Shafi Ahmad Kidwai, as perhaps you know, is a brother of Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. He resigned from the Government service, went to jail and is one of those staunch believers in unity who never changed his views, and his conduct was always in keeping with his views.

I am told that Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, Mr. Gopal Narayan Saxena and Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon left no stone unturned, yet not one Hindu voted for Mr. Kidwai.

What Mr. Srivastava and Mr. Saxena said after the election was over, is as follows: "In view of the express wish of B. Purushottamdas Tandon calling upon Congress members to unhesitatingly support Mr. Kidwai and the repeated assurance made to us personally by prominent members of the Congress party, the party's attitude and conduct in the matter of the election of the Executive Officer to the Allahabad Municipal Board is inexplicable indeed. We are leaving the city disgusted and thoroughly ashamed of ourselves."

After this, Sir, will it be surprising if Muslims in general became

sceptic[al] of everything in politics except rank communalism? Is it any wonder if sitters on the fence join the communal camp *en bloc*? Religion, and nothing but religion in its worst aspect, holds sway in this benighted country and will do so till the leopard changes its spots.

Do you really believe, Sir, that Brahmanism, which by some inexplicable ju-jitsu hold threw out Buddhism from its birth-place and changed the Islamic conception of things in everyday life, has learnt democracy at the feet of the English in their less than two hundred years of domination of India? No, Sir, that would be optimism with a vengeance.

I am,

Yours truly,

MOHAMMAD ALI

Copy sent to M. K. Gandhi.

160

Jamal Mian to M. A. Jinnah
F. 315/4

[*Original in Urdu*]

FARANGI MAHAL,
LUCKNOW,
22 September 1944

Bi-ismihi Subhanahu
[In His name Who is the Holiest]

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Respects and *salaam*. Please accept hearty *'Id* greetings. On the occasion of *'Id* your inspiring message has really delighted us all. May God grant you long life and unbounded happiness.

The more the meetings being held between you and Gandhiji, the more our hopes are increasing. May God bring about some respectable settlement.

A person by the name of Zafar-ul-Mulk wrote an absurd letter to you and also got it published in newspapers about the 21st of *Ramazan*.

No doubt this is the date of martyrdom of the Prophet's [PBUH] beloved caliph, Hazrat Ali (may God increase His reward on him), an accepted religious leader, and majority of the Sunnis hold commemorative meetings to pay tributes to him and also to pray for his soul. Besides, to celebrate or not to celebrate this occasion was at your discretion and the objection was absolutely meaningless and absurd. Today I have come to know that you have given this man a reasonable and silencing reply. But henceforth, I will request you to throw his letters in the

waste paper-basket and do not respond to them. I assure you it is a great honour to him to get a letter from you. Here in the ranks of Sunnis there is no resentment regarding your statement and there is no need to prolong this matter.

With regards,

JAMAL

161

K. Y. Chandrachood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 865/207-12

JAHAGIRDAR'S WADA,
NEWASA,
DIST. AHMEDNAGAR,
22 September 1944

Sir,

You are discussing with Gandhiji the terms of an agreement. I am one of those who are praying [to] God to help and guide you to come to an agreement. But, I think that when I wish you success, it is my duty to try to suggest a plan for achieving success and, therefore, I am daring to write this letter.

I hope that yourself and Gandhiji will come to an understanding on a particular proposal. But after agreeing on a particular proposal, you will have to gain the assent of all other interests in the country. Agreement of yours not assented [to] by all other interests will give no effects [*sic*] to British policy in India.

The Muslims in India do not believe that they will have justice from any other Government which contains a majority of non-Muslims and therefore they support your demand for Pakistan. I am to expect you to know that the belief sedulously fostered in mind of several other minorities in India is in no way different from that of the Indian Muslims. These minorities in Hindu India and in Muslim India will not be ready and willing to keep their future depending upon the goodwill of Hindus and Muslims. The satisfaction, of your demand for Pakistan cannot be the solution of the minorities' problems because after the satisfaction of that demand, millions of Muslims will continue to live in the Hindu States and millions of non-Muslims will continue to live in the Muslim States. Both these States concerned will have to devise safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of minorities. If such safeguards can be devised to the satisfaction of the minorities after the

partition of India, with what plausibility can any one maintain that they cannot be devised before the partition and indeed for the very purpose of avoiding the partition.

Sir, before gaining the assent of the non-Muslims in Pakistan, to your proposal of Pakistan, you will have to satisfy the demand of these minorities for safeguards, for the protection of their rights and interests. In what way are you going to satisfy this demand? This belief that justice cannot be had by Indian Muslims from the Government containing majority of non-Muslims and the belief in mind of their minorities in Hindu India and in Muslim India can finally be dissipated only by actual experience. You represent the Muslim minority in India. Are you ready and willing to let your belief dissipate by such actual experience? I am sure that nobody will dare to do so. You are nearer to the minor[ity] groups than the Hindu leaders, and therefore, I am to expect you to be knowing that you cannot satisfy the demand of the minor[ity] groups in Pakistan.

India has suffered much in this war and therefore it is the moral right of India to take part in the post-war reconstruction of the world. I think that India, which will be united, will be able to take such a part more effectively. In my opinion, absolute political freedom cannot be our final goal. Political freedom is merely a tool. By means of it we have to fulfil our mighty mission of cooperating whole-heartedly with other nationalities in raising whole world to its God-given stature.

This being my view, I am placing before you a proposal[1] about the settlement of Hindu-Muslim question and the constitutional issue, herewith. By practising it, all the groups of Indian people can serve the common purpose of all while serving their own purpose and interest, and such a united, free, federal and democratic India will be able to serve her own purpose and interest of the world. At the end, I request you, Sir, to inform me [of] your opinion about my proposal and about my view.

Very truly yours,
K. Y. CHANDRACHOOD

[1]Not traceable.

162

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/3

22 September 1944

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I wish you *'Id Mubarak*. I have not heard anything from you for

some time. On my arrival here I was not well, and thereafter I have been extremely busy. Before leaving Lahore I wanted to settle my account with you, and Khwaja Sahib gave me certain figures, but it was found that they were not quite correct, and as it was the last day of my stay and you were away from Lahore, I had requested him to let me have a complete account, after consulting you, as admittedly there were some mistakes, but I have not yet received that account. So please send it to me, as I want to square it up as quickly as possible.

As regards the plot of land,[1] for which Lajya Ram had promised to try, I wonder whether any progress has been made. You will remember I had at one time thought, as you desired, that I might inform you to come down to Bombay when my talks with Mr. Gandhi were to commence, but on second thought[s] I came to the conclusion that it might raise some unnecessary apprehensions; hence I did not inform you. More when we meet.

Hoping you and your family are all right and with kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftkhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa, Davis Road,
Lahore

[1]See No. 573, Vol. X, 597-80.

163

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/99-101

BIRLA HOUSE,
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
22 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your letter of yesterday (21st inst.)[1] so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about the Two-Nation Theory, the more alarming it appears to be. The book[2] recommended

by you gives me no help. It contains half-truths and its conclusions or inferences are unwarranted. I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically on this single issue of division. Adult suffrage is the best method but I would accept any other equivalent.

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus, you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 Resolution is "inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing, as I hope we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 158.
[2]See No. 153

164

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/102-4

23 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 22nd,[1] and thank you for

it. I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently from 15 (b), when you say there will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity. My answer, already given, is that it will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent states.

I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterize as a sweeping statement of mine, that the August 1942 Resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The Resolution in its essence is as follows:

a. Immediate grant of complete independence and setting up immediately of a Federal Central Government on the basis of a united, democratic Government of India with federated units or provinces, which means establishing a Hindu *Raj*.
b. That this National Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly, which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India, which means that the Constituent Assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of the Hindus, nearly 75 per cent.
c. To enforce this demand of the Congress, the August Resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole dictator of the Congress.

This demand is basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals and demands of Muslim India, of Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of resort to mass civil disobedience is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India, and if you succeed in realizing this demand, it would be a death-blow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful Resolution.

From the very first day of our talks, you made it clear to me, and you have repeatedly said in the course of our correspondence and talks, that you have approached me in your individual capacity, and you assured me that you were a seeker of light and knowledge and that you seriously and earnestly wanted to understand the Lahore Resolution and were open to conviction and conversion. Therefore, in deference to your wishes, I made every effort all these days and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence to convert you, but unfortunately it seems I have failed. And now you have made new

suggestions and proposals by your letter under reply.

i. You say, "I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be." I really do not know what this means, and I would like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours, as to how and when the division is to take place, and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore Resolution.

ii. You say, "Let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us." May I point out that you have repeatedly made clear to me that you are having these talks as an individual seeker? How can any question of a third party or parties to guide or arbitrate between us arise?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 163.

165

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/105

BIRLA HOUSE,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
23 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening public prayer.

In order that all possible chance of making any mistake in a matter of this great importance may be removed I would like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to.

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside assistance to help us at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

166

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/106

BOMBAY,
23 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 23rd.[1] May I refer you to my letter of to-day's date[2] which I sent to you in reply to yours of September 22nd.[3] I have nothing new or fresh to add, but I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority. We stand by, as I have already said, the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy and programme, as the future of this sub-continent and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]No. 165.
[2]No. 164.
[3]No. 163.

167

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/107-10

BIRLA HOUSE,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
24 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have your two letters of 23rd September[1] in reply to my letters of

22nd[2] and 23rd.[3]

With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must, therefore, have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That Resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the North-West zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and that part of Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore of 1940 on my basis and on the following terms:

The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted in two sovereign independent states.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two states.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore Resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do this, I shall be able to see apart from the difference in approach,

what definite terms I can agree to. In your letter of 23rd September you refer to "the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely, this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Nos. 164 & 166.
[2]No. 163.
[3]No. 165.

168

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/111-7

BOMBAY,
25 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 24th,[1] and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution.

i. You do not accept that the Musalmans of India are a nation.
ii. You do not accept that the Musalmans have an inherent right of self-determination.
iii. You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination.
iv. You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-West and North-East, comprising six provinces, namely Sindh, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals above-mentioned are accepted, and for that purpose machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore Resolution for safeguarding the minorities, and yet in your letter under reply you say: "With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution

of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied", and proceed to say, "You must, therefore, have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement".

I have already clearly explained to you that the August Resolution, so long as it stands, is a bar, for it is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore Resolution. You then proceed to say, "That Resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement". I am not at present concerned with Britain, but the August Resolution, as I have already stated, is against the ideals and demands of the Muslim League. Further, there is the Resolution[2] of Jagat Narayan Lal,[3] passed by the All India Congress Committee in May 1942 at Allahabad, which, in express terms, lays down as follows:

> The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the India Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal.

These two resolutions, so long as they stand, are a complete bar to any settlement on the basis of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan. It is open to the Congress to revise and modify them, but you are only speaking in your individual capacity, and even in that capacity you are holding fast to the August Resolution, and you have given no indication of your attitude regarding Jagat Narayan Lal's Resolution. I have repeatedly made it clear after we had discussed the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, as you maintained that, to use your own language, "Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form", and proceeded to say, "Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement." When I asked for further clarification, which you furnished me by your letter of September 15th,[4] you started by saying, "I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance I am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League", and thenceforward the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula was not discussed any further, and the question of your representative character and authority, which I had pointed out from the very commencement, therefore did not arise, as you had given me the task of converting you to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution, and ever since we discussed the Lahore Resolution only at great length and examined the pros and cons, and finally you have rejected it. As a result of our correspondence

and discussions I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart, and suddenly at the eleventh hour you put forward a new suggestion, consisting only of two sentences, by your letter of September 22nd,[5] saying: "I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be." I naturally asked you what this new suggestion of yours meant, and wanted you to give me rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, and now you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24th[6] under reply, in which you say: "Differing from you on the general basis I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore of 1940 on my basis and on the following terms." The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with and is opposed to the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore Resolution. Now let me take your main terms:

a. "I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the North-West zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and that part of Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India." If this term were accepted and given effect to, the present boundaries of the provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk, and it is opposed to the Lahore Resolution.
b. That even in those mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims but by the inhabitants of those areas so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution.
c. That if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to "form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination." Whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately, and by our united front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.
d. Next you say, "There shall be a treaty of separation which should

also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce, and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties." If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any state, cannot be delegated to any central authority or government. The matter of security of the two states and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent states. As regards the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding the minorities is fully stated in the Lahore Resolution.

You will, therefore, see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore Resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in the correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposals and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless they come from you in your representative capacity. That was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, and I made it clear to you at the very outset, but the Formula was discussed as you asserted that it had met the Lahore Resolution in substance, but while you were furnishing me with the clarification of this Formula, you shunted it and we confined ourselves to the Lahore Resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this Formula. But now you have, in your letter of September 24th, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis, and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying: "In your letter of 23rd September you refer to 'the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution' and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when as I feel I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance." This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of

the Lahore Resolution and proceed to settle the details?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]No. 167.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 548-50.
[3]Parliamentary Secretary, Bihar Congress Ministry, 1937-8.
[4]No. 151.
[5]No. 163.
[6]No. 167.

169

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/118-9

BIRLA HOUSE,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
25 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yesterday's talk leads me to inflict this letter on you which I trust you will not mind.

Our conversations have come about as a result of your correspondence[1] with Rajaji in July last over his Formula and your consultations with the League Working Committee[2] thereon, and my own letter[3] to you suggesting a meeting between you and me. My proposal of yesterday[4] is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore Resolution. I would like you, therefore, to think fifty times before throwing away an offer which has been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take, I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your Council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it, I would like you to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League. If you will accept my advice and permit me, I would attend the open session and address it.

You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration

or outside guidance over points of difference. If I have approached you as an individual, and not in any representative capacity, it is because we believe that if I reach an agreement with you it will be of material use in the process of securing a Congress-League settlement and acceptance of it by the country. Is it irrelevant or inadmissible to supplement our efforts to convince each other with outside help, guidance, advice or even arbitration?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]See No. 539, Vol. X, 546.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 530-4.
[3]No. 567, Vol. X, 575.
[4]No. 167.

170

Ahmadur Rahaman Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/362-3

VILL. BAKHTAPUR,
P.O. NANUPUR,
CHITTAGONG,
25 September 1944

Sir,

Please accept my best compliments and regard. I am an old man of sixty and have been keenly interested in the welfare of the Muslims and the Muslim community. I am a great believer in Muslim League and have been working as its organizer in the unions of the Fatikchari Thana of the Chittagong District.

It has been an ardent desire of my life that I should see your great personality once before I die and thus make my life happy and fortunate by this. May *Allah* fulfil my great desire. I have been starting [*sic*], if *Allah* wills, for Bombay, on Friday next from my home district.

My burning heart is not satisfied at all with your motionless photograph and it is my fervent desire that I shall see the real Mr. Jinnah.

I don't know English, but I know Bengali and Urdu. This letter therefore cannot convey my real feelings. This letter has been written through the pen of one Mr. Shaikh Farrukh Ahmad, another adherent and supporter of the Muslim League.

Hope to be excused for this intrusion and interference with your

most valuable time.

I am your great well-wisher and admirer.

Yours sincerely,
AHMADUR RAHAMAN SIDDIQUI

171

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/120-1

BOMBAY,
26 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 25th.[1] It is entirely incorrect and has no foundation in fact for you to say that our conversations have come about as result of my correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his Formula. It is equally baseless to say "and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon". It was entirely in response to your letter of July 17th 1944,[2] which I received while I was at Srinagar, with a fervent request on your part to meet you, and you ended that letter by saying, "Do not disappoint me". In my reply, again from Srinagar, dated July 24th 1944,[3] I intimated to you that I would be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which would probably be about the middle of August. This was long before the meeting of the Working Committee or that of the Council of the All India Muslim League, and long before I reached Lahore, and when you arrived here and told me that you were approaching me in your individual capacity, I at once made it clear to you and informed you, both in our talks and by my letters, that the position you had taken up had no precedent for it, and further that it was not possible to negotiate and reach an agreement unless both the parties were fully represented. For it is one-sided business, as it will not be binding upon any organization in any sense whatever, but you would as an individual only recommend it, if any agreement is reached, to the Congress and the country. Whereas it would be binding upon me as the President of the Muslim League. I cannot accept this position. I hope you do see the unfairness and the great disadvantage to me, and it is so simple and elementary for anyone to understand.

As regards your proposal of yesterday, which you have amplified

in your letter of September 24th,[4] I have already sent you my reply.

With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your "offer", the matter should be put before the open session and you should be allowed to address the open session, let me inform you that only a member or a delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberations of the meetings of the Council or in the open session, respectively. Besides, it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice.

As regards your proposal for arbitration and outside guidance, I have already replied to you, and it is not merely a technicality but a matter of substance. I fully reciprocate your desire of securing a Congress-League settlement.

However, I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]No. 169.
[2]No. 567, Vol X, 575.
[3]No. 583, Vol. X, 592.
[4]No. 167.

172

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 98/122-4

BIRLA HOUSE,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
26 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of my letter to you of yesterday,[1] left to myself, I would have refrained from dealing with your letter before our meeting today. But I have deferred to Rajaji's advice to finish the chain of correspondence.

I confess I am unable to understand your persistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the Formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24th[2] as well as the Formula presented to you by Rajaji give you virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution providing at the same time what is absolutely necessary to make the arrangement acceptable to the country. You keep on saying that I should accept certain theses which you call the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution, while I have been contending that the best way for us who differ in our approach to the problem is to give body to the demand as it stands in the Resolution and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's Formula to be conceived and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of and as a result of our talks. I contend that either gives you the substance of the Lahore Resolution. Unfortunately, you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore Resolution as you want me to, especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot accept and which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.

Your constant reference to my not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. I have approached you so that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action I may use what influence I possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity or because I have been unwilling to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]No. 169.
[2]No. 167.

173

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

F. 98/125-6

BOMBAY,
26 September 1944

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter of September 26th,[1] and I note that you have written it with Rajaji's advice. Of course, it is for you to follow

such advice as you may choose to do so, but I am only concerned for the moment with you. I note that at the last moment you have resurrected the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, although it was shunted all this time, and you proceed to say that this Formula gives me virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution. You further say that on the same plan you have tried to formulate your latest proposals, as mentioned in your letter of September 24th,[3] and you maintain that either gives me the substance of the Lahore Resolution. In your previous letter you asserted that your Formula gives me the "essence" of the Lahore Resolution. I see a very close family resemblance between the two, and the substance of one or the other is practically the same, only it is put in different language, and I have already expressed my opinion, that in my judgement they neither meet the substance nor the essence of the Lahore Resolution. On the contrary, both are calculated to completely torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. I have never asked you to accept certain theses nor have I introduced any theories in the Lahore Resolution. Theses and theories are matters for scholars to indulge in.

I am sorry I have to repeat, but I am compelled to do so, that I cannot agree with you that my references to your not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. On the contrary, they have an important bearing, as I have already explained to you more than once. You again repeat that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, you may use what influence you possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. I have already stated from the very beginning that that is not enough, for the reasons I have already given. Your representative capacity comes into play when you are making counter-proposals, and I cannot understand how you can say that it is irrelevant. No responsible organisation can entertain any proposal from any individual, however great he may be, unless it is backed up with the authority of a recognized organisation, and comes from its fully accredited representative. However, I need not labour this point any more, as I have already explained it in our previous correspondence.

If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact it is so. If a break comes, it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong, and the next thing is that many are waiting prepared, in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes, but I must face all threats and consequences,

and I can only act according to my judgement and conscience.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay

[1]No. 172.
[2]No. 167.

174

Seth Ahmad Memon to Archibald Wavell
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 878/366-7

KATRA BARYAN,
DELHI,
26 September 1944

Your Excellency,

Most humbly I beg to state that you will have heard about the death of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung. The Musalmans of India and all the newspapers are unanimous in declaring that the death of the deceased Nawab Sahib is the result of a conspiracy. His death is attributed to the administration of poison.[1] The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad seems to be uninterested in this matter.

In these circumstances, I request the Government of India to kindly interfere in this matter and get a thorough inquiry made under its guidance about it or prevail on the Nizam's Govt. to make an impartial inquiry into this case in order to satisfy the Musalmans of India.

The Muslims of India are confident to a great extent that a thorough inquiry into this case will surely bring sensational events to light.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
most obedient servant,
SETH AHMAD MEMON
Founder of Masjid Fatehpuri Delhi Pushta Movement
& Secretary, Pakistan League

[1]See No. 500, Vol. X, 508-9.

175

Patel G. Abdur Rahiman to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Madras I/45-7

CHIKMAGALUR,
26 September 1944

Your glorious appeal[1] proved [*sic*] magical effect on Chikmagalur Muslim public. Past forty years Islam remained here divided into three parties performing *'Id* prayers all these years at three different places. The best efforts for unity by men of repute and learning failed. Now Almighty *Allah* blessed wisdom on us to stand united. With single devotion to your glorious appeal we have discarded forever all the differences and performed the great *'Id al-Fitr namaz* at one place in ancient *'Idgah*.[2] It was a grand spectacle of unity among Muslims. May you live long by grace of *Allah* to guide our destinies towards achievement of Pakistan and India's independence. Pray *Allah* guide you and Gandhiji reach agreement early.

PATEL G. ABDUR RAHIMAN
Municipal Councillor
& Member,
Board of Trust & Muslim Endowment

[1] Refers to Jinnah's *'Id* message See F 810 200, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2] Jinnah replied that he was pleased that the Muslim factions had agreed to set their differences aside, and exhorted them to stay united. See *SHC*, Madras I 48. Not printed

176

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/7

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
26 September 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have read in the press[1] that K. B. Khuhro has resigned yesterday because the day before his agent Daresh made a confession

implicating him and others.

K. B. Khuhro will now be tried,[2] and it will be for the court to decide the case.

I am leaving it to the Party to decide about his successor.

I am writing this for your information.

I hope you are all right, and I wish you all success in your negotiations.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind II/8-10. Not printed.
[2]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah informed Jinnah of arrest of Khuhro in the murder case. See *SHC*, Sind II/12. Not printed.

177

Statement[1] by M. A. Jinnah & M. K. Gandhi

[BOMBAY,]
27 September 1944

Mr. Gandhi from the very commencement of our talks made it clear that he had approached me in his individual capacity[2] and that he represented no one but himself. However, he assured me that he was really open to conviction and conversion to the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of March 1940.

Without prejudice to my objection that in order to reach any settlement, negotiations can only be carried on properly when the other side is also fully represented and vested with authority, in deference to Mr. Gandhi's wishes I agreed to the task of persuading and converting him to the fundamentals of Lahore Resolution.

I have placed before him everything and every aspect of the Muslim point of view in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, and we discussed all the pros and cons generally, and I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi.

We have, therefore, decided to release to the press the correspondence that has passed between us.

Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered, and

we trust that this is not the final end of our effort.

The joint statement was released to the press by Jinnah and later published by the Central Office of All India Muslim League, Delhi, in a pamphlet, *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, 1944, 35.
[2]See No. 138.

178

G. M. Sayed to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind II/14

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
28 September 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I understood from you the other day that the Secretary of the Muslim League Assembly Party was issuing a notice, with your permission, for convening a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party to consider the situation arising out of the resignation of Khan Bahadur Khuhro from the Cabinet.[1]

Today, on inquiring from the Secretary of the Party, the Hon'ble Mr. Gazdar, I am informed that you have cancelled the meeting. It seems to me that you have changed your mind, as you perhaps feel that you need not consult the Party about this question. I shall be thankful if you will be so good as to let me know what you intend to do in this connection.

I may emphasise that it will not be a sound policy to decide matters without the consultation of the Party. As you are aware, owing to various reasons, the members of the Party have already a lot of grievances and this method of arbitrarily deciding matters is bound to aggravate the situation. I must add that in so doing, you will be taking a very great responsibility upon yourself and which in the fitness of things you should endeavour to avoid.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED

See No. 176.

179

Izz-ud-Din Paul to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/68

MUSLIM STUDENTS' FEDERATION,
HALL BAZAR,
AMRITSAR,
28 September 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A few months ago when the deputation of Muslim Students' Federation met you at the Amritsar Railway Station platform, while you were going from Delhi to Lahore, and requested you to pay a visit to Amritsar, your reply in Urdu was, "Hold a conference and I shall come to your city. There must be a cause of my coming to Amritsar, otherwise other people will complain to me of not paying a visit to their city also."

I hereby take the honour to inform you that Muslim Students' Federation is holding a divisional conference in Amritsar on Oct. 14th and 15th 1944, with Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad as President. May I, now, request you to participate in our conference? I know that you are a busy man. I also fully realize the problems of the day which you have to solve. I may further tell you that I fully understand that you have many tasks to do, but are we so unfortunate that you cannot pay a two days' visit to our city? You wrote to me in your letter of 13th March 1944:[1] "I expect now that all the various organizations should independently carry on the work of the League". Does this mean that we should not have any hope of your coming to Amritsar. If this is so, then I venture to tell you our disheartenment [*sic*] and despair will be quite reasonable and justifiable.[2]

Yours faithfully,
IZZ-UD-DIN PAUL

[1]See F. 878/37, *QAP*. Not printed. Also see No. 166, Vol.X, 199.
[2]Jinnah replied that he could not accede to the request since he was preoccupied with important work and that his difficulties should be appreciated. See *SHC*, Students II 69. Not printed.

180

Mohamed Daud Maracan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/99-100

ST. BEDE'S EUROPEAN HIGH SCHOOL,
TANJORE,
30 September 1944

Dear Sir,

I am the son of Haji E.D.S. Maracan, M. B. E., of Akyab (Burma), present resident [*sic*] at Karikal.

I am at present studying at this school by the above address and am in seventh standard. As you are our Muslim leader, I ask you to do [me] a kind favour. I shall be appearing for the Public Examination on November 20th, 1944. Recently, we were given a form to fill in; [in] it was written 'caste', and I wrote Muslim; the teacher said that it was wrong and forced me and my brother to write Mohamedan and also showed me a paper which was sent to the school by the Inspector in which it was written Mohamedan; so I have to write Mohamedan as there was no one to plead. I ask you to write a letter to the Inspector of European Schools, Madras, but please don't mention my name.

By the beginning of November, we would be given another form to fill. As I have no desire to write Mohamedan and I ask your help as a reference to show that Mohamedan was wrong and Muslim is right, I hope you would take a serious step to put a stop to it.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply, [and] thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMED DAUD MARACAN

181

Mohammad Shafi Daudi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bihar I/45

DAUDNAGAR,
DIST. MUZAFFARPUR,
BIHAR,
30 September 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to you, after a long, long time, as it touches the national

interest the Musalmans have at heart.

I can only guess the point on which a crisis has arisen in your talks with Gandhiji, living as I do, in a distant village, twenty-eight miles from the district town of Muzaffarpur in Bihar, where there is no other companion except a few of the newspapers to which I subscribe.

If the crisis is that Gandhiji is not prepared to give his wholehearted support to the ideology of Pakistan in a free India and insists on a plebiscite, the Musalmans cannot pledge to work with the Congress and your stand is worthy of the great cause you have taken in your hands.

Plebiscites are taken on questions with doubtful answers. The Pakistan claimed by the Muslims is not such a question. Our existence as Musalmans presupposes that we cannot live on sufferance of Hindus when a decision will be taken by majority votes.

As I am anxious to know the truth about it, I would deem it a great favour, should you be pleased to confide in me, knowing as you do that I had been working all my life for the uplift of the Musalmans.

With good wishes for the success of the cause you are striving [for],

I am,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SHAFI DAUDI
Ex -MLA (Central)

182

Fasih Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/19

BENGALI KOTHI,
CIVIL LINES,
ALIGARH, U.P.,
30 September 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I read in the papers that your prolonged talks with Mr. Gandhi have broken down. I also studied the whole correspondence deeply.

Mr. Gandhi requests you to address the League session to induce the Leaguers to accept his "moth-eaten Pakistan". But, I assure you, Quaid-i-Azam, that if you reject anything, not a single Leaguer can dare to accept it, whether he may be a member of the Working Committee or of the Council or an ordinary member. We have appointed you the President of our League because we have full faith in you. By

the release of the correspondence your position is much enhanced in all sections of people, not particularly the Muslims.

I, as the Vice-President of the Aligarh Bacha Muslim League, invite you to come to Aligarh and address the students who are waiting for your command. "I hope, you will not disappoint me", I repeat Mr. Gandhi's words. When you were kind enough not to disappoint him, I hope you will also not disappoint me as I am a younger brother of yours. You were kind enough to accept the invitation of the M[uslim] U[niversity] Union more than once. This is for the first time that an invitation is being sent to you to come to Aligarh on behalf of Bacha Muslim League. In the end, I would assure you that if the call comes, then the *Bachas* will be the first to come in [to] the field of action.

Yours sincerely,
FASIH UDDIN AHMAD

183

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 533/309

PANDHAR KAWADA,
30 September 1944

Although failure of negotiations is regrettable yet your logical dignified [and] honourable stand is highly appreciated.

Your patience is all the more laudable. Central Province's Muslims are solidly with you.

RAUF SHAH

184

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/244-7

GUL-I-RA'ANA,
HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
30 September 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have read the correspondence that passed between you and

Mr. Gandhi with great care and keen interest. I greatly admire your patience throughout. Please accept my sincere congratulations on the excellent manner in which you presented the case of Muslim India. We are indeed most fortunate in having you to guide the Muslims and advocate their cause so admirably. It is quite evident that the Hindus do not mean business and they are not yet reconciled to the Musalmans coming into their own. All that Mr. Gandhi offered was zonal autonomy instead of autonomy province-wise and then also after slicing away a very large portion of the area and thus reducing the autonomous territory. I do not believe that Mr. Gandhi did not understand what the Lahore Resolution in fact meant. He knows very well and unless the Hindus are really prepared to give up their dream of Hindudom, I do not see any possibility of a settlement. It must have been a very great strain on you, and I do hope you are none the worse for it. Please take some rest and look after yourself.

I am having the whole correspondence, together with your speeches at the Lahore session[1] and the Madras session[2] of the Muslim League, printed in a booklet form. I think it will be very useful. I purposely refrained from writing to you all this time as I did not want to bother you when you were so busy. I have not yet received the power of attorney regarding *Dawn* and *Manshoor*. May I request you to kindly send[3] it to me as early as convenient so that everything may be put on proper footing.

I read in the papers that Sir Azizul Haq had met you in Bombay.[4] I wonder if you remembered to speak to him about the quota of newsprint for *Manshoor*. I feel that we must have an Urdu daily also from Delhi. What is your programme now? Will you be staying on in Bombay till you come to Delhi for the Assembly session or will you take a short holiday before that? You should if it can be managed. A short holiday will do you lot of good.

I hope Miss Jinnah is keeping fit.

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from children,

Yours sincerely,

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 327-39.
[2]Ibid., 359-71.
[3]See No. 202 & *AFM* 481/59. Not printed.
[4]On 14 September. See No. 145.

185

Statement by M. A. Jinnah

F. 810/199

30 September 1944

My attention has been drawn to the report of Mr. Gandhi's speech[1] after the evening public prayer immediately after the announcement and the correspondence was released to the press. I regret that Mr. Gandhi should have said that he assured the public that the leakage had not occurred from his office, and that he had strong reasons for his belief, thereby insinuating that the leakage occurred from my office. He proceeds to say that he had drawn my attention to the matter, but that I was indifferent. This is not correct. He had mentioned to me that a certain amount of speculation was given publicity in some newspapers before the leakage of the correspondence. My reply to him then was that Birla House was almost a public place where anybody and everybody was allowed, whereas I assured him that my house was a private residence and nobody could come in without previously specifying his business. I asked Mr. Gandhi what I could do in the matter and then the topic was dropped. I must repudiate the insinuation made by him in acquitting his office without a thorough enquiry into this matter to find out who is really responsible for the leakage.

I am sorry to note some of the things which he has said in the rest of that speech and also at his press conference.[2] He has started a propaganda, which has unfortunately given a lead[3] which is calculated to go against the spirit of our joint announcement.[4]

M. A. JINNAH

[1] See Annex I
[2] See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 839-43.
[3] See Annex II.
[4] No. 177.

Annex I to No. 185
Speech by M. K. Gandhi at his prayer meeting

[*Extract*][1]

BOMBAY,
27 September 1944

Referring to the leakage of the correspondence between him and

Quaid-i-Azam and its unauthorized publication in a certain section of the press, he observed that he had warned the press before against indulging in conjectures, because he felt that would damage the cause. But what had appeared in the press now was more than a mere conjecture. It seemed that they had somehow managed to get actual copies of the correspondence. Perhaps it was clever on their part, but that did them little credit. Journalism, like every institution, had its own code of ethics and he was not there to pass judgement. All he could say was that he himself had, perhaps, followed a different code of ethics even in the field of journalism.

He assured them that the leakage had not occurred from his office, and he had strong reasons for his belief. He had the other day drawn the Quaid-i-Azam's attention to the leakage, but the Quaid-i-Azam was indifferent.

Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 836-7.

Annex II to No. 185

F. 1011/31-2

GANDHI-JINNAH TALKS—WHAT NEXT[1]

30 September 1944

The more one reads the correspondence between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah the more is one impressed by the magnitude of the issues raised by the two sides. It is necessary to consider the communal problem and the fight for national independence in all their various aspects and in their true perspective. Though at the outset the failure of the two leaders to come to an agreement has caused disappointment to those who expected some good to come out of their talks, the failure need not be considered as tragic. It must be remembered that the idea of vivisection of India is repugnant to most thinking people and the majority of the people in the country including Congressmen. If they still kept their patience and looked with a certain amount of magnanimity and hopefulness on the attempts of Rajaji and Gandhiji to come to a settlement with Mr. Jinnah and the League on the basis of the now famous Rajaji Formula, it was not because they eschewed their dislike of the division of the country but because they were prepared to go a long way to meet the persistent demands of Mr. Jinnah and be rid of the bother of communal disunity even at the risk of sacrificing the unity of the country. Even Rajaji and Gandhiji went about the task not because of their love of Pakistan but

because they considered it as a necessary evil of political adjustment and expediency in the existing circumstances of the country. Stripped of all camouflage and sentimental cobwebs, the dangers likely to arise from the acceptance of the principle of separation are any day greater than those resulting from present day communal discords.

It is a fashion of armchair politicians and those who have no stake in the country to flaunt on us their advice frequently that both sides must have the spirit of give and take for honourable settlement. The published correspondence leaves no room to doubt as to which side was willing to give in to accommodate the other. Gandhiji had found it possible to come down from his original aversion to the very idea of separation to its acceptance on the principle of self-determination. If Mr. Jinnah had been actuated by any real desire for compromise by giving in to some extent to meet the view point of Gandhiji, he could have easily struck a bargain and the Muslim League would have got the substance of their Pakistan demand. But on the contrary, Mr. Jinnah appears to have entered into the talks solely with a view to insist upon everything that he wanted irrespective of the claims of others. As Gandhiji put it, the more Mr. Jinnah began to interpret the Lahore Resolution the more alarming its picture and implications grew.

The communal settlement was intended not merely for its own sake, but more for the sake of rallying all the people of the country for the gaining of independence from foreign rule. Therefore, Gandhiji is right in insisting that once the principle of self-determination is accepted, the Muslims must join in the fight for freedom. But Mr. Jinnah was evasive on the point. Perhaps he would like to get Pakistan from the Congress and the Hindus and may not be averse to the continuance of British domination. Secondly, while he based his demand for Pakistan on the ground of self-determination by which those areas wherein Muslims are predominant must be constituted as a separate state, he has his eyes on other territories also not coming under that category and hence his idea is possibly to dominate over others who may not be legitimately brought into his Pakistan. Thirdly, he ignores the fundamental implication of the idea of self-determination by which the people living in the area should determine their status by expressing their free will through a plebiscite. While he is not prepared to allow the Muslims to be subject to what he calls the majority rule of the Hindus in a united India, he wants to compel the minorities in his own Pakistan region to submit themselves to the majority rule of the Muslims without their free consent. If he is so sure that all the Muslims in his Pakistan area do

want a separation there is no reason why he should fight shy of allowing them to express their opinion about it through the well-known channel of a plebiscite. Fourthly, when Gandhiji wants that while consenting to the division of the country, the separated states must agree to combined policies and action regarding such vital matters as defence, foreign affairs, customs, etc., Mr. Jinnah would leave them only [to] the whims and choice of the separated states. The implications of such an attitude are dangerous and cannot be accepted by any reasonable man who knows the circumstances of the country.

We have had enough of divisions into petty states in the past and their disastrous consequences in exposing the country to foreign domination and exploitation. India cannot afford to bring in again such a state of affairs. Therefore, the stand taken by Gandhiji on the fundamental questions of plebiscite, combined fight for freedom and national security for the country as a whole is unimpeachable and no reasonable man, either in India or outside, can question the wisdom underlying it. Mr. Jinnah, instead of entering into the talks with an eye and heart to settle the matter on a workable basis, has been harping upon acceptance by Gandhiji of the two-nation theory and absolute sovereignty of the separated states without any reference to a common struggle for freedom or common obligations as between friendly states for national security. Mr. Jinnah has also no definite answer as to how the petty states of separated Pakistan are to be made self-sufficient economically.

Though the talks ended in failure, [they] have at least had the benefit of revealing to the whole world how impracticable and dangerous are the implications of Mr. Jinnah's attitude and how he had no concrete or appreciable proposal to base any intelligent discussion in matters of political and communal adjustments. Now, what next, is the question. Mr. Jinnah has always been at pains to characterize Gandhiji as non-representative or as representing the Hindus only, if at all he represents anybody. To some extent it may be true. Even though out of deference to Gandhiji, the Congress and its leaders may be willing to submit to his proposals about the division of India on the principle of self-determination, they would not do so without making a searching examination of them and without a heavy heart. But it may be taken as granted that if only Mr. Jinnah would fall in with Gandhiji's proposals, Gandhiji will succeed in finally persuading the Congress to accept the compromise.

Now that there is no prospect of any such compromise with Mr. Jinnah, two questions have to be seriously considered. Do the Muslim League

and other Muslims accept the position taken by Mr. Jinnah in toto. If they do not, they must wake up and pave the way for an honourable settlement, taking advantage of the Gandhiji-Rajaji Formula which is the maximum that can be conceded reasonably and safely to any minority. Again, Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League represent only a religious community and they are fighting for communal rights only without much reference to the political and economic aspects of the national problem. It naturally follows that they must deal with other communities, their organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha and their leaders for any communal settlement.

The Congress truly claims to be representative of the whole nation and not of any community. Therefore, it may well confine itself to national problems while directing also its energies by intensive propaganda to bring about unity among the various communities instead of frittering away its energies in carrying on fruitless negotiations with intransigent and impossible men like Mr. Jinnah. Let the Hindu Mahasabha and organisations of other communities fight out the matter with the Muslim League and let the Congress arbitrate between them. It has been the practice among some Congress leaders to glorify Mr. Jinnah and the League and speak of them with great regard while belittling or speaking derisively about other organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha and their leaders. Such a habit should be given up.

Again in their eagerness to convince the people about the wisdom of granting the principle of self-determination to the Muslims, some Congressmen had even gone to the extent of attributing to Congress Ministries acts of omission and commission by which the interests of Muslims were not safeguarded as much as they deserved to be. When provincial satraps and agents of the British Government who had opportunities to work with the Congress Ministries had paid encomiums to their wisdom, tact and intelligence, this kind of vilifying them is pernicious and gives a handle to the Muslim communalists to justify their unreasonable demands. Any day the attitude and conduct of the Congress Ministries towards all communities compared favourably with what are to be found in provinces like Sind and Bengal under the League Ministries. Therefore, however much one may be willing to compromise, even sacrificing long-cherished ideals for the sake of expediency and political adjustments, one must be careful about the arguments trotted out to justify it.

The *Free Press Journal*, 30 September 1944.

186

Feroz-ud-Din Haji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 581/113-4

DHARAVI,
[Undated] September 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

May you live long! Please accept my hearty congratulations for your bold stand taken by you during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. *Insha Allah,* one day Mr. Gandhi and the entire Hindu nation shall have to agree to our demand of Pakistan. They shall have to give us four *annas* for twelve *annas* of their own.

I am an ordinary businessman, and just in a fit of sentimentality I am writing these lines, or what approach have my ideas to a place haunted by thinkers and politicians of the first rank.

I read in an Urdu paper that the Muslim League is about to take steps to establish a *Bayt al-Maal* Fund. Many a time before I thought I should write to you about this. Please do open a fund of the *Bayt al-Maal*. The *Zakat* that we give goes into the pockets of professional beggars and cannot be utilized in any nation-building task. As now the League is a powerful organisation of the Musalmans, it is high time that such a fund is opened. In this category, the writer can offer five thousand rupees annually. We have other institutions of our own and if they also agree to this, as we hope they will, then our contribution will rise to ten thousand rupees. If this meagre sum can be utilized in any constructive national work, I shall contribute annually under the laws of the *Shari'at*. You know that the *Zakat* is 2.50 per cent of the fixed capital [*sic*].

This fund, in my opinion, should be in charge of a person who is acquainted with the laws of Islamic *shari'at* and who is self-supporting and is interested in trade and commerce.

Yours faithfully,
FEROZ-UD-DIN HAJI
Hides & Skin Merchant

187

A. H. Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/422

SIND MADRASAH COLLEGE,
KARACHI,
2 October 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending herewith a copy of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Sind Madrasah College Union for your kind perusal. This meeting was held to expose the hollowness of "generous" offer made by the great Mahatma in the form of Rajaji Formula.

I hope the whole world will be convinced of our honesty of purpose.

Let me pray that God Almighty may give you sufficient strength and bless you with a sufficiently long life to reap the fruits of your labours in your own life-time.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. H. SIDDIQI
B.A. (Hons.), Ph.D.
Principal

Enclosure to No. 187

F. 769/424

KARACHI,
30 September 1944

RESOLUTION

We, the students of the Sind Madrasah College, Karachi, declare our full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President of All India Muslim League, and assure him that Muslim youth of Sind is solidly behind him.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
Sind Madrasah College Union

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P. C. Joshi to the Daily Worker, *London*

Telegram, F. 918/240

2 October 1944

The failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks has shocked patriotic opinion throughout the country and the new call of the Communist Party—"They must meet again"—is receiving widespread response. In fact, Mr. Jinnah, releasing the correspondence and giving the joint statement[1] declared that negotiations have not been broken, and Mr. Gandhi said that they have [been] adjourned *sine die* and [they] hope to meet again. Immediately afterwards, Gandhiji, in his prayer meeting, declared that it now rests with the people and the press to discuss the issues, opine on them and bring them both together again.

British Government's refusal to part with power and settle with India, together with the increasing misery of the people under food scarcity, mounting prices, growing epidemics, brought the two greatest leaders of India together to forge a united front to win an interim national government to save the people, rouse the nation and develop India's vast resources for a quick war against Japan.

They have failed to agree but they understand each other's viewpoint better and have become friends. The issues have become clearly defined for the people of both sides to intervene.

Mr. Jinnah demanded recognition of the right to form independent sovereign states in Pakistan areas of Muslim homelands. Gandhiji understood it as a separatist demand. He failed to see it as the demand for the same freedom for which he and the Congress have been fighting [for the] last fifty years. Let there be no doubt in the minds of the British friends of India that under the banner of the League the national movement of the Muslims has grown into a mass movement and it represents the freedom urge of hundred million Muslims.

Gandhiji agreed to recognise the Muslim right to form a separate state provided plebiscite was held beforehand and guarantees given that subjects of common interest like defence, communications, etc., will be effectively safeguarded. Jinnah considered Gandhiji's preconditions as qualifications to the League demand for sovereign independence and refused to agree.

Mr. Jinnah failed to win [over] Gandhiji because he did not give a democratic basis to Pakistan and failed to make a categorical statement that Pakistan does not mean encroachment upon homelands of other

nationalities.

The Communist Party is trying to build a bridge between the two premier national organisations by struggling to evolve a common platform based on the principle of unqualified freedom and real democracy.

It recognises the League demand of sovereign independence as just while it regards Gandhiji's desire for asserting the people's will and for future fraternal relationship [*sic*] and is putting forward the following proposals to serve as basis for common agreement:

i. Unqualified recognition to form sovereign independent states in Muslim homelands, i.e. in north-west and north-east India;
ii. Pakistan State to be established through a separate Constituent Assembly based on universal franchise;
iii. Such a Constituent Assembly to decide whether it will join the Indian Union or only enter into mutual assistance pacts;
iv. The leadership of the Congress and the League to sit in joint session to thrash out differences regarding boundaries, and discuss plans for future collaboration and evolve concrete tasks facing the United National Front to save the people from famine and appeal to world democratic opinion to press the British Government for settlement with India.

A great weakness of the situation is that Gandhiji's colleagues, leaders of the Congress, continue to be kept in jail. Everyone in India feels that if they were out, Gandhiji's hands would be stronger. Mr. Jinnah did not make any counter-proposals because Gandhiji was only talking in his individual capacity. He cannot become the official representative of the Congress unless members of the Working Committee are released. The biggest way in which the people of Britain can help India's patriotic parties to come together is to intensify the demand for the immediate release of the Congress leaders and to continue the pressure for settlement with India. As long as British Government remains adamant it is inevitable that our parties will find it difficult to get rid of mutual suspicions.

In the hour of our gloom we appeal to the British people to have faith in our people and leaders. We will get together. You can help us by seeing that Amery[2] goes and Churchill[3] agrees to settle with India.

P.C. JOSHI
Secretary,
Communist Party of India

See No. 177.
[2]Secretary of State for India and Burma in the War Cabinet of Winston Churchill.
[3]Prime Minister of the UK (1940-45).

189

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 308/291-2

EDELWEISS,
DARJEELING,
2 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been up here with the children for the last ten days and shall be returning to Calcutta on the 4th. I am having complete rest.

I have turned down all Government of India nominations in keeping with our policy.

So your talks with Gandhi have failed. The correspondence reveals that the *Bania* had made up his mind right from the beginning to waste your time.

The "great saint" of the Hindus has gone out of his way to fetch the Muslim nation an unwarranted insult by calling them a mass of converts and assigning to them by implication a status no higher than the Untouchables. This act of his will be of immense help to us in further closing our ranks. The Muslim hirelings of the Hindus have been put in an uncomfortable position as a result of this shameful outburst.

It seems that we shall have to carry on singly our struggle with renewed vigour. Our cause is just and with the help of *Allah*, we shall triumph.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours v[ery] sincerely,
HASSAN

190

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 992/110

ALLAHABAD,
2 October 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

It gave the Muslim nation the greatest satisfaction that you were not entrapped by the Mahatmatic [*sic*] disguise of Mr. Gandhi. How

[ever] great he may be considered by his co-religionists, we the Muslim nation have no belief in his doctrine, principles and leadership. He is a Hindu and represents Hindus of India.

Poor as we are, we are disunited, selfish and cannot pay our due respects to an unselfish, strong, honest, extremely hardworking leader as you are. Unfortunately, the press we are in possession of is weak to express our feelings, but you can easily feel our impulses. Rest assured our heart is with you, [which] will give you more strength, courage and undoubted energy. The stand taken by you has raised the downtrodden Muslim nation to its full height. Long live the Quaid-i-Azam.

A DISTANT MUSLIM

191

Ahmad Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/571

C/O THE ISLAMIA CLUB BUILDING,
OUTSIDE KABULI GATE,
PESHAWAR CITY,
3 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am glad, as every Musalman must be, to see that you have with laurels come out of the arduous test of your parleys with that rather naughty saint of Sevagram. The Musalmans must feel fully satisfied that in you they have a leader and a Quaid who, as pointed out in one of my last letters to you, was up single-handedly against a diabolically clever Mahatma (this time garbed with a subtle design of individual capacity) backed by an organised and resourceful nation, and could put up the Muslim case so admirably statesmanlike [*sic*]. I think we have succeeded so far inasmuch as the exchange of views with this ever changing and inconsistent 'saint' was concerned, and will achieve the final and ultimate success when you enter the arena with the Congress as a whole, an event which may likely happen shortly. We, in the Frontier, wish you all luck and godspeed.

I, now, beg to inform you, Quaid-i-Azam, that I have had myself relieved of my present duties and have proceeded on leave preparatory to my departure for New Delhi towards the third week of this month in order that I may be able to fix myself up in Delhi, during the present

accommodation difficulties obtaining there, before joining you at 10 Aurangzeb Road, on the first of November next, as desired by you at Lahore where I had the unique privilege of an interview with you. Heavily preoccupied as you are, I venture to request you very kindly to let me have a line[1] whether your programme, as it stood then, still remains the same, so that, in case it is changed, I should follow you accordingly instead of proceeding to Delhi to report myself for duty, for which I am having an indescribably longing [*sic*] desire.

With best and sincerest regards and wishing you health and a very long life,

I remain, Quaid-i-Azam,

Your most devoted servant,

AHMAD ALI

[1]Jinnah advised that he join him at New Delhi on 1 November 1944. See F. 1102/576, *QAP*. Not printed.

192

Ramesh Shukla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/101-2

GENERALGANJ,
CAWNPORE,
3 October 1944

The Executive Committee of the Cawnpore Students' Union passed the following resolution in its meeting of 1st October 1944, on the temporary breakdown of Mahatma Gandhi-Mr. Jinnah negotiations:

> This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cawnpore Students' Union expresses its deep sense of gratefulness to Mahatmaji and Quaid-i-Azam for their Herculean efforts made by both to solve the Congress-League unity problem, for achieving Indian freedom on the basis of self-determination. The meeting believes that the breakdown is so called adjournment *sine die* and that that was not the end of their efforts. The meeting assures them that it will try its best to hasten the date when they will meet again and settle the problem of growing nationalism [on] the basis of self-determination of independent and sovereign states in their homeland.
>
> The meeting further deplores the activities of those who for their own sake have begun to create embitterment by spreading defeatism or questioning the *bona fides* and sincerity of Mahatmaji and Quaid-i-Azam.

It further appeals to the Congressmen, Leaguers and other student organisations not to do or say anything that would embitter communal relations and passionately work for Congress-League settlement for the freedom of motherland.

RAMESH SHUKLA
Office Secretary,
Cawnpore Students' Union

193

Stuart Gelder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1023/8

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,
BOMBAY,
3 October 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose the interview as promised—one copy for you to keep, another to be returned[1] to me with amendments, if any. If you can see your way to let me have this back for transmission to London tomorrow, I shall be very much obliged. I want to thank you for giving me so much of your time and for so patiently emphasising your point of view. I think it is of great importance that this should be sent to my paper as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, with only four pages in war-time England, we cannot hope to explain things as fully as we should like. But I hope what I have written gives fairly clear impression of the situation.

Again, many thanks,

Yours sincerely,
STUART GELDER

[1]See Enclosure to No. 195.

194

Statement[1] by Yuvarajah of Pithapuram

SHC, Non-Muslims II/107

3 October 1944

After the failure of Messrs Gandhi and Jinnah to come to an

immediate agreement has been announced, I, naturally, am disappointed but am not defeated.

I do understand the difficulties of both these leaders, for both of whom I have the greatest regard. But taking everything into consideration, I feel Mr. Gandhi should have accepted the 1940 Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League, as put in the words of Mr. Jinnah. If Pakistan is to be conceded, the so-called Two-Nation Theory and the Muslim plebiscite need not have stood in the way. Neither is the insistence on the immediate demarcation of joint activities of the two States so necessary. The big brother can afford to take so much of chance with his smaller brother.

I am certain that sooner or later we will come to an agreement, with or without leaders. The urge for freedom will tolerate no obstacles. May it be possible for Mr. Gandhi to reopen negotiation with Mr. Jinnah on the basis suggested in the preceding remarks. That will be his greatest achievement and the country's short-cut to salvation.

R. V. M. S. RAMARAU
Yuvarajah of Pithapuram

[1]Jinnah hoped the statement would have the desired effect on Gandhi and other Hindu leaders. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/108. Not printed.

195

M. A. Jinnah to Stuart Gelder

F. 1032/9

BOMBAY,
4 October 1944

Dear Mr. Gelder,

Enclosed herewith is a summary of my talk with you. Please let me know as arranged, for I would like it to be released as soon as possible in India.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Stuart Gelder, Esq.,
Room 449,
Taj Mahal Hotel,
Bombay

Enclosure to No. 195
Stuart Gelder to the Editor, News Chronicle, *London*

Telegram, F. 1023/10-2

BOMBAY,
4 October 1944

"There is only one practical realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into the two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan by the recognition of the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and Assam and Bengal as sovereign Muslim territories as they now stand and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan. We are prepared to trust 25 million Muslims to them if they will trust us." This view was expressed to me today by Mr. Jinnah in a two and a half hours conversation on his talks with Mr. Gandhi.

"The offer made to us," said Mr. Jinnah, "is an insult to intelligence. I was asked to agree to a plebiscite where Muslims are not in absolute majority. What was meant by absolute majority? I asked Mr. Gandhi this. His reply meant that only where we are more than seventy per cent of the entire population should we be given control without a vote. In this, he differed from Mr. Rajagopalachari, who said we should accept the legal definition of absolute majority which means 51 per cent of the entire population of an election area, including people who do not vote—not 51 per cent of the poll. A child can see that no party could hope to secure this. So, I am asked to agree to a plebiscite which will probably leave a mutilated and unworkable Pakistan. This plebiscite would take place after the war and after I had agreed to cooperate in an interim national government in which 75 per cent of the seats will be held by Hindus. It would, therefore, be a Hindu majority government which would, when it becomes permanent federal government, set up the post-war commission for demarcating frontiers and arranging the plebiscite.

"I am asked to agree before the plebiscite and therefore before I know what Pakistan will be, to working arrangements on defence, finance, foreign affairs, commerce, customs, communications, etc., as a condition of our being allowed to have any kind of Pakistan at all, and it will be with a 75 per cent Hindu majority government with which we shall have to agree. What should we have left? A Pakistan probably pitted with islands of Hindustan not only on the frontiers but deep within Pakistan territory and further subject to control over these most

vital matters of this national government. This is not independence. It is a form of provincial autonomy, subject always in the most vital matters, to an overwhelmingly Hindu federal authority. So long as Muslims are in minority, and they always will be, any such arrangement must leave us dependent on the Hindu majority rule.

"I asked him to define the constitution under which such federation would work. These are matters of fundamental importance. How could I agree to the scrapping of the present constitution and framing of [a] new one as a substitute as proposed by Mr. Gandhi on the basis of a united India democratic parliamentary government which would come into operation at once. If we agree to this, the question of Pakistan would be shelved to [*sic*] doomsday and practically buried. That is what Mr. Gandhi wanted me to do.

"'If you do not give me what I want," says Mr. Gandhi, "I will reserve the right to resort to mass civil disobedience."

"I cannot be accused of being pro-British. No Indian worthy of the name wants foreign domination. But don't you see that if I agreed to join this threat it could only be by my accepting Congress demands which are opposed to Pakistan and if the British Government surrendered, Muslim India would be faced not only by Hindu majority rule but Hindu majority triumphant with British cooperation. If Mr. Gandhi does not mean to resort to civil disobedience, he should say so and withdraw the August Resolution.[1] He doesn't withdraw it. He re-emphasizes it. The fact is the Hindus want some kind of agreement which will still give them some form of control over Muslims. They will not reconcile themselves to our complete independence.

"There was another fundamental obstacle in our way. Mr. Gandhi talked in his personal capacity, I as President of the Muslim League. I told him—if we agree and my Committee rejects the agreement, I am discredited. If your Committee turns you down, you can say I was talking as an individual and you are as you were. Mr. Gandhi has also said the presence of the British impedes our agreement. There are some British who don't want agreement but there is nothing to prevent us agreeing. We have free minds and souls. No power can frustrate our coming to any agreement in ten minutes if the Muslim claim to complete independence is recognized. Then only we shall have true cooperation between Muslims and Hindus. It will be freely given by men who are masters in their own houses and not because one is subject to the domination of another and must, therefore, submit to the other's point of view."

[STUART] GELDER

[1]See No. 470, *TP*, II, 621-4.

196

Nadershah Cursetji Kias to M. A. Jinnah

F. 139/25-6

PERSONAL

505 GIRGAUM ROAD,
DARUWALLA BUILDING,
BOMBAY,
4 October 1944

Dear Sir,

The result of your meetings with Mr. Gandhi for communal settlement, which lasted for more than twenty hours, was nil as anticipated.

Referring to the interview which Mr. Gandhi gave to a foreign correspondent and published in the *Times of India* on October 2, I am surprised that Mr. Gandhi had the impudence and audacity to say—and that also after friendly talks and communications—that you are suffering from hallucination. It is more regrettable that Mr. Gandhi took this opportunity of lowering you in the public eye when he could not make you accept his own terms which were nothing but to destroy your leadership of the Muslim League and to give undue support for his so-called Hindu *Raj*.

Now, coming to the 'Quit India' Resolution,[1] Mr. Gandhi has said more than once that it is of no account and value the moment the Hindu Congress Managing Committee, including himself, were taken into custody, and it automatically extinguished [*sic*]. He said further that it was the view of his learned friends and associates. Notwithstanding this his view, he had the impudence and perversity not to withdraw the same when asked to do so, thus weakening the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League. But see the trick Mr. Gandhi played. In the guise of coming to a settlement about Pakistan, he wanted the Muslim League to join with him in ousting the British first from India as a condition precedent to any settlement. When you insisted on his withdrawing the 'Quit India' he found fault about Pakistan in a variety of ways. Further, as he thinks himself to be the greatest man of India, he wanted to enter the Muslim League meeting and prevail upon the members to do as he wanted them to do. You were absolutely right in throwing overboard his stupid and malicious suggestion.

The only thing now left for you is not to countenance this man or his Congress friends at all, who, plain [*sic*] speaking, are bent upon having everything for themselves in order to establish Hindu *Raj* in

India. Believe me, this is their innermost object. Please look at his vanity and let him alone. He does not countenance even the British who with an iron hand crushed the open rebellion when Mr. Gandhi and his Congress friends were imprisoned[2] for 'Quit India' or the entry of Americans in India as a result of the present war. He and his lieutenant, [Sardar] Vallabh[bhai] Patel, who is in jail, and his Congress associates are the last persons on earth to be overcome with arguments, and who are all sweetly dreaming of Hindu *Raj*. If this is no hallucination on the part of Gandhi-Vallabhbhai Patel and Co., I wish to know what it is. Furthermore, ten crores of Muslims, seven crores of Untouchables, eight crores of minorities, lakhs and lakhs or perhaps crores of orthodox Hindus (owing to temple entry or other caste reasons, etc., etc.) and hundreds of Princes of India and their subjects are all dead against this man and his Congress Party and his policy, and still this man has the impudence and shamelessness to say that he represents every section of the people of India. If this is no hallucination, then what does it mean? Unless the Muslims show a better hand, this man and his Party won't be quiet.

I am afraid I have troubled you enough and I hope that you will please excuse me.

Yours faithfully,
NADERSHAH C. KIAS

[1]See Enclosure to No. 195, note 1.

[2]Gandhi and Congress leaders were arrested on 9 August 1942 as a sequel to the Quit India Movement.

197

Murtaza Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/392-3

CHATRIWALA BUNGALOW,
MAHIM, BOMBAY,
4 October 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I would crave your kind indulgence for writing to you again.

I have gone through the whole published correspondence, and I have come to the conclusion that the real aim of Mr. Gandhi is not so much as to bring about a lasting and clear political unity and amity

between the Hindus and the Muslims on a just and fair basis, but rather the establishing of a Hindu *Raj* by all possible means. His antagonism to the Two-Nation Theory and his insistence on a common plebiscite and a common centre for the purposes of commerce, foreign relations, etc., etc., has completely given the whole show away, revealing the true working of his mind. Under the circumstances, Pakistan perhaps appears to be the only sheet-anchor for the salvation of the Muslims of India. But, and it is a very big 'but', who is going to grant it and how are we going to get it, which brings the question to the fore as to whether the freedom of India should or should not be our first objective and whether we would have a better chance of gaining Pakistan in a free India. Opinions might differ, but in my opinion freedom from the foreign yoke must be our first and foremost concern. Because, even if we could succeed in establishing Pakistan with the British help, of which I am very much doubtful, in spite of the Hindu antagonism, foreign domination will not only remain, but I am afraid it will become an aggressive feature and a most agonising feature for many a decade to come. We must not forget the fate of Egypt, Iraq and other such countries and their so-called independence. I would therefore urge upon you to take up the first thing first and work and strive for the freedom of India by making it the first item in the Muslim programme. Again, as it cannot be attained without the Hindu-Muslim entente, why should not we then follow the great example set by our holy Prophet [PBUH] who came to terms with the *Kuffar* of Quresh by signing the Treaty of Hudaibiya.[1] Emergencies of time surely demand some such step.

With best compliments and wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

MURTAZA ALI KHAN

[1]When the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) and his companions proceeded for pilgrimage to Makkah (628 AD), an armed group of its residents barred their path. At Hudaibiya, an agreement was reached whereby the Muslims consented to return to Madina and perform the pilgrimage next year. Further, the people of Makkah, who emigrated to Madina, were to be repatriated on request. Either party was to be free to cross the other's territory and to stay neutral in the event of war with a third party. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, 1967, 641.

198

Said Mohamed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/44

HAMIDIA BAGH,
KHURJA, U.P.,
5 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

If you recall a scene of 1917 at the Kaisar Bagh when you were discussing the Aligarh affairs—including the yet-unborn Muslim University—with the dearly loved Maharaja of Mahmudabad, God rest his soul, and I also was present, you might perhaps recognize me.

The important role which the Aligarh Old Boys Association has played in the Muslim renaissance in the past is not unknown. This cherished institution has now fallen on painfully unfavourable times and has almost ceased to exist. The *Dawn* of September 27, 1944, contains a very clear picture of the depth to which the Association has sunk. We, the old Aligarians, residing in Khurja, have decided to do what lies in our limited power to reform it.

Would you please spare a few moments of your valuable time to help us.[1]

Yours sincerely,
SAID MOHAMED KHAN
Major

[1]Jinnah replied that they were heading in the right direction and wished them all success. See *SHC*, UP I/45. Not printed.

199

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/38-9

ZAIN-UL-ABIDIN ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
7 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

None has better served the cause of Islam and vindicated the truth

of Muslim nationhood in India than you, during the last two hundred years, when you defined the basis of our nationality to Mr. Gandhi in reply to his letter during your correspondence with him. The negation of this fundamental principle is false, nay a crime, and had [*sic* for would have] sooner or later submerged us in Hindudom and in no case would have led to the real freedom and peace of India.

I have been struggling hard for the last six years to base the education of the Muslims of India on their national integrity and efficient and modern equipment. I trust that with your help we shall also secure the freedom of educating our coming generations in the manner we think best.

With salute to your ennobling example and best wishes to you,

Yours devotedly,
MOH[AMME]D AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI
M.Sc., Ph. D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Cantab.)
Education Committee, AIML

200

Qazi Abad Mohammad Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/111

4 MUSLIM HOSTEL,
MEERUT COLLEGE,
MEERUT,
8 October 1944

The Muslim students of Meerut College at an extraordinary meeting held in the Jesse Union Debating Hall, Muslim Hostel, passed unanimously the following resolution to be circulated throughout the length and breadth of the country of Pakistan and Hindustan.

That we the Muslim students of Meerut College are highly disappointed and enraged at the uncompromising, unjustifiable and illogical attitude of Mr. Gandhi during his negotiations with our Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Contrary to our past experience of Mr. Gandhi's presumptuousness and obstinacy to ignore and bypass the Muslim claim to Pakistan, as embodied in the August resolution 1942 of the A.I.C.C., we had nevertheless some rays of hope that he would learn a lesson to adopt a matter of fact mentality. But all our pious aspirations are razed to the ground when we find that Mr. Gandhi is still under a delusion that our Quaid-i-Azam does not carry with him the boundless enthusiasm and ardent wishes of

millions and millions of Musalmans living under the Pakistan and Hindustan skies.

We are of opinion that his objection to recognise the All India Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the sole representative of Indian Musalmans is a grave insult to the entire Muslim nation and we demand that in clear and unequivocal terms, without the intrusion of his so called 'inner voice', he should express his acceptance of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, which will hasten the day of India's independence and end the era of subjection, slavery and powerlessness.

We affirm complete and most ardent and almost fanatical faith in the able and enviable leadership of our Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who is the saviour of Indian Musalmans, the torch-bearer of our national consciousness, integrity and unity and the prophet of Muslim renaissance in India. We further believe that Pakistan is the only and just solution of the Muslim-Hindu question and the safest road to India's deliverance from foreign yoke.

In the end we warn Mr. Gandhi and some Muslim heretics like Mr. Fazlul Haq, Dr. Ansari, etc., not to deceive themselves.

We pray for the success and long life of our Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

QAZI ABAD MOHAMMAD SIDDIQI
B.A.

N.B. Give reply[1] to our message to you. We shall be encouraged.

[1]Jinnah thanked them for their unstinting support. See *SHC*, Students II/112 Not printed.

201

M. A. Jinnah to Fasih Uddin Ahmad

SHC, UP III/20

9 October 1944

Dear Mr. Fasih Uddin Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of September 30th.[1] I am glad that you have studied the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and me, which has been recently released, and you will also study further developments of the interviews and statements that are appearing and form your own judgement about them.

As regards my coming to Aligarh at the invitation of the Bacha Muslim League, much as I appreciate your regard for me, in the first instance the Aligarh Muslim League and the Union have already committed me to come there, but I am not sure how soon I can fulfil these engagements, and I am unable to make any further commitment

at present, but I thank you all the same for your kind invitation.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Fasih Uddin Ahmad, Esq.,
Bengali Kothi,
Civil Lines,
Aligarh, U.P.

[1]No. 182.

202

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

AFM, 481/61

9 October 1944

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of September 30th[1] and also for the joint telegram[2] from Begum Sahiba and yourself. Certainly it is very encouraging to me. I have done my best, and now it is for Muslim India to judge and act.

As regards your publishing the whole correspondence together with my speeches at the Lahore session and Madras session in a booklet form, I think you might include my speech delivered to the Council of the All India Muslim League on the 30th of July.[3] I am sending you a correct copy of the correspondence, as even the *Dawn* did not, in some matters, correctly report it, and there were several mistakes.

I have already sent to you the power of attorney regarding the *Dawn* and the *Manshoor*. Yes, I conveyed your complaint to Azizul Haque, and he said he would meet you in Delhi.

My programme, as at present advised, is that I shall be here in Bombay till the end of October, and hope to get to Delhi for the Assembly session. I wish I could take some holiday. Miss Jinnah is keeping much better now. Thank you for your kind enquiries.

With kind regards from us to both of you and love to the children,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
8A, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]No. 184.
[2]See F. 335/248, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]See No. 3, note 1.

203

M. Zaman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/30

CONFIDENTIAL

ALLAHABAD,
9 October 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am conscious of the fact that my rather long letter will be an encroachment upon your precious time when problems of great import are before you. But since you have always been kind enough to give valuable guidance to the A. I. Muslim Students' Federation from time to time, and this organization has the honour and privilege of carrying out the policy and programme advocated by you through the All India Muslim League, it is incumbent on my part to seek your advice regarding the political situation of the country after the breakdown of your talks with Mr. Gandhi. It is hence that I venture to write this letter to you.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim Students' Federation is meeting at Aligarh on the 22nd of October. Deliberations will be made upon the recent developments in the politics of the country, in the light of which a programme for future work will be chalked out. Some students are of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi's recent correspondence with you has revealed his inability to appreciate the true aspirations of the Muslim nation. He has not even now realized the force of the representative body of a hundred million Musalmans of this sub-continent, namely the All India Muslim League.

It is, therefore, necessary that our own efforts to strengthen the organization should be re-doubled so that he may be forced to settle terms with us in accordance with our ideal of Pakistan. Beyond this it is suggested that our energies should now be diverted towards creating public opinion among the Hindus, especially of the north- western and eastern zones, in favour of Pakistan. Particularly, the Muslim students should, for some time to come, try to convince the Hindu masses and students that Pakistan is not only inevitable but desirable for all. I humbly beg to ask your opinion on this point, because the Communist Party of India has already begun this work vehemently, and we have doubts if they represent our cause amongst the masses and the intelligentsia as faithfully as we desire. The Communists are even entering the Muslim League and are trying to mould the minds of the Musalmans as it suits them. Will it not therefore be advisable that we should now directly approach the Hindu masses and intelligentsia and try to carry them

with us because it is possible that the force of public opinion might either compel the Congress dictator to revise his opinion, or if not actually replace him, might create a strong section of Congress leadership in our favour.

We are at present keeping aloof from the Hindus and we do not want to go to them unless you favour this attitude of ours. Hence I request you to favour me with a reply about this matter in order that the Working Committee of the A. I. M. S. F. may be enlightened on all the points mentioned above.

Further, I am to inform you that we propose to hold our annual session in the last week of November or in December before Christmas. Last year we could not hold the session since your presence became impossible owing to the unfortunate accident [*sic*] of the dastardly attack on your person. I request you to give us some suitable dates, if possible on any Saturday and Sunday. The session will be held either at Allahabad or at Aligarh. Because of the difficulty of getting food-stuff, we have not yet been able to fix the place finally.

I shall also request you to send a message[1] for a camp of the A. I. Muslim Students' Federation, which will be held at Aligarh from the 18th to 28th of this month, and in which papers and lectures on Muslim politics, education, economics, etc., have been arranged.

Hoping, once again, to be excused for this trouble and for the encroachment I have made upon your valuable and precious time.

With respects,

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. ZAMAN

General Secretary,

All India Muslim Students' Federation

[1]See No. 211.

204

Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/574

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,
BANGALORE CANT.,
9 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose a true copy of the statement issued by me to the press on

the 1st October 1944 after the breakdown of your talks with Mr. Gandhi. The statement, I am cent per cent sure, voices the true feelings of the Muslim India. Your stand is perfectly justified and is the true mirror of thoughts and feelings of the 100 million Muslims of India, less a few Muslim hirelings and mischief-mongers.

I enclose, for your kind perusal, a few cuttings[1] from the *Hindu*, the *Liberator* and the *Daily News*, just to show how each of them has published the statement piecemeal. The other vernacular papers here have published a full translation of the same.

We will never rest content until we have achieved the goal of Pakistan and for that we are prepared to give our opponents the toughest fight not known to Indian history yet, under your leadership.

With love and respect,

Yours sincerely,
SYED ABDUR RAHMAN
[*Member, AIML Council*]

PS. I forgot to enclose the true copy in the cover sent by registered post, together with other press cuttings. Hence I have sent this separately by post.

S. A. RAHMAN

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 204

Statement by Syed Abdur Rahman

F. 1102/560-1

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,
BANGALORE,
1 October 1944

The talks, as a matter of fact, should have broken down on the very first day of Gandhi-Jinnah meeting with the clear indication at the very start of the existence of an ocean of difference between them on the fundamentals, had it not been for the earnest desire on the part of both the leaders to sit and discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement, as practical politicians. While Mr. Jinnah was talking with Mr. Gandhi all along as President of the All India Muslim League, and as the sole representative of 100 millions of Musalmans of India fully empowered with "the mind and authority" of the Muslim League Council, Mr. Gandhi was speaking only in his individual capacity which, however, meant nothing for the time being. But Mr. Gandhi knew that

the views expressed by Mr. Jinnah, both in his conversation and correspondence, were not the personal views of Mr. Jinnah but definitely those of the fully represented Council of the All India Muslim League which is the sole and representative organization of the Musalmans of India. Knowing this, it is not known why Mr. Gandhi thought of addressing the Muslim League Council or an open session of the All India Muslim League which, of course, was not possible, constitutionally speaking. He also seems to be confident that he will be able to convince the Musalmans and get their acceptance for his or Rajaji's Formula even without Mr. Jinnah's help. This is really a great discovery. If that is so, nothing prevents Mr. Gandhi from taking this wrong course and making one more experiment with truth and with the real mind of the Muslim India. It has not yet been sufficiently realised by Mr. Gandhi and the people of this country that the stand-point of Mr. Jinnah is the stand-point of the Muslim India and the Muslim League Council. The mind of Muslim India is so framed today that even if Mr. Jinnah were inclined to change the constitution and the goal of the Muslim League, it will be a very difficult task for him to bring the Muslim India round to a different viewpoint. I, therefore, say that it would be a great mistake if Mr. Gandhi and the Hindu India even now do not fully realise that Mr. Jinnah rules the hearts of the 100 million Musalmans of India barring a few individuals who are perhaps destined to play the role of traitors in history, but on whom Mr. Gandhi even now seems to count wittingly or unwittingly. It is open to Mr. Gandhi to test the will and determination of this "body" of 100 million "converts" of nearly a thousand years' standing in India, and the intensity of their faith in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. The zeal of "converts" to the faith of Islam is known to the world and history and it should not be a surprise to Mr. Gandhi if these "converts" to Islam play a more important part in the history of India in the years to come. The Musalmans of India whom Mr. Gandhi even now calls converts have learnt to be united after a series of trials and sacrifices during the last few decades and they have fortunately today a leader like Mr. Jinnah in their midst whom they understand better than anybody else claiming to speak on behalf of the Musalmans of India. They have implicit faith in him and his leadership.

SYED ABDUR RAHMAN
B. A., LL.B.
Member, AIML Council

205

Resolution by Akola District Muslim League
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 829/90

10 October 1944

A crowded public meeting was held here last night under the auspices of the Akola District Muslim League, Mr. A. S. Khan, Pleader, presiding. The following resolution moved by Mr. Mohammad Usman Faruqui and seconded by Mr. Mohammad Haroon was unanimously passed:

> This public meeting of the Musalmans of Akola records its deep sense of regret at the failure of the recent Jinnah-Gandhi talks and is fully convinced that the breakdown was solely due to the most illogical and unreasonable attitude adopted by Gandhiji. It is the considered opinion of this meeting that Gandhiji was greatly influenced by the anti-League and anti-Pakistan campaign carried on by a section of reactionary Hindus and was not able to keep up the same open and magnanimous mind as was displayed by him when he first announced his intention to meet the Quaid-i-Azam.
>
> The meeting reiterates its complete faith and confidence in the uprightness, ability and guidance of Mr. Jinnah, declares that the only authoritative body representing the Indian Muslims is the All India Muslim League and believes with absolute conviction that Pakistan is the only solution to the Indian political deadlock and a sure way to free India from foreign domination.
>
> This meeting strongly condemns the mischievous anti-Jinnah propaganda started by some traitor Muslims who, as hirelings and yes-men of the Congress, are out to disrupt the Muslim solidarity and warns the Muslim public not be misled by these handful of opponents of Muslim League.

SECRETARY,
DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE

206

Hussain M. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/31

ALBUQUERQUE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
10 October 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last time when you were at Delhi I spoke to you that my Club, Delhi Sports Club, wished to organise a tournament and had asked me to request you to extend your patronage to it. You were gracious enough to accept my request. Since then the Club has been working on this idea and has chalked out a policy on the following lines:

a. In order to organise the Muslim youth on the lines suggested by the All India Muslim League, it is necessary that we must create contact amongst the Muslim sportsmen of the country.
b. As the tournament is organised purely for the above purpose, it is necessary that only Muslim teams be invited to participate in it.
c. The organisers of this tournament do not wish to earn profits for themselves and, therefore, they have decided to dispose of the net profits from the tournament in the following manner:
   aa. Out of the net gains, 50% shall be presented to yourself to dispose them of in any manner you think fit.
   bb. The Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary Girls School is the only Muslim girls school in Delhi and is in desperate need of financial help. The organisers have, therefore, decided to give 25% of the net profits to this School.
   cc. The remaining 25% of the gains will be kept by the Club as reserve for future tournaments, as it is intended that the above tournament shall be organised annually.

2. The organisers are confident of success but are anxious that the success must be in keeping with the dignity and status of the Patron-in-Chief. Therefore, they approached prominent Muslims for their assistance and co-operation. So far very encouraging response has been made and the following gentlemen have very kindly communicated their desire to act as patrons of the tournament:

i. Yusuf Abdulla Haroon
ii. Qazi Mohammad Isa

iii. Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan
iv. Nawab Sahib of Mamdot
v. K.B. D.M. Malik
vi. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
vii. Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad
viii. H. Ispahani

3. I sent an invitation to Mr. Chundrigar of Bombay but the letter was returned to me with the remark that the address was insufficient. I am anxious that Bombay should be fully represented in this tournament and I, therefore, shall be grateful if you will advise me in this matter.

4. As the tournament is being organised on the lines indicated above it will not be possible for the organisers to meet the entire expenses of the teams. They are prepared to make arrangements for their board and lodging at their expense, but the teams must meet their travelling expenses themselves. This intention has been communicated to the patrons, some of whom have already sent us encouraging replies. It is not our intention to burden the patrons with this expenditure. We only wish them to use their influence on the best Muslim teams of their province and persuade them to meet their own travelling expenses.

5. It is considered advisable to start the tournament during the next session of the Indian Legislature. The organisers are anxious that the inauguration ceremony be performed by Quaid-i-Azam, who is Patron-in-Chief of the tournament. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you will be kind enough to accept their request to perform the inauguration ceremony[1] and let me know your programme during the Assembly session so that all necessary arrangements be made and completed in time.

6. The tournament shall run for a period of two weeks and it is further hoped that you would be kind enough to give away prizes to the winners in the end.[2]

Yours sincerely,
HUSSAIN M. MALIK

[1&2]Jinnah replied that he would be glad to support the projected tournament, inaugurate it, and distribute the prizes. See *SHC*, Delhi/32. Not printed.

207

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/58

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
10 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Let me offer you my sincere congratulations for your bold stand and stout resistance against all the machinations and beguilements of Mr. Gandhi. It is, indeed, the greatest good luck of the Musalmans that their interests are in the hands of a leader who is proof against all bamboozling and camouflaging.

As you had anticipated and warned Mr. Gandhi that as the word goes from him, the entire Congress camp will pillory you, they have launched their campaign which is all abuse and vituperation and is devoid of all reason. I have already issued a statement, a copy of which is enclosed. I am preparing a full article on the subject of your correspondence with Mr. Gandhi. In this connection, may I give you a little trouble? There is one point in the following extract from your press statement made on October 4 about which I wish to seek a little clarification:

I made it clear, Mr. Jinnah said, that if we agree on the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution then the question of demarcating or defining the boundaries can be taken up later in the same way as a question of boundaries arising between two nations and solved. It will be like one Government negotiating with the other and, arrive at a settlement.

But there are no Governments here, interrupted a reporter. Mr. Jinnah said that the *two bodies* would set up constitution-making bodies which would deal with the matter or even before that they might arrive at an agreement.

May I know what do the words, "the two bodies" and "they", underlined in the above extract, exactly connote? Do they refer to the Congress and the Muslim League?

The work of our Committee of Writers is proceeding very satisfactorily. There is a good response from writers. Very soon we hope to bring out some useful literature.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

Enclosure to No. 207
Statement by Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/59

ALIGARH,
10 October 1944

Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad, Convener, Committee of Writers of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to the press says:

Mr. Gandhi having broken the spirit of the joint statement[1] issued by him and Mr. Jinnah on the breakdown of their talks by his numerous press statements and speeches, there is no alternative for the Muslims but to expose the deceptive nature of his attitude and to guard against wilful misrepresentation and vilification of the stand taken by Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslims. Following the lead given by Mr. Gandhi himself, the Congress and Hindu press have launched a fusillade of invectives, vituperation and libels against Mr. Jinnah with all the fury and venom of a person who has been baulked in his efforts to bamboozle the other party. Even a cursory perusal of the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence would show that evasion and camouflage are writ large on all the replies and asseverations made by Mr. Gandhi. His letters are packed with instances of self-contradiction. He has a mortal dread of acknowledging the Muslims of India as a separate nation entitled to sovereign rights like any other nation. He naively asks as to why [he] should be asked to accept the basic principles of the Lahore Resolution when, as he claims, he has conceded the "concrete consequences which follow from it." Herein exactly lies the snag; he has done nothing of the kind. The only straight and concrete consequences of the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution to agree to the setting [up] of "independent, sovereign states" in the Muslim majority regions of north-west and north-east of India, and question[s] like demarcation of boundaries and the formation of a provisional [government] can only be matters of negotiation and adjustment after the foregoing principle has been unequivocally and without any qualification accepted. Mr. Gandhi reverses the process and makes everything contingent on the establishment of a problematical provisional government on the basis of India being taken as a single national unit. He only agrees to a family partition which is a false analogy and a meaningless proposition in so far as the settlement of the political rights and claims of national groups [is concerned]. He assents to the formation of separate states

but not independent sovereign states as he hedges it round with so many illogical and impossible conditions and takes away all the attributes of sovereignty such as Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs, etc., to be administered by a central authority. He makes a brave show of having conceded the principle of self-determination without even acknowledging the existence of the "self" of the group for whose benefit the principle of self-determination is supposed to have been recognized. Knowingly or unknowingly, Mr. Gandhi fumbles with the doctrine of self-determination and does not squarely face its real implication. The right of self-determination, by all accepted canons, belongs to and can be exercised by only a national group which means a number of people belonging to a distinct nationality and forming an obvious majority in a given territory. The others are sub-national groups who, though entitled to all conceivable minority safeguards, cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the realisation of the natural aspiration of the national group for independent political existence. By insisting on a promiscuous plebiscite, whose will does Mr. Gandhi want to ascertain? If it is the Hindu will, there is no earthly need or reason for it, for the Hindus would naturally vote against separation preferring an all-India Government in which they would be in a majority as a whole. If it is the Muslim will, the mixed plebiscite cannot be justified and indeed no plebiscite should be necessary, for you do not need to ascertain by a vote of people whether they would like to have full freedom and independence in their homelands. How would the Congress like it if they were told that the question of independence and freedom of India should be submitted to a plebiscite of the people. The issue is straight and simple—the Muslims alone can exercise the right of self-determination in regions and not districts of their majority as a nation and not as a territorial unit. There is at present neither any national sovereign state nor any territorial units composing the state in existence. There is thus no question of the right of self-determination or secession of territorial units. The question really is of giving to each of the two major nations sovereign political rights in their homelands in the form of independent states. That is the only way to the independence of the people of India as a whole.

Mr. Gandhi could not have said anything more offensive to Muslim susceptibilities than likening them to a body of converts claiming to be a nation separate from the parent stock. Apart from the undeniable historical truth that Islam as a universal revolutionary faith brings about a complete metamorphosis and creates a new loyalty and affinity in every new convert who enters its folds, let Mr. Gandhi ponder over

the insular and exclusive nature of the Hindu society itself which excommunicates every Hindu accepting a new faith not only in a religious sense but outcasts him for all social purposes and he is treated as an abominable *maleechh* and an alien. The Muslims of India are a homogeneous people with a proud history of beneficent and tolerant rule and a rich heritage of traditions and culture which they will not sacrifice for any extraneous considerations. Nationalism is a subjective feeling. In the ultimate analysis it is really a feeling of affinity and of being different from other groups, a consciousness of a common past heritage and a common future destiny and a will to realise them in the form of an independent state. Such a consciousness and such a will undoubtedly exist among the Muslims of India and a statesman of Mr. Gandhi's calibre is not expected to ignore it. Let him take courage in both hands, shed aside all prejudices and prepossessions, accept the right of Muslims on self-determination as a nation and proceed to settle all details and corollaries fliming [*sic*] therefrom with the Quaid-i-Azam.

[1]No. 177.

208

Badi Ahmad Choudhuri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/32

P.O. BAILCHARI BAZAR,
CHITTAGONG,
11 October 1944

Janab Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I have been serving my community as the representative of landholders constituency, Chittagong Division, in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. I had been a member of the previous Bengal Legislative Council for many years. I am one of your great admirers.

Bengal is the most important province in India as the Muslim majority and East Pakistan [*sic*]. Muslims of it are disunited themselves as the atmosphere has been created by the difference of opinion amongst the leaders and thereby Bengal is in darkness and will remain perhaps for ever.

Let people say anything and let the *Star of India* and the *Azad* write

anything, Muslims of Bengal will not be in a position to ignore Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. In the above circumstances, it is your duty to bring unity amongst Muslims and thereby safeguard the Muslim interest, and it will also be a great help to give immediate effect of [*sic* for to] your Pakistan scheme.

We have had at least the opportunity to come across a right and dutiful leader like Sir Nazimuddin but he is not in a position to bring unity amongst Muslims of Bengal, owing to the activities of some of his colleagues.

Sir Nazim was under obligation to nominate Moulvi Nural Huq (Noakhali), Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, who was not even a two-*anna* member of League, as League candidate from East Bengal in the State Council. On my decision, in honour [*sic*] of justice and equity, Moulvi Nural Huq withdrew his candidature seeing that he would not be able to secure votes from 14 districts and in accordance with my direction Hon'ble Mr. Reza-e-Karim [was] duly elected.

There is another cause of disunity in Bengal that Sir Nazim's party stood obstacle [*sic*] in electing Sïr Abdul Halim Gaznavi, MLA (Central) in the Port Haj Committee, Calcutta, and thereby wounded the Muslim feelings. The same thing happened in the case of Nawab Sir K.G.M. Faroqui. Let any one speak and write you anything and let any newspaper publish anything, I must submit before you that there is no League mentality amongst the Muslim mass[es] of rural areas of Bengal.

On behalf of Muslims of Chittagong Division, I earnestly request that you will be gracious enough to come round once to Bengal and make an amicable settlement between the parties of Sir Nazim and Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq after hearing both the parties and thereby unit[ing] all Muslims of Bengal.

I shall be ever thankful, if you will kindly favour me with your generous opinion[1] in the matter when time permits you.

With heartiest respects and regards,

I remain,

Yours most obediently,
HAJI BADI AHMAD CHOUDHURI
MLA
Khan Bahadur

[1]Jinnah advised that it was for the AIML Committee of Action to deal with the matter. See *SHC*, Bengal I/33. Not printed.

209

Yuvarajah of Pithapuram to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims II/109

VASANTASOBHA,
P.O. TEYNAMPET,
MADRAS,
12 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your very kind letter.[1] I am so delighted.

You can well understand what a phalanx of opposition I am facing in taking up the stand[2] I have taken. I feel I am almost alone at the present moment in taking up openly that stand. Of course, I say this with reference to the non-Muslims. But there is strength and there is joy in standing alone by the right cause.

It is quite likely that those concerned will not readily respond to my call in the manner in which I want them to be [*sic*].

If and after there are useful developments I will inform you. Why bother you with trivialities?

We are doing well and hope the same with you and Miss Jinnah.

With most affectionate respects from both of us to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
RAMA

PS. Please don't take the trouble of replying this.[3]

[1]See No. 194, note 1.
[2]See No. 194.
[3]Jinnah appreciated his support for the right cause in spite of opposition and wished him all success. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims II/110. Not printed.

210

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/61

13 October 1944

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 10th[1] and the copy of your statement, which I have read with very great interest.

With regard to "the two bodies" which would set up [as] constitution-making bodies, they are naturally the two States, Pakistan and Hindustan, as amplified in the later part of my answers to the questions at the press conference.

As regards the sentence, "or even before that they might arrive at an agreement", the word "they" refers to the contracting parties.

I am very glad that you are applying your mind seriously to these matters, and I wish you all success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh, U.P.

[1]No. 207.

211

M. A. Jinnah to M. Zaman

SHC, Students I/31

BOMBAY,
13 October 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 9th.[1] While I appreciate your point of view that the Hindu opinion should be educated, I cannot agree that our energies should be diverted in that direction, when the Muslim opinion is in the first instance in need of a great deal more education. The Communist Party have their own aims and objects, and many of our young men do not understand what they are aiming at, and, therefore, it is better for you to concentrate all your energies and educate the Muslim masses and the intelligentsia as to what we stand for and what are our aims and objects. Let us first put our house in order before frittering away our energies elsewhere. There is a lot of work to be done amongst the Musalmans, not only propaganda but constructive work in the direction of building up and advancing their condition in all departments of life, such as educational, social, political and economic.

As regards your annual session which you say you propose to hold in the last week of November or in December, it is not, at present,

possible for me to commit myself to participate in your session, but I may be able to know whether it will be possible for me to do so when I am in Delhi, which I propose to reach early in November.

With regard to your request for a message for a camp of the All India Muslim Students' Federation, which will be held at Aligarh from the 18th to the 28th of this month, all I can say is this, I wish you godspeed and all success.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 203.

212

M. Abdul Wahab to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/72

ENGINEERING COLLEGE,
MUGHALPURA,
LAHORE,
14 October 1944

Peace, Mercy & Blessings of God be upon you

Dear and most honoured Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you to be quite well. I wish to congratulate you for the boldness with which you had faced the criticism of the Hindu press against you. You have been endowed by God the Almighty with a clear brain and none of these Gandhis or Rajagopalacharis could deceive you. We are to thank God more and more for giving us, at this juncture, a leader like you.

Now I would like to suggest to you a scheme, which you can think over and if you like it, can approve it and act upon it. You had had your twenty-one days talk with Mr. Gandhi and saw his "changed heart" towards Pakistan issue. He will never believe in the right of self-determination for the Musalmans until and unless the Musalmans somehow or other achieve it. Gandhi has even further remarked that although Muslim League represents a majority of Indian Muslims, yet it does not represent the entire body, and others cannot be ignored. After this he has been trying to puff up Mr. Fazlul Huq of Bengal and so many others. At such a time, if [*sic*] the Muslim League could arrange a pan-Indian Muslims conference at Lahore or Delhi inviting

all the parties of Musalmans in India, whether they belonged to the Muslim League or not, inviting such as (i) Nationalist Muslims (ii) Ahrar Party of Punjabi *Moulvis* (iii) Khaksars (iv) *'Ulama* (v) Shias, (vi) persons who have some representation in personal capacity like Khizar Hayat Khan, etc. All these along with the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should get together or a body formed by the Working Committee for this purpose. The move should come direct from the League, as it is the majority party of the Muslims in India, and according to the tradition of the holy Prophet [PBUH] it is the duty of every elder brother to come out earlier with the message of peace for his younger brother, and to remove any misunderstanding from [*sic*] the two Muslim brethren. You should take a lead in this respect, try to remove the misunderstandings, however deep-rooted they might be. You should try your level best to breed [*sic*] peace and harmony between two Muslims who are deadly against [each other]. Our holy *Qur'an* says "see towards the past history what it tells you." The past history of India tells us that Hindus have been slaves since long because they have got many sects and the majority sects have never tried to bring up the lower ones to their own standard, thus they have been fighting against each other.

If you set an example by inviting a conference of all Muslim Congressites like Dr. Khan Sahib, Dr. Syed Mahmood, etc., you can then get the support of many Hindus. The greatest obstacle in your way is the Hindu press influenced by Mahasabha ideals. If the Muslim League could succeed in uniting all the Muslims of India at this stage, Pakistan is sure to come about even with the consent of Hindus. Because this is my concept and I firmly believe that an Englishman is the most just nation [*sic*] at present existing. When one united voice demands Pakistan, it will be obvious [*sic*]. As remarked by Mr. Beverley Nichols in his recent book,[1] it is the just demand of the Muslims. So, if we could settle this matter earlier, the united demand will bring us much nearer to our goal and we would soon be enjoying our national and religious laws.

I am sorry my letter has been long, but I think it is the duty of every one to bring forth to the notice of the leader whatever view one has and this collaboration makes a nation. It is very difficult for one man to think about every aspect of life.

In the end, I hope that you will think over the humble suggestion I have made and will let me have a reply.

Yours very sincerely,
M. ABDUL WAHAB
(Alig.)
Student of B. Sc. (Eng.)

·*Verdict on India*, London, 1944.

213

Qazi M. Isa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (156)

DEAN'S HOTEL,
PESHAWAR,
14 October 1944

My deat Quaid-i-Azam,

After receiving the necessary instructions and the membership forms from Nawabzada Sahib at Delhi, I reached here on the 11th. At the express wishes of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, I am staying with him till the 17th and would then shift to the above address, in order to work more independently. *Insha Allah*, a thorough systematic network of the League would be spread in the Frontier. In order to be fully prepared for the next general election, I have decided to make every polling centre the centre of our Primary League, with a certain number of villages attached to it. A complete plan of the whole province is thus prepared. You would be glad to know, Sir, that I have given away sixteen thousand membership forms, and received the money for it. I am trying to create a very healthy competition amongst the various parties, interests, and tribes. I thus hope to give you, Sir, at least one lakh members, in the time allotted to me. Not only this, but a young, highly educated and independent president and secretary acceptable to the whole of the province. The material is there, but unfortunately no one so far has exploited them in the right direction.

I do hope you are in the best of health.

My regards to Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISA

214

Shafi Khalid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/22

SHANKER VILLA,
NIZAMSHAHI ROAD,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
18 October 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing to you after a long time and hope that this letter finds you in perfect health.

By separate post, I have pleasure in sending a booklet in Urdu, wherein you will find the entire correspondence between you and Mr. Gandhi beautifully translated. This booklet could be useful in educating the Muslims, provided a foreword is included, explaining in detail the trend of the Hindu mind.

Regarding the discussions between you and Mr. Gandhi, the Muslim League leaders seem to be very quiet. This was a time, when they should have gone to the public and from the platform and through the press, they could have shown the insincerity of the Congress and the Mahatma.

As for me, I believe the time for discussions, parleys and compromises is over and we should launch a militant programme declaring openly that what we can't get by argument, we shall get by force.

I understand that a few of my colleagues in the local Ittehadul Muslimeen are at present in Bombay. They are sure to call on you and I hope that you will very kindly impress upon them the political necessity (on their part) of taking a broad view of things and not be under the delusion that powerful Hindu government in India will not affect the status of Hyderabad.

If convenient to you, please let me know[1] the duration of your stay in Bomaby, as I very much desire to see you personally, once again.

Yours in fraternity,
SHAFI KHALID

[1]See No 236

215

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/29

CONFIDENTIAL KARACHI,
18 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As promised, I am writing to you the summary of the present political situation in Sind.

When I was away to Bombay, Mr. G. M. Sayed was at Karachi and then left for Sukkur to meet Khan Bahadur Khuhro in jail. I have heard that Mr. Sayed has made up his mind to help Khan Bahadur in his trial.

Mr. Gazdar returned from tour and after two or three days' stay has gone to Punjab to attend a friend's marriage and will be returning on the 21st instant. Sir Ghulam Hussain is away to Hyderabad. Pir Sahib has left for Baghdad.

I have explained to you the position of Sir Ghulam Hussain for the nomination of the fourth Minister but it seems that he has not made up his mind as to whether the vacancy should be filled now or later. I think after his return from Hyderabad, he will be able to decide.

The police authorities have banned the meetings of the City Muslim League in Karachi. The reason for police action is not known and it is presumed that they have banned the meetings under the wrong impression that these meetings will be [held] to protest against Khuhro's trial, which is wrong. These meetings were being organised by the City Muslim League in order to make [*sic*] District Muslim League annual session, which was to be held at the end of this month and Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan was to preside.

I have advised the President of the City Muslim League to write to the police authorities and enquire as to the reasons of their banning the meetings in the City of Karachi, and I have advised him to refer the matter to the Sind Provincial Muslim League and [the] Action Committee.

There is naturally a serious uproar in the Muslim masses that, Sind being governed by the Muslim League Government, why the Muslim League meetings should be banned.

Khan Bahadur Khuhro's trial will begin on the 27th October 1944, and will go day after day from that day.

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON
MLA
Mayor of Karachi

216

K. S. Shahabuddin Chand Badsha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/92

PALAKODE,
DIST. SALEM,
18 October 1944

A public meeting was held by the Primary Muslim League at Jinnah Chauk, at 8 p.m., and Moulvi Syed Attaullah Soofi of Chennpatna, Mysore State, presided over the meeting.

The President of the meeting, during his speech, said that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is the sole leader of the Muslim India and that his voice is the voice of the Muslims of India and that his lead in political matters affecting Muslims is eminently courageous and that during his life-time Muslims must gird up their loins to achieve Pakistan which is their birthright.

The following resolution was proposed by K. S. Shahabuddin Chand Badsha, the local Secretary, and was seconded by *Janab* U. S. Miasa, B. Mahbub Ali Khan Sahib and B. Kamal Khan Sahib Kamal and was passed:

> The meeting is of opinion that during the recent Jinnah-Gandhi talks, the stand taken by Quaid-i-Azam is in consonance with the unanimous wishes and aspirations of the majority of the Muslims of India and that the talks failed solely because of the irrational attitude of Gandhi. Further, it is resolved that to achieve Pakistan, the life and birthright of Muslims, the Muslims should, under the brave and eminent leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, not flinch from any sacrifice to realize their goal.

K. S. SHAHABUDDIN CHAND BADSHA

217

Mohammad Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/58-61

BODDAM MUSLIM HOTEL,
11 SINGANNA NAICK STREET,
MADRAS,
19 October 1944

Respected Sir,

I understand that an invitation has been extended by the Madras District League to open the Conference under its auspices. Presuming the acceptance of the invitation, may I be permitted to draw your attention to the following facts on the eve of your visit to our metropolis.

In the first place, I invite you to a dinner party on behalf of the Law College Urdu Association which is in fact a Muslim union. In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention that ever since the breakdown of the talks at Bombay, Hindu leadership is active in Madras to canvass the support of the public at large and the students in particular. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is exploiting the press and the platform for "educating" the public and particularly the students against Pakistan. Perhaps your attention might have been drawn to his recent speech at the Loyola College, Madras where he has encouraged the students to take part in torpedoing the Pakistan scheme. It may not be news to you that Madras, does not lack eminent Hindu leadership which is very active in creating wrong impressions about the talks and thus damning your stand. Against this spectacle the Muslim leadership cuts a sorry figure for the simple reason that Madras does not have any leader who is able to command the confidence of the whole Province for reasons best known to you and to state which is beyond the scope of this letter. If at all I have indulged in this it is due mainly to impress upon you the necessity of your presence to inspire confidence in the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League of which you are the unique "Quaid". Your presence becomes all the more indispensable at this time when political theories arising out of the recent discussions at Bombay are being exploited to the advantage of *Akhand Hindustan* scheme. Further, the Muslims who are backward in every respect are likely to be seduced by the tact and astuteness of Hindu leaders who are adepts in the art of misrepresentation. Therefore, I request you earnestly that you be pleased to spare a few days to

tour South India in order to clear the misunderstandings created by the Hindu leaders. Your august presence though moved [*sic*] unfortunately by your ill health during your visit to Madras in connection with the annual session of the All India Muslim League in 1944, has put new life and vigour in the youth of the Province. Madras is, in short, badly in need of your presence to counteract the false propaganda carried against Pakistan which is a demand based on sound principles and simple politics.

In requesting you to come to Madras and particularly to our Association, I very well understand the difficulties and inconvenience to be caused to you, knowing as I do your multifarious activities in connection with the League. But circumstances afore-mentioned, however, compel me to request you humbly to come to Madras and give the Urdu Association of the Law College an opportunity to contact with you whom we regard as the Quaid-i-Azam. For fear that my letter be prolonged [*sic*], I conclude by an earnest and humble request to visit our Association without fail.

I pray you respond[1] to this invitation at your earliest convenience.

This letter will find you in the perfect enjoyment of health.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I beg to remain,

Respected Sir,

Yours most obediently,

MOHAMMAD ABDUR RAHMAN

Secretary,

The Madras Law College Urdu Association

Thanking him, Jinnah regretted that it was not possible for him to visit Madras for the time being. See *SHC*, Madras I/62. Not printed.

218

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

AFM, 481/63

20 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you ever so much for your kind letters.[1]

I have duly received the power of attorney which you so kindly sent me.

The copies of the correspondence that passed between you and Mr. Gandhi have been received. Thank you for sending them. Now on second

thoughts, we have decided to publish from your Lahore speech at the meeting of the Council and your interview to the correspondent[2] of the *Daily Worker*. It is not considered necessary to include in this pamphlet your presidential address at Lahore and Madras sessions. It would make the compilation rather bulky if these addresses were also included, and is unnecessary. The material which we propose to publish is enough to clarify the position of the Muslim League with regard to Pakistan. I hope you agree with this view. I should like to know what you think about it.

I have received today the registration certificate of your car, and shall do the needful.

When do you intend to reach Delhi? I hope you will kindly let me know beforehand about the date of your arrival here.[3] The weather here is very pleasant. I hope you and Miss Jinnah have been keeping well.

With our kindest regard to you and Miss Jinnah and love from children,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See No. 202 & *AFM*, 481/59-60 & 62. Not printed.
[2]A. S. R. Chari. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1953-5.
[3]See No. 225.

219

Nazar Fatima to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/14

81 RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 October 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The leaders and speakers of Punjab Provincial Muslim League have often said from the platform that the Pakistan Government will be formed by Muslims on religious basis. On the other hand you in your interview[1] with the representative of the *Daily Worker* said that Pakistan will have a "real democratic and popular government."

May I make bold to ask a few questions?

a. Does not the present Punjab Ministry come [up] to your standard of being "real democratic and popular"?
b. If it does, is there any way of negotiations between All India

Muslim League and Punjab Ministry?

c. If not, can a better Ministry be formed and established under the present circumstances?

Your kind answer[2] will satisfy those Muslim Leaguers who like me are worried about the future of Muslim League in the Punjab.

With best wishes,

Yours most truly,
NAZAR FATIMA
B.A.

[1]See No. 218, note 2.
[2]Jinnah suggested that she should study the speeches he had made recently as well as the correspondence between him and Gandhi and the subsequent statements. See *SHC*, Punjab I/15. Not printed.

220

Habibullah Gakhru to K. H. Khurshid

F. 921/31-2

102 MONTMORENCY HALL,
LAHORE,
21 October 1944

Dear Khurshid,

I am in receipt of your kind letter[1] and thank you for the same.

I am glad to know that you have not forgotten your old humble friend.

You must have come to know about the appointment of Mirza Afzal Beg as Minister. I agree with you that M[uslim] C[onference] stand in rejecting the new reforms shows that they do not hanker after power as N[ational] C[onference] does. I think this acceptance of ministership will expose N[ational] C[onference].

The general opinion here is that Quaid-i-Azam has done very well this time and he has gained much by this meeting. The Muslim faith in him has not at all [been] shattered, instead [*sic*] of the mischievous propaganda of Hindu press.[2]

With best wishes and love,

Sincerely yours,
HABIB

[1]Not traceable.
[2]The subsequent two paras were not relevant and are related to some private matters, omitted

221

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/62

ALIGARH,
22 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am most grateful to you for your very kind letter dated the 13th.[1] The clarification contained in the letter removes my difficulty and I fully understand the position.

I am greatly encouraged by your kind references to my humble efforts in serving our cause and your good wishes. I could wish for no higher reward.

The other day I read a paper on some aspects of Pakistan before the members of the All India Muslim Students' Federation who are holding a camp here under the patronage of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. I am also going to deliver a lecture on the subject of Jinnah-Gandhi talks to the same assembly. This will later be published by our Committee of Writers.

I send separately a copy of the plan of literature to be brought out by the Committee of Writers. I shall feel very grateful if you will kindly let me have your opinion of the plan. I am glad to inform you that we have already had a good response from many of our writers, and we will soon bring out a number of publications. May I know as to when you are likely to go to Delhi?[2]

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convenor,
Committee of Writers,
All India Muslim League

[1] No. 210

[2] Jinnah informed him that he was already in Delhi and would stay there until the end of November or thereabout. See *SHC*, UP V/64. Not printed.

222

Fazlul Quader Chowdhry to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/35

CHITTAGONG,
23 October 1944

Sir,

I have the honour to state that I think it my duty to represent to you the serious cases of injustices that are being done to the Muslim officers under the Burma refugees' administration, and I hope the following facts and instances will deserve your kind attention and favourable orders for removing the grievances of Muslims in the Burma refugees' administration.

We have been hearing since long that in the appointment and dismissal of officers in Burma refugees' administration, Muslims were not getting justice at the hands of the authorities on purely communal consideration. Recently the matter has taken a turn for the worse. With the coming of Mr. B. K. Mukerjee as Chief Administrator, the instances of injustice are daily mounting so much so that the entire Muslim community cannot but take interest in the developments. We are here citing a few of the many instances of injustice done to the Muslims in the Burma refugees' administration.

Mr. A. R. Khan, Dohazari Refugees' Camp, Mr. A. Khaleq, Fashiakhali Refugees' Camp, and Mr. J.Abedin Chowdhury, Adhanagar Refugees' Camp, were served with orders of dismissal during the last fortnight, and they were immediately substituted by Hindu officers. The authorities assigned no cause for their dismissal. We fail to understand what is at the root of all these, and we are alarmed lest the religion of the officers should become their qualification or disqualification. It is well-known to the authorities that most of the refugees in the Chittagong area belong to the Muslim community and the question of the marriage and divorce according to Islamic law, is a daily affair in the refugees' camps, and the Muslim officers only can serve the refugees efficiently in these matters. The refugees speak different dialogues [*sic* for dialects] but the Chittagong dialogue [*sic* for dialect] is spoken by a large number. Imported officers, from other parts of Bengal and even outside Bengal, can hardly understand the refugees and look into their grievances for the reasons stated above. We have placed before you the above facts for your kind consideration. We beg to inform you that recent dismissal of

superior Muslim officers in the refugees' camps on purely communal consideration has gravely alarmed the Muslim community in this area and we have reasons to believe that the administration of Burma refugees has taken Hindu *raj* as the principle of administration.

We think it our duty to inform you further that most of the Muslim personnel of the refugees' camps in Chittagong have tendered their resignation as a protest [*sic*] to the unjust treatment meted out to the Muslim officers, and a serious situation has arisen out of this attitude of the Muslim officers [*sic*].

We shall be obliged if you kindly inform us at an early date, as to what steps are being taken to right the wrongs done to the Muslims in that department.

Thanking you very much,

Yours faithfully,
FAZLUL QUADER CHOWDHRY
Honorary Secretary,
District Muslim League

223

M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/66

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
23 October 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am mailing you today a copy of the issue of the *Time*[1] of the 24th July 1944. On page 18, you will find your photograph and also a paragraph on India which may be of interest to you.

You must have noticed that once again our opponents are active. For the last two weeks they have been indulging in the game of issuing all kinds of nonsensical reports in the columns of their papers. Three days ago, a canard about the differences of opinion prevailing in the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Party was broadcast all over India. Every nationalist paper published it in some form or other, as a report from its own special correspondent. Similarly, three days ago, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*'s[2] special correspondent has filled half a column of last Saturday's issue with nonsense about Bengal. The old game of causing confusion and dividing the Musalmans is again being played.

I am sure it will meet with the same failure as such stunts have received at the hands of the Musalmans in the last six or seven years.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly has been summoned for the 20th of November. The session will be a short one and will transact a couple of important pieces of business; one being in connection with the amendment of the rules of the Assembly which will not permit the repetition of the farce that was enacted during the last session.

It is proposed to call the first annual meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Delhi in the fourth week of November or latest the first week of December. I am waiting for Sir Adamjee's return in order to approach him to accept the first presidentship of the Federation.

As you must have read in the newspapers, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi will be proceeding to the United States as delegate of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the international conference at Atlantic City. I shall be most disappointed if he does not serve our cause hundred per cent during his trip. I am sure he will present the Muslim case to the Americans.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]US weekly magazine published from New York City.
[2]Daily newspaper published from Calcutta.

224

K. Abdul Kader to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/141

CANNANORE,
23 October 1944

Sir,

We have the honour to communicate to you the following resolution unanimously adopted at a general body meeting of the Muslim Labour Union, held on the 21st October 1944, for favour of your kind consideration:

> This meeting records its regret at the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks that were carried on from 9th to 27th September, and that Gandhiji did not have the goodness of heart to concede the legitimate rights and interests of the Indian Muslims. This meeting supports the various

arguments adduced by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah during the talks, and records its faith in Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan in an unshakable manner, and begs to inform Quaid-i-Azam that Muslim labour is more than ever prepared to secure the legitimate rights of Muslims and for the establishment of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
K. ABDUL KADER
President,
The Muslim Labour Union

225

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

AFM, 481/64

BOMBAY,
24 October 1944

My dear Liaquat,

Many thanks for your letter of October 20th.[1] I think it is really unnecessary to add to the proposed publication my Lahore and Madras sessions speeches. If you start with my speech at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League at Lahore on the 30th only and bring it up to my interview with the *Daily Worker,* that will be in itself complete, and I agree with you.

I hope to reach Delhi latest on the 31st, but will let you know definitely by wire. Thank you very much for your kind enquiries. Miss Jinnah and I are much better and keeping well.

With kindest regards to you both and love to the children from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
8A Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]No. 218

226

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/32

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
24 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have written two letters[1] to you before this to let you know what has been happening here.

The position has now become very difficult as Mr. G. M. Sayed wishes to establish a Sayed *raj* here, and wants me to appoint a Sayed as a Minister. We have a Sayed as Speaker, and Pir Sahib whom they count as one of them, and Mr. Gazdar is Mr. Sayed's ally, as you know already. Mr. Gazdar is, as usual, intriguing and you know all about him.

I cannot well be a puppet Premier and surrender my constitutional rights. Constitutionally, you will agree that as Premier I have the right to select my own Minister, one of my own choice and one on whom I can rely for support. That is clearly the basis of Cabinet formation, and there can be no other basis. Otherwise, what assurance or guarantee can the Premier have regarding the loyalty of his colleagues to him. Otherwise, I will have to send away any Minister who becomes undesirable and does not cooperate with me.

Mr. Sayed and Mr. Gazdar are both intriguing with the non-Muslims. He is the nominated President of the Provincial League, and he has nominated his whole Council. You can very well realise what he can do with a Council so constituted, who owe everything to him.

I have thought it necessary to acquaint you with the position here for the reasons mentioned above, and I shall be grateful to you for your kind advice in this matter.

Hoping you are doing very well; with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See No. 176. Also see *SHC*, Sind II/12. Not printed.

227

Resolution by Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League Council

F. 564/2
[Original in Urdu]

QUETTA,
24 October 1944

The Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League Council, expressing full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, assured him that he would find the Musalmans of Baluchistan ever ready to act at his command and wishes.

This session, regretting the failure of Jinnah-Gandhi talks, deems it necessary to tell Mr. Gandhi that the Quaid-i-Azam's stand was justified in his talks with Mr. Gandhi to convince him of the demand for Pakistan on the basis of distinct and separate Muslim nationhood, religion and culture. For, the Musalman is not now prepared to settle for anything short of Pakistan. Extending its fullest support to Quaid-i-Azam, this session declares, with all the strength it can muster, that each and every Musalman is raring to strive for and achieve Pakistan.

Praying for his long life, this session thanks Quaid-i-Azam for representing the Musalmans so well.

This session further calls upon Mr. Gandhi to meet Mr. Jinnah again and generously concede the demand for Pakistan, which is the only solution for a quick end to the enslavement of India.

JOINT SECRETARY,
BALUCHISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE

228

M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/67

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to inform you that with the affiliation of the Bombay

Muslim Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Delhi has now grown into a robust and representative organisation of the Muslim merchants and industrialists of India. As I have advised you, I propose to hold the first general meeting of the Federation in the fourth week of November or the first week of December 1944.

Concurring with my elder brother's views, I approached Sir Adamjee this afternoon and requested him to accept the first presidentship of the Federation. My appeals and entreaties bore no fruit. He kept on declining the honour on grounds of ill-health, age and inability to travel to Delhi every now and again. I assured him that I would work as his Secretary right through his tenure of office and reduce his worries and responsibilities to the minimum. He still declined and told me that if he is to be pleased, my brother should shoulder the responsibility and no one else, as he was strongly of the opinion that unless there was someone at the helm to navigate the ship of the Federation on its launching, with the capacity and drive of my brother, the newly built organisation would founder. He kept on insisting that my brother will have to accept the presidentship. I told him that my brother would not accept the honour at least for the reason that there will be many tongues that will wag to discredit the Federation. Its opponents, right through the last eighteen months, have been saying that Ispahanis have been working for the establishment of the Federation and spending large sums of money in that direction because they want to capture it and to use it to further their own interests. He would not like people to feel that this propaganda was justified and proven to the hilt as true. Further, he is over-burdened with responsibility and work and cannot shoulder a straw more.

My brother is seeing Sir Adamjee this evening and will again request him to accept the presidentship. I have failed. I hope he will succeed. I shall keep you advised of the result.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

229

Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/10

DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
25 October 1944

Dear Sir,

The Muslim India, as far as I see through the Urdu press, has come out wiser from the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. The Musalmans are now convinced, as never before, that you stand sincerely for the Hindu-Muslim unity and the independence of India, and Mr. Gandhi does not. The Musalmans are now generally of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi entered into negotiations with you just to find out if there was any possibility to bring you down from the position taken at Lahore by the Muslim League, or a handle to discredit the Muslim League and its leader among the Musalmans. He failed ignominiously in his ignoble pursuit, and to his greater disappointment the way you tackled him enhanced the pride and confidence in you of the Muslim India.

It is gratifying to note that the All India Muslim League has taken some initiative in nation-building departments through the Committee of Action and its Sub-Committees and is making progress. But the political activities of the League in the provinces still seem to be dull.

I have not written to you about the *Manshoor* for a very long time. The *Manshoor* is in eclipse for the last four months because of the paper order of the Government of India of 12th June 1944.[1] Under this order, the number of pages of the *Manshoor* has been reduced from sixteen to six only. The whole progress which was made during the one year of its new life has been reversed. Surely, we were powerless when the Government of India rejected our application for making it a daily; but the quota of newsprint could be had within a week's time or two for the weekly *Manshoor,* as many other such weeklies of no importance could get for themselves, as were printed previously on Indian manufactured paper like the *Manshoor* and had been affected by the said Government order, but, I am sorry to say that we have been slack.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASAN REYAZ
[*Editor*]

Not traceable.

230

M. A. Jinnah to Syed Makbool Ahmad

F. 982/6

BOMBAY,
25 October 1944

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of October 22nd.[1] I understand that you have got a Muslim organisation in Mysore, of which Mr. Shareef is the President, and it is for your executive to handle the question as you think best. So far as the All India Muslim League is concerned, according to our constitution, you know our activities are confined to British India only and we have no control or hold over the various Muslim organisations which have our deep sympathies for Muslims in their legitimate aspirations and we cannot tolerate that they should be treated unjustly and unfairly in any one of these States. But we have no control over, or responsibility for, the activities and the policy of the organisations that may exist in an Indian State. The matters referred to in your letter are of a domestic character and it is therefore for your executive and organisation to manage them.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Syed Makbool Ahmad Sahib,
Masjid Azam Mohalla,
Chamara, Nagar Taluka,
Mysore State

Not traceable.

231

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/35-6

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter dated 16th October 1944.[1] I consider

myself fortunate to have the honour of being asked if we could hold the All India Muslim League session for the second time in Sind during the coming Easter holidays. I think Sind has got great potentialities and as such we can make a beginning to convene Muslim League session like the Congress in the rural area. But I must submit, Sir, that we in this Province are confronted with difficulties more than one.

a. As I have already pointed out in previous references, the Ministry which should be the source of strength and assistance, is daily making the organization unpopular, with the result that two District Muslim League Conferences, which were intended to be held during the last two months, were subsequently postponed in view of the less response of the people to the call of the organization.
b. I have received the appended letter from a member[2] of the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, which I am forwarding herewith[3] for favour of perusal.
c. In view of the later happenings and also things in store which are expected, as indicated by the writings of a local paper, the *Daily Gazette* (copy attached),[4] it is not unlikely that the Premier of the so-called League Ministry may form a new Ministry under a different label.

In view of the above facts, it is for consideration whether it is advisable to call the Conference in this Province. If so, as an obedient soldier, I shall take upon myself the task of commencing the work of the Conference as early as possible.

Yours obediently,
G. M. SAYED

[1]Not traceable.
[2]S. F. Kachhi.
[3&4]See *SHC*, Sind II/37-9. Not printed.

232

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/501

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
25 October 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

The President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League had duly received

your letter of the 16th instant[1] inquiring:

i. Whether Sind can hold the next session of the League during Easter holidays.
ii. If not, where else should it be held?
iii. For other remarks on the subject.

You may possibly get the reply from the President, after you receive this, and if I were to summarize his replies, they would be as under:

a. Yes and or No.
b. In the *mofussil* rather than at Karachi, and
c. Copy of a letter[2] from a member of the Provincial Working Committee describing at a length of thirteen foolscap pages, the shortcomings of the present Ministry which are true in point of fact, but for which not a single illustrative example has been cited.

To the best of my information Sir Ghulam Hussain is secretly planning to stab our organization and to form a new independent Ministry. Our business would be to ensure that he does not do this and to leap on him like a leopard and forestall him if treachery is intended. No pre-possession [*sic*] or prejudice will come in the way of upholding aloft our flag.

Absolutely accurate information is of the utmost importance and you will have this over the phone or by a personal visit if either or both of these become necessary.

With such stuff as we have, the task before us is none too easy and our constant effort here is to see that we gain a worker and a friend for our cause rather than lose even a poor one or make a hitherto (even a) doubtful friend into a declared enemy.

The foregoing paragraph is written with a view to request[ing] you to write (if you have not already done so) to and secure the fullest co-operation of Sir Ghulam Hussain for holding the next session.

I cannot say how well the open session of the League can be organized in any part of Sind, because a Sindhi Muslim's sense of other people's creaturely [*sic*] comforts is very primitive. But should you decide to hold the session at Karachi you can choose our city with the fullest confidence. All angularities will be rounded off, all differences reconciled and all quarrels adjusted for this particular work and the success of the session, on the organizational side, ensured. If anything goes wrong in connection with the work of the session, you can have me whipped on the rostrum.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1] Not traceable.
[2] See *SHC*, Sind II/38. Not printed.

233

M. A. Khader to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/145-6

189 BAZAR GATE STREET,
BOMBAY FORT,
26 October 1944

Mohtaram Quaid-i-Azam,

For the first time in its history, the Madras Muslim Students' Federation has decided to hold a provincial students conference in the month of January 1945, at Madras. The conference which was essential yesterday for the consolidation of the Muslim forces, student and non-student, and warding off the dangerous outside elements has become a necessity today. When the conference was essential the Federation requested you, when you were at Srinagar, to preside over the conference. The Federation sees in you the only force that can infuse new blood in Madras: It remembers the two enthusiastic years after your visit to Madras in 1938. With full hope and confidence that you will help in its work it has now, when the holding of a conference has become a necessity, sent me to request you in person to preside over the proposed conference.

I have come to Bombay full of hopes and I am staying at the above-mentioned address. I beg you to grant me an interview on any early possible day.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. KHADER
Assistant Secretary,
Reception Committee

PS. I send this letter by 'express delivery' as I am anxious to draw your special attention to this. I beg to be excused for this selfishness.

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G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/41

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
26 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am to forward herewith a copy of resolution submitted by Mr. Mahommad Ali Shah, M.L.A., and a member of the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. I have admitted the resolution and it is hoped that it will be passed by the Working Committee, the meeting of which is fixed for 19th November 1944.

Yours obediently,
G. M. SAYED

Enclosure to No. 234

SHC, Sind II/42

RESOLUTION

In view of the failure of the talks between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, and also [of] subsequent reactions in the press and public, it has been considered necessary by the Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League to express their opinion on the subject and as such, they opine that:

1. This Committee, while regretting the break-down of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for settlement, fully supports the stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, during these talks and expresses its complete confidence in his leadership.

2. The demand of Muslims for Pakistan is [not only] a demand for freedom of the sub-continent of India but, in the opinion of this Committee, it is the only method of achievement of freedom.

3. Muslims shall never agree to the position taken by the Hindu India that all the nations, nationalities and peoples of this sub-continent, with their different cultures and civilizations, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, and separate outlooks on life,

are a single nation and inform them that history has proved that all greater fusions are a matter of historical evolution by gradual and spontaneous desire by different specialized cultures and civilizations and not by forceful regimented unification. Any attempt in which Muslims are not allowed to make their special contribution to the world civilization will be resisted by them.

4. It is further of the opinion that if the Hindu India desires that relations of the States in the sub-continent of India should be harmonious and cordial, they should follow the policy of British people in allowing the colonies and dominions of their Empire to be willing partners of their Commonwealth on moral basis, instead of coercing them into a federation. Any step in that direction will embitter their connections and will bring permanent vivisection much dreaded by them.

5. This Committee is further of the opinion that it is a wrong policy on the part of the Hindu India to encourage the renegades and disruptive elements amongst the Muslims who have been thoroughly exposed by their sham professions. They should know that the Muslim masses are behind the Muslim League and no attempt on the part of such puppets is going to help the solution of the Indian problem.

6. Finally, this Committee is of the opinion that if real unity between the two major nations, the Hindu and the Muslim, is to be achieved, then the inherent right of the Muslims, as laid down by way of basic and fundamental principles in the Lahore Resolution as interpreted by Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of All India Muslim League, should be accepted freely, frankly and honestly.

SAYED MAHOMMAD ALI SHAH
Member, Working Committee,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

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Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/81

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
28 October 1944

My dear leader,

Whatever others may say, the talks have resulted in some good. The

world now knows Mr. Gandhi and his pretensions to represent[ing] the entire country stand completely exposed. Hereafter, nobody will make the mistake of requesting you to meet him. There is no use meeting him again until he recognises that the Muslims are a nation and that the Muslim League is the only representative organisation of the Muslims in India. He should also agree not to refer the agreement that is arrived at between him and yourself to any other individual Muslim or Muslim organisation. The agreement should be final. The Sikh question should be left to be dealt with by the Muslims of the Punjab. There is no need for a plebiscite or a Demarcation Commission, for the present boundaries should suffice. It is the majority of the Muslims in the province as a whole that is the basis and not in any district or village.

Mr. R. Ramanadhan met me recently on his return from Bombay and conveyed your kind message to me. Without my knowledge, he had spoken to you about me. It was kind of him to do so.

The fact is that the present office-bearers of the Provincial League were not in favour of holding the session of the League in Madras. It was in the face of that opposition that some of us made up our minds to hold it. By grace of *Allah* it was a successful session, for the people in the province are quite sound and cent per cent Muslim Leaguers. Because Jamal Mohammad Sahib did not agree with the League politics, he resigned his presidentship. In his place, Syed Mahmud Badsha was elected president. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Progressive League, which was started in the year 1937 to oppose the Muslim League in the last general election. Mr. Abdul Latif Farookhi, who is an Office Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, was the Secretary of the Progressive Party. Although they do not believe in Pakistan, but [*sic*] are sticking to the League, for there is power in it, thanks to your leadership. You are aware of the fact how some of them are issuing statements criticizing your policy—privately they have been criticizing you personally. If an election is held, organised entirely by some independent gentleman sent by you for the purpose, as is being done by Qazi Isa in the NWFP, I feel confident the Muslims of Madras will elect their own men as office-bearers of the League.

I and my friends have been serving the cause of the League and of the Muslim nation to the best of our ability. I could have easily organised a separate provincial League with a majority of the districts in the province. I refrained from doing this for the reason you would not

like it, and I myself did not wish to divide the Muslims of my province into two camps. That would have weakened us and given a handle to our enemies against us.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib knows it. I leave it entirely to you to do what you think best.[1] I am entirely in your hands.

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

N.B. I tried sincerely and earnestly to work with them and persuade them to accept the League's policy without any mental reservation. I could not succeed. I refrained from writing to you in order to avoid widening the gulf.

See No. 259.

236

M. A. Jinnah to Shafi Khalid

SHC, Hyderabad I/23

BOMBAY,
28 October 1944

Dear Mr. Khalid,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 18th[1] and also the booklet in Urdu giving the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and me. The Central Office of the All-India Muslim League are bringing out very soon a booklet containing all the materials in the first instance in English. I thank you for all the support and encouragement that you have given me by your letter.

As regards the Ittehadul Muslimeen, yes, I did meet your colleagues in Bombay and we discussed at great length the pros and cons, and I hope that they will really work and organize the Musalmans of Hyderabad properly, and undertake some real constructive programme of an ameliorative character in the direction of education, economic and social uplift of the masses.

I am afraid I am leaving for Delhi in a couple of days, and so I cannot see you in Bombay, but on my return, if you then happen to be

in Bombay, I shall be glad to see you, but that will be some time in December.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Shafi Khalid, Esq.,
Shanker Villa,
Nizamshahi Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

No. 214.

237

Mohammad Amin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/105-6

JAMMU,
28 October 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Last May when you were kind enough to pay a visit to Kashmir, you advised us to start a daily paper and that you would be kind enough to help us in the matter.

We had applied to the Kashmir Government for giving us permission to turn the *Javed* weekly into a daily paper, but after three months the Government have replied that the permission cannot be given.

We have now decided to run the weekly *Javed* more efficiently so as to make it the representative paper of the Musalmans of the State and the mouthpiece of the Muslim Conference.

We would therefore request you to kindly give us a message which may be carried to every Muslim home and hearth in Kashmir through our paper. The Chief Editor of the paper is Mr. A. R. Saghar who is the General Secretary of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

Shall we hope that you will be kind enough to secure newsprint quota for the weekly paper as it is.

We hope we are not encroaching unnecessarily upon your precious time and we beg the favour of an early reply.

Thanking you,

Yours very faithfully,
MOHAMMAD AMIN
Managing Editor,
The weekly Javed

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Muhammad Abdus Sattar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/97

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
29 October 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peace. It is just to inform you that I have come back to Aligarh and I thank you heartily for all you did for my release during the early days of my detention.[1] No one's efforts succeeded because *Allah* had planned for me. I know that even the Government could not release me though they tried more than once. But when the hour came they could not keep me a day longer. I used to write to you from the jail but in the Parole Camp at Naini Tal I was told not to write to political personalities. I did not even need then to write. My faith in you by that time had grown so strong that I could call you *Ameen*. I was never disappointed in all that you said or did. In fact almost always I felt what your reaction to such a matter would be, and I was always right.

What I feel and know, and I am sure that you feel and know still more, is that we so-called Muslims lack Islamic character and without it nothing Islamic can be done. To-day is the first time I am writing any letter after my release. Mr. Jinnah, I had unique opportunities to meditate, think and plan in jail and in the camp. I have not wasted my time. And when I feel to [*sic*] work, I feel twenty years younger. I am sure that Pakistan will come about, but only when we depend for our success on *Allah* and on our own strength bestowed on us by *Allah*. And this time is bound to come. Pakistan shall be achieved by the efforts of truly honest and sincere Muslims, howsoever unpleasant, disagreeable and abhorrent it might be to others. I have faith in *Allah*, I have faith in you, and I have faith in myself.

When I have work before me I am healthy, strong and young. I hope that you too are keeping good health and are feeling younger and younger. God may preserve you for the work to be done.

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ABDUS SATTAR KHEIRI

Gratified at his release, Jinnah said he was against detention without trial. He added that he was confident of the achievement of Pakistan provided there was unity and solidarity among the Muslims. See *SHC*, Misc. I/98. Not printed.

239

S. Fyzee Rahamin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 878/415

JAVERI MANSION,
LITTLE GIBBS ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
30 October 1944

Allaho Akbar

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Under the auspices of the Academy of Islam,[1] we should like to have you as our guest of honour with a view of [*sic*] your knowing the kind of cultural work we are doing in Islamic matters. We have had unique experience of our gatherings in England and America, and felt that such an institution was necessary to advance the deep philosophical attitude of Islam hardly known to the cultural world. This kind of movement, we find, is absolutely necessary in India, where all attention is given to forms and hardly any to the deep philosophical meaning of Islamic teachings. In asking you to be our guest of honour—or to preside—whichever you prefer, we hope to bring together all the different Muslim organisations in Bombay to become one unit to work for the cultural cause. I would, therefore, like you to give me a date and time, and the place which you would, from your point of view, prefer. My suggestion will be Taj, lunch or tea.

As this movement is not restricted to men only, we should like Miss Jinnah to honour us with her presence.

An early reply will oblige.

Yours sincerely,
S. FYZEE RAHAMIN
President,
Academy of Islam

[1]Founded by Begum Atiya Fyzee in 1939 in New York City.

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Abu Saeed Enver to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/16

BHAGTAN GATE,
AMRITSAR,
30 October 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I want to acquaint your honour with the recent political developments in the Punjab by this letter. Recently I got a letter from the Office Secretary of the Provincial League directing me to participate in the meetings of the Civil Liberties Union. These meetings are being held to protest against the reluctance of the Unionist Ministry to release the political prisoners, especially Congress MLAs.

According to the direction, I participated in the Lahore meeting where Raja Ghazanfar Ali; Mian Bashir Ahmad, Member, Working Committee; and Moulvi Ghulam Muhayuddin Qasuri were present from the League side. From the Congress side Sohan Singh Josh and Kapoor Singh, who are prominent Communists, were present.

During Moulvi Qasuri's speech somebody raised objection why Mr. Qasuri and the League were laying stress on the release of the political prisoners in the Punjab while the other League Ministries were quite adamant in [*sic*] the release of the political prisoners. Moulvi Sahib, in reply, condemned the attitude of the League Ministries who were not, in his opinion, doing justice by keeping the representatives of the public behind the bars. When again at the Amritsar meeting on the 25th an objection was raised by Hindus, Raja Sahib repeated the same reply adding that the League Ministries were committing great blunder in not releasing the prisoners.

In the Amritsar meeting the attitude of Hindu masses was very objectionable, rather rude. There was every possibility of a communal riot. The effect of these speeches is very bad and the reaction has been created against the League Ministries not only among the Hindus but also the Muslim public. We, the League workers, have been put to great difficulty by this reaction. We cannot support the view of our elders. In my opinion our elders in the Punjab have gone out of limits.

I cannot say whether they have your sanction or it is a purely Communist move. They should not have gone to that extent where the prestige and the uniform policy of the League was involved.

I have only to say that either they should be checked from going to that extent or a uniform policy for the League should be created to support the release of the political prisoners, in pursuance of which all the League Ministries should release the political prisoners.

Kindly shed light on this very important problem which we are facing in the Punjab.[1]

Yours faithfully,
A. S. ENVER
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]Jinnah suggested that he place the matter before the Punjab League leadership. See *SHC*, Punjab I/17. Not printed.

241

Ahmad Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/18

25 SANDA ROAD,
LAHORE,
30 October 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Once again I write to remind you that Lahore is still waiting for a morning English paper conducted in the interest of the Muslim League. The matter has always been urgent but now it has assumed some importance inasmuch as the Unionists have announced that they would issue an English daily to support the Zamindara League which has been trumped up to fight the Muslim League in the Punjab. I know the chief obstacle in your path has been not only lack of good printing press, and a respectable site, but also a good editor. Now all those will be at the disposal of the Unionists with the help of the money they have collected and it will not be a surprise if they lay out their funds lavishly. Not that I suggest a competition with them, but I do maintain that if they enter the field earlier than the Muslim League they will have made the task of the League difficult as it is, far more arduous.

In this connection may I relate to you a silly [*sic*] story that I found current in Lahore on return from the hills? Last April when you were here it became generally known that the *Eastern Times* would be taken over by the League and turned into a morning paper. Now it is being said that the *Dawn* would publish a Lahore edition simultaneously with its Delhi edition. In the particular circumstances in which we find ourselves in Lahore, it is absolutely necessary that the Muslim League organ should reflect as well as guide the opinion in the Punjab and this can be adequately done only when the paper's editorials are conceived, inspired, influenced and written in the atmosphere of Lahore. This work cannot be done from Delhi. The *Statesman*'s case is obviously different. For that paper, Calcutta and Delhi are alike for the simple reason that the problems it tackles at either of these places are alike. In the Punjab, which you correctly called "the corner-stone of Pakistan" we are facing a situation which is certainly different from that which obtains at Delhi. It is a different matter if you contemplate transferring the *Dawn* lock, stock and barrel to Lahore, in which case of course you shall have to take into account the fact that the Punjab Government may react to it differently from the Delhi Government.[1]

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SHAFI

[1]The last para related to uncalled for harsh treatment given to a ML leader by the *Eastern Times* is omitted.

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S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/108

13 STARKY TOWN,
NAGPUR,
31 October 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter dated the 16th October 1944,· after some time, as I was touring in the province with a view to holding public meetings explaining the implications of the breakdown of your talks with Mr Gandhi. I thank you for it. You will be glad to know that the Musalmans in this province appear more determined to achieve Pakistan than at any time in the past, and the view that Mr Gandhi is

opposed to conceding the Lahore Resolution although his pretensions are otherwise, is shared by all.

Immediately after I got your letter I summoned a special meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial League to consider the feasibility of holding the next session of the All India Muslim League in this province. After thoroughly discussing the pros and cons of the question, the Provincial Working Committee adopted a resolution whose copy is herewith enclosed.[2] The members of the Working Committee are of opinion that the Muslim opinion in the Pakistan areas should be educated and consolidated to such an extent that black sheep therein are completely eliminated before the desired constitutional changes come in India and with this end in view it should be held in any Pakistan zone—Bengal, Punjab or N.W.F.P.

I further take liberty to inform you that after the breakdown of the talks with Mr Gandhi the Hindu press and leaders are leaving no stone unturned in misrepresenting the League. I have issued instructions to all the District Leagues to explain the implications of the talks. I venture to assure you that the Muslims in this province are solidly with the League and the mischievous propaganda of the Hindu press will continue to be inefficient [*sic*] in alluring them to their side.

The Working Committee has also passed an appropriate resolution regarding Palestine, a copy of which is attached herewith.[3] The Muslims of this province are also uneasy over the distress of the Arabs in Hijaz as a result of famine and are collecting funds for the purpose.

I am glad to inform you that the Khaksar organization has almost disappeared from this province.

I am leaving for Hyderabad and other places in the Nizam's dominion for some urgent private and public work and shall return to Nagpur by the 10th or 11th of November.

Praying to the Almighty that you may remain in the best of your health for a long time for the salvation of the Muslim India,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. RAUF SHAH

[1]Not traceable
[2&3]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 242
Resolution No. 2 passed at the Special Meeting of the C.P. and Berar Muslim League

F. 1103/109

28 October 1944

RESOLUTION

a. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League is of opinion that looking to the political interests of the Musalman of India in general, and in keeping with the aspirations in particular, of the Muslims in Pakistan Zone, it is necessary that the annual session of the All India Muslim League should be held in one of the following provinces in the coming Easter holidays—Bengal, Punjab, and N.W.F. Provinces.
b. In case there is no invitation forthcoming from the said provinces the annual session should be held at Bombay where arrangements can be made with less difficulty.

Enclosure 2 to No. 242
Resolution No. 5 passed at the Special Meeting of the C.P. and Berar Muslim League

F. 1103/110

28 October 1944

RESOLUTION

a. This meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, C.P. and Berar, is positively of opinion that any immigration of Jews to Palestine with a view to creating a homeland for them and to reducing the Arab majority into a minority against the wishes of Arabs is in breach of all international laws and principles of democracy and is against the natural rights and aspirations of the Arabs.
b. This meeting welcomes the formation of a Pan-Arab Federation with a view to protecting and guarding their rights and resisting all foreign aggression.
c. That this meeting warns the British Government not to be influenced by Jews and American opinion and not to be a party to the said design to the displeasure of millions of Muslims living in the British Empire.
d. That this meeting assures the Arabs in Palestine that the Muslim nation in India will be solidly behind them and will make all sacrifices in their struggle against the Jews.

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Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/112

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,
BANGALORE CANT.,
1 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks very much for your kind letter[1] acknowledging my press cuttings sent previously. I enclose herewith another press cutting, which is my reply to the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri of Madras, who is doing his best to injure the vital interests of the Muslims of India.

Your letter[2] to the President of the Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League regarding the suggestion to hold the annual session of the All India Muslim League in Bangalore, has been received with great enthusiasm by the entire Muslim public. Surely, we will never deny ourselves this unique privilege and we are up with the whole plan before the League Council meeting today. We are confident of the Council and Muslim public giving us cent per cent backing. We will not fail to rise to the occasion.

You will be having an official communication shortly from the President.

With the greatest respect,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
SYED ABDUR RAHMAN
B.A., LL.B.

[1&2]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 243

F. 1103/113

SASTRI'S INCORRECT STATEMENT[1]

Mr. Rahman's Rejoinder

Shimoga, Oct, 26: Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman, Member of the Council of the All India Muslim League in a statement on the speech delivered by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri in Madras, says:

In his speech which he delivered at the Ranade Hall, under the

auspices of the National Liberal Party on October 20, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has said "Every time India wanted to make an advance, Muslims said: No, we will prevent the advance unless this and this is done." This is absolutely incorrect and not based on facts. The sacrifices that the Muslims have made are in no way inferior to the sacrifices made by Hindus themselves except the unnecessary, unwarranted and untimely sacrifices made by them in August 1942.[2] It is the Nehru report of 1928[3] that drove the Muslims out of the Congress; even adherents like the late Moulana Mohammad Ali, and yet Mr. Sastri who has never been in active politics has the courage to say that Muslims always said 'no' to India's advancement. What is the contribution made by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri himself? And where has he been in the picture ever since the struggle for freedom started? In what way has he suffered for the good of this country or for the advancement of India that he now waxes so eloquent over the question of India's freedom. I regard the whole of his talk as nothing but easy chair talk signifying nothing. Neither has he led any movement for the advancement of this country nor has he any following do it. As regards his remark calling the two-nation theory idiotic, and not fit for sensible men to discuss, let me tell him that he is [living] in a fool's paradise and that only men like him devoid of sense cannot have the courage to discuss it, for discussion of it means inevitable and ultimate submission to the force of arguments in favour of it. Let me also tell Mr. Sastri that it does not matter an iota if Mr. Sastri and persons like him do not discuss it. The whole of India and the British statesmen and the British people have been discussing it, and some of them have already come to the conclusion that it is the only way out and the Pakistan scheme is the only possible solution of the troubles of India. Muslim India will never rest content till a Muslim independent state is established in the six provinces. In the circumstances, it is clear that the only way of solving the Indian problem is a redistribution of India on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. Many British statesmen have already realized this and also the fact that the Hindus themselves, on account of their inherent defective social system, religious orthodoxy and caste prejudices, can never be a single united Hindu nation even for political purposes. This is my challenge to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Savarkar. Mr. Gandhi knows it and that is why he is trying to remove untouchability.

[1]The *Liberator*, 31 October 1944.
[2]For a report on the disturbances which erupted in the wake of the Quit India Movement, see No. 697, *TP*, II, 904-6.
[3]See Sharif Al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. Studies in Interpretation*, Karachi, 1981, 468-72.

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Mahmud Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/55

QAZI TOLA,
BAREILLY,
1 November 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing these lines in the spirit of your staunch follower. I have been pained to see in the papers that resignations are pouring forth daily from the District and City Muslim Leagues of U.P. as a protest against the prejudice and short-sighted policy of the so-called League Parliamentary Board for municipal elections. I fear that the storm in the tea-cup, as characterised by the President of U.P. Muslim League, is assuming terrible dimensions. Even those who have rallied under the League banner, in long-range politics, do not view this local politics as above board. Opinion is fast developing in the intelligentsia that the League has committed a blunder by participating in the municipal elections. League is out for the solidarity of Musalmans, but the irony of the situation is that by granting League tickets, under party intrigue, local leadership has alienated the sympathies of a very influential section of the Musalmans. The desirable course, of course, would have been conciliation among the competing Muslim candidates (as there was no question of any rivalry from Hindu quarters) and not the adoption of this dogmatism by creating this party arena among the Musalmans by granting the League tickets, which they regard as nothing short of a passport to paradise, to the favoured few.

The situation has been further aggravated by the fact that certain League candidates have been left at liberty to court the tickets of the Ansar Board, a rival organisation, thereby causing the breach of clause 3 of the affidavit.

As the above situation is causing much alarm among the Musalmans of U.P., I trust that you shall take early steps to meet the situation and see that power is not vested in unworthy hands. I am keenly looking

forward for an early response to this letter[1] which may be put to any use.

Me to obey,
MAHMUD HASHMI
M.A., LL.B.

[1]Jinnah informed him that powers to deal with such matters vested in the Central Parliamentary Board, and there was the Committee of Action as well. Those aggrieved were required by the League constitution to approach the concerned body. See *SHC*, UP I/56. Not printed.

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/45

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
1 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry I have been pestering you with letters, but I cannot help it as it is a very important matter. I wrote to you yesterday,[1] but the letter was addressed to Bombay through inadvertence.

We cannot leave the selection of the candidate for the Assembly in the seat vacated by the death of Khan Bahadur Sadhayo to the nominee of Mr. Sayed. He ousted Mr. Yusuf Haroon from the Secretaryship of the League, and appointed a Sayed.

You know the feelings between Sayed and Gazdar on the one hand and K. B. Khuhro on the other. They have got rid of him, and Sayed has asked me to appoint Sayed Mahomed Ali Shah, a member of the Parliamentary Board, as a Minister. He wants to have Sayed *Raj* in Sind. I cannot countenance this, as the Speaker is a Sayed, and Pir Sahib is also one of their own.

I am not prepared to leave the selection of the candidate to the Assembly to Sayed's sweet will, as he has two more members of the Parliamentary Board as his nominees. He is against me, and will not vote for my son, who is standing for the vacant seat. Nor will Sayed Mahomed Ali Shah vote for my son, as Sayed asked me to appoint him as Minister and I have not done so. Then Sayed is making Ghulam Nabi Pathan to stand for the vacant seat on the League ticket. Ghulam Nabi Pathan also cannot be in my favour as my son is opposed to him.

I cannot possibly leave the selection of the candidate to Parliamentary Board, wholly nominated by him. Sayed is your nominee as the President

of the League, and if he is removed from that position, I can assure you that he will not be able to put up any candidate, or even be elected as the President of the League. His whole Council is nominated by him, and so you can understand what he can do with such a Council.

Sayed has been making false allegations against all the Ministers ever since the formation of the Ministry, and he has not been able to prove them. Such a man, in fact, is nothing short of a curse to the community. I can have no more patience with him.

I shall be grateful for your kind advice as to how I should act in the matter.[2]

Hoping you are doing very well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind II/44. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah telegraphed him to ask that he and G. M. Sayed both come over to Delhi and see him. See *SHC*, Sind II/46. Not printed.

246

Modi Abdul Gafur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1119/73-4

C & M STATION,
BANGALORE,
1 November 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I most respectfully beg to forward to you a copy of the resolution passed at a meeting of the Council of the Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League held on Wednesday, 1st November 1944, in order to consider your letter[1] regarding the ensuing session of the All India Muslim League and with your kind permission I beg to add the following few more things for your kind consideration.

Soon after its formation in February last, the Council of the Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League resolved to hold a Provincial Muslim League Conference in Bangalore and necessary arrangements in that direction were set afoot. Invitations were extended to the members of the Committee of Action both in person and by letters, to participate and guide the deliberations of the Conference. An invitation was also extended to you to inaugurate and bless our new province and our new Provincial Muslim League before they were

launched into action. But unfortunately we could not have you in our midst. While the leaders of the Committee of Action were kind enough to accept our invitation, they, however, advised us to postpone the Conference till after *Ramazan,* which, they said, would be the most convenient time for them. But it has not been possible for the Committee of Action to take any decision in the matter, with the result that the idea of our Conference has been kept in abeyance to the utter disappointment of the public. Your kind letter has now offered us a unique and a greater opportunity to hold the all-India session.

Our Provincial Council discussed at length the various points and the needs and requirements of the session and is fully convinced that Bangalore can be the most appropriate venue of the next session.

Almost all the sessions have so far been held in the north except the 28th session which was held in Madras in the year 1941. I, therefore, crave your permission to suggest that south should be given preference this time and since one session has already been held in Madras, the Quaid-i-Azam will agree that Bangalore has a legitimate claim to invite the All India Muslim League to hold its session here. There is already a great joy and enthusiasm among the public and every Muslim of the place, rich and poor, young and old, has come forward to contribute his mite to lead the session to a success.

Apart from other things, I may add that during the Easter holidays one cannot have a better and a more ideal climate than that of Bangalore, and I am sure that all the visitors will like and enjoy it.

Keeping all these considerations in view I, on behalf of the Muslims of Bangalore and Coorg, request you to let our province have this unique honour of celebrating this national festival of Muslim India this time and I fervently hope that our wishes and desires will be duly regarded.

Hoping to be honoured with an acceptance and an early reply,

Yours obediently,
MODI ABDUL GAFUR
President,
Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No.246

F. 1119/75

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Council of the Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League, while placing on record with gratitude, the letter of the

Quaid-i-Azam of the 16th October 1944,[1] addressed to its President, resolves to invite the All India Muslim League to hold its ensuing session at Bangalore, and authorises the President to convey their decision and request the Quaid-i-Azam to kindly accept their invitation.

[1]Not traceable.

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Resolution by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League

SHC, Bengal IV/14

[CALCUTTA,]
1 November 1944

A special meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League was held on Wednesday, 1st November 1944, under the presidentship of Maulana M[uhamma]d Akram Khan, MLC, to consider the political situation vis-a-vis the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Prominent among those who took part in discussions were Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Premier of Bengal, Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Hon'ble Syed Muazomuddin, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, Mr. A. Hashim, Mr. H. Huq [and], Mr. S. M. Usman. After prolonged discussion the resolution moved by Mr. M. R. Ahsan Imrany and amended by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION

A. The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League has carefully noted the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence and the statements subsequently made by Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on the Bombay talks regarding League-Congress Agreement on the political problem of India, and is of the considered view that Mr. Jinnah's stand has been throughout reasonable and just, patriotic and statesmanlike and absolutely consistent with the basic creed and demands of the All India Muslim League. The Committee records its complete confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim India, and wholeheartedly supports the stand taken by him in his negotiations with Mr. Gandhi. The Quaid-i-Azam had no authority to compromise the basic creed and ideology of the All India Muslim League, namely the principles that the hundred million Musalmans of India are a

distinct and independent nation, for whom Islam is the whole basis and entire code of life, and as such they stand for the complete independence and self-determination of the Indian Muslim nation; and that the Muslim national homelands and states on the north-west and east zones of India must be (1) politically independent and sovereign, (2) economically sound, solvent and self-supporting, and (3) militarily safe, secure and defensible and must therefore have living space and adequate resources for their rapidly growing population to safeguard their reasonable expansion, development and security as a nation, free scope for which has been denied to them from the beginning of British *Raj* in India.

B. It should be noted that Pakistan's homelands of the Muslims, particularly Bengal, Assam, N. W. Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan have not only been the most neglected parts of the British *Raj* in India but have been also singled out for deliberate wrongs which aimed at politically crippling, financially starving, economically pauperising the Muslim Provinces and culturally denationalizing the Muslim *millat* so that the Muslims may not be able to rise and prosper again in India as an independent nation. It has been established by British historians themselves that these wrongs "presented the most astounding record of modern crime in existence." Pakistan demand should be sympathetically considered in the light of this historic background. It should be appreciated that the Pakistan demand has arisen from deep-rooted historical causes of frustration and suppression and its main object is to ensure the full growth and free development of the Muslims as an independent and sovereign nation.

C. The Working Committee regrets to note that Mr. Gandhi not only failed to appreciate the Muslims' demand with the broad-minded vision and large-hearted sympathy essential for solving this problem but offered proposals which torpedoed Pakistan and absolutely nullified the basic creed and demand of the All India Muslim League as embodied in the Lahore Resolution and sought to place the Muslims and other peoples under an all India central authority with seventy-five per cent Hindu majority. Mr. Gandhi has, throughout the negotiations, made a show that the two formulae of Mr. Raja and Mr. Gandhi conceded the substance or essence of the Lahore Resolution. A politician of his rank or experience could not but have known that there was nothing of substance in common between these formulae and the Lahore

Resolution. And to repeat [as] he has done that they meet the Lahore Resolution is on the face of it untenable and is calculated wholly to mislead and confuse the Muslims. In fact Mr. Gandhi's offer fell far short of even the Cripps' offer[1] of His Majesty's Government. The Muslims will not accept any all-India federal or even confederal centre. There can be no real alliance and friendship between a dominant ruling people and a subject people but Mr. Gandhi, instead of facing these hard realities and recognizing the equal status and independence of the Muslim nation and other peoples, has been pursuing the chimera of Indian unity and Indian nationality which have never existed in history and the senseless pursuit of which will only postpone the realization of freedom of the people of India indefinitely.

D. The Committee appeals to all patriotic and liberal-minded peoples, friends of India, to realize the basic truth that India is not a uni-national country and the only just and practical solution of the complex problem of the sub-continent of India is to recognize the equality, independence and sovereignty of the nation who have got big compact contiguous homelands, capable of standing as independent states, and to provide for the adequate protection of minorities by a protocol to be signed by all the states as High Contracting Parties. The Muslims as a nation must be free to independently determine their political fate and future in this sub-continent by their own collective action without any outside interference. Only the recognition of this basic right and the equality and independence of the Muslim nation and its implementing in actual practice in form of their sovereign state can secure for all the peoples in the sub-continent of India an order of collective security and friendly alliance which will be freely formed and independently maintained by the different independent states.

The Committee hopes that all true patriots will continue their efforts for a broad based fundamental settlement of the problem of India on these lines.

[1]See Appendix II.1, Vol.I, Part II, 21-2.

248

Muhammad Ali to M. A. Jinnah
SHC, Punjab I/20

In the name of *Allah*, the Beneficent, the Merciful

MUSLIM TOWN,
ICHHRA,
LAHORE,
2 November 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Under a separate cover I am sending you a copy of my latest work, *A Manual of Hadith*. I hope you will find it useful.[1]

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ALI

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the manual and promised that he would read it with interest. See *SHC*, Punjab I/21. Not printed.

249

Deldar Hossain & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/591

KRISHNAGAR, NADIA,
BENGAL,
3 November 1944

Guide of the destinies of Muslim nation,

You represent the hopes and aspirations of the Muslims of India. In you our noble wishes and our benevolent desires are centred. Our hearts are today filled with exultant pride. In your discussions with Mr. Gandhi you have shined [*sic*] well and your sanity and wisdom has made us expectant [*sic*]. We have full, implicit and consummate faith and confidence in your leadership and guidance. We are daily praying to God to grant you long and eventful life, confer upon you more political wisdom, shower upon you more mercies and enable you to guide the nation. We are confused and know not what to do—your influence on our moulding and growth is immense and far-reaching.

We will be very much inspired and animated with the determination to succeed; we will march onward according to your dictates; if you please, drop us a few lines.

Dear, best regards,

Yours most faithfully,
DELDAR HOSSAIN
General Secretary
M. RAHIM
Organising Secretary
HAIDAR ALI
Cashier
MUSLEHUDDIN AHMED
Assistant Secretary
Students' Muslim League

250

Ahmad Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/130

102 HEWETT HOSTEL,
LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, LUCKNOW,
3 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Lucknow Students' Federation will be having its sixth annual District Students' Conference on 14th, 15th and 16th of this month. The last day has been scheduled for the Cultural Conference. Sjt. Anugraha Narain Sinha is expected to inaugurate the Conference.

The Lucknow Students' Federation is affiliated to the All India Students' Federation, which has tried to establish fraternal relations with the local unit of the All India Muslim Students' Federation and worked in cooperation with them. Our attitude towards the All India Muslim League, the great patriotic organisation of the Indian Muslims, representing their freedom urge, is also well-known.

The forging of a united front of the Congress and the League on the basis of the acceptance of Pakistan occupies the very first place in our thought and action. This Conference will do its utmost to stop the unfortunate spirit of mutual recriminations and will try to create a mood of understanding and dispassionate consideration of each other's point of view.

We request you to send a message addressed to our Conference thus encouraging us to redouble our efforts in creating that understanding. Your message will help to clarify the position of the League still further, thus helping us to put the case of Pakistan in a much better way. We hope you would definitely send us this message which we will value as a source of inspiration.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Sincerely yours,
AHMAD ALI KHAN
Secretary, Conference Committee,
Lucknow Students' Federation

251

Nooruddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/103

3 WELLESLY 1ST LANE,
CALCUTTA,
3 November 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to invite you, on behalf of the All Bengal Muslim Students' League, which is an affiliated unit of the All India Muslim Students' Federation, to preside over our annual conference. We have decided to hold our annual conference by the first or second week of December 1944. Any date suitable to you will be fixed for the conference. Punjab is fortunate enough to have the honour of your presence either at the District or the Provincial conference several times. This is our first request. I hope you will not disappoint us. I have been asked by all the district units to invite you to preside over our conference.

Expecting a happy news from you,[1] [and] with best regards,

Your most obedient servant,
NOORUDDIN AHMED
Acting General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

[1]Jinnah regretted that he could not come over and preside at the conference because of previous commitments He clarified that his visits to Punjab were absolutely essential, and that no province was his favourite. See *SHC*, Students I/104. Not printed.

252

Syed Najiulla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/592-3

CHANNAPATNA,
MYSORE STATE,
4 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We are organizing "Tipu Sultan Day" throughout Mysore State and outside Mysore State. The major function is to come off at Seringapatam (near Mysore City) on November 14, to synchronise with the anniversary of martyrdom of Tipu Sultan.

The object of the movement is principally to freshen the memory of Tipu Sultan and remove the misrepresentations which are the result of interested and prejudiced versions of British historians regarding his person and his administration of the Sultanate of Mysore.

The memory of this martyr will forge unity amongst Muslims and rally the masses round the League. All prominent Leaguers are participating in the celebrations throughout the State and have high hopes in the direction of the unity amongst Musalmans to strengthen the League.

In view of your multifarious and pressing engagements we would not venture to press you to grace the occasion at Seringapatam on November 14. But we would most respectfully solicit a heartening message for the occasion so as to reach us on November 14 at Seringapatam.

With respectful regards,

Yours fraternally,
SYED NAJIULLA
Secretary,
Central Committee of Tipu Sultan Day

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Wang Han Chung to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (158)

A-8 ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE,
DELHI,
4 November 1944

Dear Mr. M. A. Jinnah,

Your name is so long and so deeply engraved on my mind that I expected to be provided with a chance to see you many a time. I am very glad to have heard that you have arrived in this city. Will you be so kind as to favour me with an interview at any time you propose?

I am one of the Chinese exchange students, attached to the University of Delhi for research work. Excuse me for making bold to write this without introduction.

Yours very faithfully,
WANG HAN CHUNG

254

M. H. Gazdar to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC, Sind II/48

CAMP HYDERABAD,
5 November 1944

My dear Nawabzada,

I would respectfully like to inform you that Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah has adopted a very curious attitude after the resignation of Khan Bahadur Khuhro. He has been threatening that he will resign and reshuffle the Ministry. He refuses to consult the Parliamentary Assembly Party with regard to the filling up [of] the vacancy caused by the resignation of Khan Bahadur Khuhro. He has been negotiating with Mr. Nihchaldas, leader of the Hindu Independent Group in the Sind Assembly, in connection with re-forming the Ministry with himself as a non-League Premier. A couple of days back he sent for Mr. Sidhwa, leader of Congress Group, and asked him what would be his attitude with regard to reshuffling of the Ministry. I apprehend he is prepared

to kick the League any time. All this is due to Assembly Party insisting upon him to follow the policy and programme of the Party which he is defying.

You are aware that Khan Bahadur Ahmed Khan Sadhayo, who was elected in the vacancy caused by the death of Allah Bakhsh, ex-Premier, is dead. Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain wants to put up his son, Anwar, as a candidate, and he is telling the Provincial Parliamentary Board that if they do not nominate him, he will put him up as an independent candidate. I personally feel that his son, whether a nominee of the League or an independent candidate, has no chance of success against Khan Bahadur Moula Bakhsh who is again seeking re-election.

I hope that Mr. G. M. Sayed is keeping Quaid-i-Azam fully informed of the developments in Sind politics. I venture to write this letter to you so that you may also be informed of likely happenings in Sind.

You would have known that the Government of India are going to release all Congress detainees. I expect that all of them, including members of the All India Congress Working Committee, will be free before the end of this month. Therefore, the political situation in the country will resume [*sic*] a different aspect.

I am sure you are fully prepared for this sudden development. As far as I am able to gather, the local Congress MLAs would like to associate with the Muslim League. They are basing this policy of theirs on the cooperation of the Congress and League Parties in the Central Assembly and also refusal of Bhulabhai Desai, as reported in papers, to have anything to do with the Unionists in the Punjab. I also understand that Mr. Nihchaldas has, for the present, refused to join Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain's new non-League Ministry.

With best regards to you and Begum Sahiba from us,

Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR
Minister, Govt. of Sind

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
8-A Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

255

Sadullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/74

UMARZAI,
VIA CHARSADDA, PESHAWAR,
7 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly allow me to express my feelings to you about the Muslim League organisation and the policy of the man in power (S. Aurangzeb Khan) in the Frontier Province. Before I do so, I must bring to your kind notice as to how this organisation was first started.

[*Paras 2 to 15 omitted*][1]

16. Now I deal with the current topics of the day about the so-called Muslim League Ministry. Since it has been framed [*sic*], this Ministry has held no party meeting at all, nor it ever discussed with other members the policy of the Govt. and its administration. It has also had no meeting elsewhere in the province nor did [*sic* for done] any propaganda work for the organisation. On the other hand, it has become so much *badnam* by its corruption and other sorts of high-handedness that the Muslim public now is entirely dissatisfied with the League organisation, so much so that they hate the very name of such an organisation because of S. Aurangzeb. Qazi Isa has come to start the organisation on a fresh footing but I am afraid there is very little chance of success as long as the Muslim League Ministry is in power and headed by S. Aurangzeb Khan. Also, I see no hope of holding the All-India Annual Muslim League Conference at Peshawar, in the near future, as long as this Ministry is in office. I am sure that the Conference will be held some time this year or at the beginning of the next year, and the League organisation, on proper footing, will also be started successfully.

17. In view of the facts mentioned above, I cannot tolerate any more to work with S. Aurangzeb Khan, because of his treacherous attitude and hypocratic [*sic* for hypocritical] habits and am therefore constrained to come forward and give a vote of no confidence upon him and his Ministry whenever any chance comes. But before I take this step, I bring to your kind notice about [*sic*] my aforesaid intention and hope that taking into consideration all the facts, you will excuse me for my this action. I cannot bear any longer all this disgrace that I and my family members

have been put into [*sic*] through the hands of S. Aurangzeb. Also, I think that his further stay in the Ministry is entirely injurious to the sacred cause of Muslim League organisation. Apologising for this lengthy letter and wasting your valuable time, I do hope that you will pay your careful attention to all the facts mentioned therein and would take immediate action[2] to relieve, from their anxieties, the Muslim public of this unfortunate province.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SADULLAH KHAN
Khan Bahadur, Al-Haj, MLA
Ex-Minister and Deputy Commissioner (Retired)

These paras reflected infighting within the Frontier Muslim League.
[2]See No. 264

256

Kuader Sharaf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/104

23/24 ROYAPETTAH,
MADRAS,
7 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hereby enclose a copy of the pamphlet, *The Call of the Reformists*,[1] to the Muslim nation for your kind information.[2]

I am directed to state that the *Reformists* is a Muslim youth organisation, and our fourth year's programme is 'Unity among Muslims'.

Thanking you,

Ever your follower,
KUADER SHARAF
General Secretary,
The Reformists

[1]See *SHC*, P&P I/105. Not printed
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the pamphlet, and noted that the Muslims were beginning to understand the real issue, and hoped to be able to achieve Pakistan if they remained vigilant and united. See *SHC*, P&P I/106. Not printed.

257

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/52

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I got your wire,[1] asking me and G. M. Sayed to meet you at Delhi.

Mr. G. M. Sayed is not here. As soon as I meet him, I will fix a date for both of us meeting you.

I am afraid there might be some trouble in connection with the *Satya*(*rath*) *Prakash* matter.

Hoping you are doing well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1] See No. 245, note 2.

258

M. A. Jinnah to Hasan Reyaz

SHC, P&P II/11

NEW DELHI,
8 November 1944

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

Many thanks for your letter of October 25th.[1] I was very much encouraged by the report you have given me regarding my talks with Mr. Gandhi.

With regard to the *Manshoor*, my information is that we are at it and doing our best, and I hope that we will see the result of our efforts very soon.[2] I am going to be in Delhi till the end of this month, and if you will kindly ring me up, I will fix up an appointment when we can have

a talk about the *Manshoor* and the situation generally.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hasan Reyaz, Esq.,
Editor, the *Manshoor*,
Daryaganj,
Delhi

[1]No. 229.
[2]See No. 280

259

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

SHC, Madras II/82

NEW DELHI,
8 November 1944

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 28th,[1] and thank you for it, and I have noted your opinion with regard to my talks with Mr. Gandhi.

As regards your local League affairs and the various matters that you have drawn my attention to, they pertain to the organization of the Muslim League, and you know that now all the powers are given to the Committee of Action to handle these matters. The Convener of this Committee is Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and he should be approached and the matter placed before him, as it is the function of the Committee of Action to deal with matters of this kind. You can, therefore, well understand my reluctance to interfere with or intervene in these matters, but I do hope that good sense will prevail amongst all of you, and especially the prominent leaders. After all, you can only serve the community by working as comrades and as a team, and I, therefore, hope that it will not be necessary for you to go further and that you will be able to settle everything amongst yourselves, but in the event of failure, your only course is to approach the Committee of Action.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq.,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]No 235

260

M. A. Jinnah to Ali M. Khan

SHC, FC I/48

NEW DELHI,
8 November 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 3rd,[1] and beg to inform you that you can certainly establish a Muslim League there and secure its affiliation to the All India Muslim League after you have established one according to the constitution of the All India Muslim League. There is nothing to prevent you from proceeding to establish a branch and enrol members and adopt your working constitution, but you will have to send all these materials with your application for affiliation to the All India Muslim League, when you have completed the work there.

As regards literature, I am sending you under separate cover such literature as is available here, and I am glad that you are taking a very keen interest. It is encouraging to me to know that you are supporting the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Ali M. Khan, Esq.,
4 Jamaica Street,
Edinburgh 3,
Scotland

[1]No. 516, Vol. X, 524-5.

261

M. M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/22

1 DARBAR ROAD,
MOGHALPURA,
11 November 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I wrote to you before on 26th May[1] and it was an honour to receive

your reply on 3rd June[2] from Srinagar.

You are fully aware that our so-called 'brothers' are expanding and developing industries in India, and in Punjab particularly. It is true that we Muslims should get into the market now before it is too late and we are left to ponder over [*sic*].

I have already volunteered my services to you for any national undertaking under your guidance and although I am drawing Rs. 700 p.m. in the Govt. service and if any industrial plans are contemplated, I am prepared to do the little sacrifice I can do.

My only handicap is that I cannot get a thoroughly reliable Punjabi capitalist here and I must admit that Punjab lacks very badly in this respect.

I am negotiating with a friend in Bombay and I am likely to come some time over there next month. I would like to see you if you could please let me know the dates you will be there.[3]

I am,

Yours very affectionately,

M. M. KHAN

Member, Manchester Association of Engineers

[2]Not traceable.

Jinnah replied that he could see him in Bombay by middle of December 1944. See *SHC*, Punjab I 23.

[3] Not printed.

262

Saiyid Jafar Raza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (159)

91 JOHNSTONGUNJ,
ALLAHABAD,

11 November 1944

Dear Sir,

I am sending a copy of the letter sent to different papers for your information and kind perusal and action.

Yours sincerely,

S. J. RAZA

B. A., LL.B.

Advocate

Enclosure to No. 262
Letter to the Editor
SHC (160)

AMROHA, U.P.,

Mr. Ali Zaheer in his letter[1] to Mr. Jinnah has claimed separate rights for Shias. This demand has got no sanction of Shias of U.P. behind it.

Influenced by the transitory Shia-Sunni tension of Lucknow, Syed Ali Zaheer has been demanding separate rights for Shias. For the last three years he has been trying to give an all India colour to his demands. But the fact is that the so-called All-India Shia Political Conference is not the representative Conference of Shias. It has no branches. As [a] matter of fact, the Conference has not held any annual session for the last three years.

Since the organization of Muslim League in 1937, the Shias of India have given ample proof of their full confidence in the policy of the All India Muslim League by boldly supporting the Muslim League candidates in the by-elections in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Frontier. In U.P., Shias solidly supported League candidates in the by-elections in Amroha, Bulandshahr and Saharanpur.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan has done great seriee to the Shias in repudiating the demands of Mr. Zaheer on behalf of Punjab Shias. So far as the U.P. Shias are concerned, they also do not claim separate rights and have full confidence in the policy of All India Muslim League and the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. I challenge Syed Ali Zaheer to come to any town of U.P. which has a Shia population, except Lucknow, to ascertain whether Shias are with him. Mr. Zaheer will be disappointed to know that the Shias are behind Muslim League and they think his policy [is] injurious to Shias' interest.

SYED MOAZZIZ HUSAIN NAQVI
M.A., LL. B.
Advocate
Member, U.P. Muslim League Working Committee

[1]See No. 587, Vol. X, 595-7.

263

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/63

20 WINDSOR PLACE,
KARACHI,
13 November 1944

Quaid-i-Azam,

When I sent you Hoshang's and the *Daily Gazette* Editor's letters, in reply you had stressed the necessity of the Sind Muslims having a paper of their own. I had talked over matters with Sir Ghulam and Sayed but it is not easy to bring them together and it would be best to secure for the new venture as large a support as possible.

The question of a daily newspaper is intertwined with Muslim English journalists and the signboard on the staircase at the office of the *Dawn* loudly proclaims that there is not even one available.

I suggest that we make a move in this direction. Let all our four Governments create in all thirty (six each for Assam, Sind and N.W.F.P. and twelve for Bengal) foreign scholarships of Rs. 5,000 a year each, and send out students to America, England and Australia.

Out of these thirty, let ten be non-Muslims. A few more in their ranks won't make a difference, but twenty Muslim journalists, out of job on their return, will not give an easy time to our authorities till something gets going.

If you approve of the idea, you may persuade Nazimuddin to make a start. The other provinces can follow up one by one.

The Government of India will be sending out five hundred trainees to foreign countries for post-war industries. It should not be difficult to persuade them to give travel facilities to thirty more, specially when the request will go from four provincial governments.

I am here till Thursday and will be at your command in this or any other respect.

Are the knight-errants of Sind coming to Delhi?

May *Allah* guide and protect you for the sake of His Prophet's *ummat* in India.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

264

M. A. Jinnah to Sadullah Khan

SHC, NWFP I/75

NEW DELHI,
13 November 1944

Dear Mr. Sadullah Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 7th,[1] and beg to inform you that I have received various reports from different quarters, and I have noted your allegations and the report that you have sent to me. The whole matter is under our consideration but I think you will understand that we have to carefully consider and ascertain the real facts supported by definite evidence before any step of this character can be taken. Till then I cannot agree with you when you say, "I cannot tolerate any more to work with S. Aurangzeb Khan". It is not that you are working with Aurangzeb Khan. It is your loyalty to the Party to which you belong and the organization of which you are a member, and you have to stand by your party until the alleged culprit is found guilty. This is the unfortunate position of every party system. If each member were to decide for himself on his own and act accordingly, there would be no such thing as party or organization worth the name. I can quite understand your very strong feelings and sentiments because you are convinced of certain facts but your proper course is to help us in every way and put matters right. Pending the final decision you should remain loyal to the Party to which you belong and the organization of which you are a member and act accordingly, and believe me that if we are satisfied that the allegations made are true, we shall not hesitate to take immediate steps, no matter what the consequences might be, because I believe that justice must be done at any cost.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Khan Bahadur Al-Haj Sadullah Khan, MLA,
P.O. Umarzai,
Peshawar District

No. 255.

265

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/4

EXPRESS

NEW DELHI,
13 November 1944

Dear Nawab Sahib,

After my talk with you, I have seen Shaukat Hyat Khan, and he has agreed to my suggestion, and I hope that you will carry out the understanding that was arrived at between you, Mumtaz and me, and there should be no further hesitation or question as to who should be the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly. I have considered all the pros and cons, and I see no other way except that you should take it up. I need not say anything more.

As regards the annual session of the All India Muslim League, please send me your formal official invitation without delay, as I have to decide very soon. Do not delay it. I am sending this letter to you *express*, as I am very anxious to get your reply as soon as possible, as unless I have an official invitation, I cannot act upon it.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

266

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

SHC, Punjab III/27

EXPRESS

NEW DELHI,
13 November 1944

My dear Mumtaz,

After I had a talk with you and the Nawab Sahib I met Shaukat, and I am glad to say that he has agreed to my suggestion. Please therefore stick to the arrangement that we arrived at, and the more I think about

it the more I am convinced that any other course would not be in the interests of the Party or the Muslim League generally, and Mamdot, I hope, will respond to the call and take up this responsibility without any hesitation.

As regards the invitation for the League session, I am waiting for an official formal invitation from you. I have also written[1] to Nawab Sahib to this effect. Please, therefore, see that there is no delay caused, as I have very soon to decide this matter, as the time is getting short. I am sending this letter to you express. I have also written to Nawab of Mamdot intimating my views about the leadership of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Mumtaz Daultana,
3 Durand Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 265.

267

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hamid Khan

Telegram, F. 810/198

[NEW DELHI,]
13 November 1944

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan,
President, Assam Muslim League, Shillong

Your telegram.[1] I hope that every Musalman will support and every Muslim voter will vote for Dewan Abdul Basith Choudhury, the League candidate for the Central Assembly in the coming by-election. His success means the success of the Muslim League, not only in Assam but in all India, and I am confident that, as the custodian of the prestige of the League, you will not allow our organization to suffer defeat but do your best to support him solidly and win.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

268

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind II/53

NEW DELHI,
13 November 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

Many thanks for your letter of November 8th.[1] I am glad that you will arrange with Sayed and fix a date for both of you to meet me. I am here definitely till the end of this month.

As regards the *Satyarath Prakash* matter, all I can say is that I have read those objectionable passages myself, and I cannot understand how any man, no matter what faith he belongs to, can with decency support the publication of such an offensive and terrible libel. I think that all the Provincial Governments and the Central Government should really adopt a firm and definite attitude, and not hesitate or vacillate because some trouble may be created.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 257.

269

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/60

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
13 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mir Ghulam Ali and Mr. Roger Thomas have been sworn in as Ministers today.

I wish you to know the facts as the other party might misrepresent

them to you. G. M. Sayed is not here, and, therefore, I could not come to you.[1]

I cannot appoint a Minister at G. M. Sayed's dictation. Otherwise, I would only be a puppet Premier. The other party have been employing only delaying tactics, and I could not wait indefinitely.

Mir Ghulam Ali has a following as I have ascertained for myself. He will prove a loyal and useful Minister.

Mr. Roger Thomas has made his money as an agriculturist in Sind, and is very keen on the agricultural development of the province. He too will prove a very useful Minister. He will serve for the love of the work, and will only draw a nominal salary, which he will return to Government. He is being appointed to be in charge of Agriculture, and we could not have a better man for that department.

Hoping you are doing well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

On 22 November, Hidayatullah informed Jinnah that he and G. M. Sayed would be meeting him in Delhi on 1 December 1944. See *SHC*, Sind III/20. Not printed.

270

A. K. Esmail to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC II/23

P.O. BOX 635,
KAMPALA,
UGANDA,
14 November 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Had it not been for the fact that we need your guidance in an important matter, I would not have taken your precious time. This is where we need your guidance and advice.

Here in Uganda, there are about ten thousand Muslims all told, forming more than half of the Indian population. The Muslims, led by the late lamented Seth Allidina, have been the pioneers in this country. They have braved all the earliest inconveniences and hardships which is the lot of the pioneers, and the services rendered by them have brought Uganda to the position it occupies at present. Hindus have come to this country at a considerably later date when things had

settled down, but today they occupy a very prominent place in the life of the country. Had they used the prominence they have to their advantage, nobody could have quarrelled with them but, as it is, they are actively against the Muslims and their constant endeavours are to do us down. The local Indian Associations are but the branches of the Congress in India. The Muslims everywhere are pushed out and they had till late[ly] no strong organisation of their own, where all the sections of the Muslim population could deliberate and work for the betterment of their community. Only last year some prominent Muslims of Uganda have formed their independent organisation, the Muslim Group. I have the honour to be its Secretary.

The formation of this Muslim organisation caused the Hindus to launch a general offensive against us, as is usual with them. They have used all the meanest devices to break our organisation, including the most despicable weapon of using some renegade Muslims against us. These devices are not new to you and I need not dilate on them. I am glad to say that we have faced this outburst with calm and dignity, becoming true Muslims, and by *Allah's* grace we are marching from strength to strength. For the first time in Uganda's history the festival of *'Id* was celebrated with great eclat and His Excellency the Governor had graced the occasion with his presence. He, in his speech, had given fulsome praise to Islam which has further enraged the local Hindus. They now make no secret of their intense dislike of the Muslim group and indulge in all sorts of dirty methods to achieve their nasty aims. At this juncture we need your guidance. There are plenty of Muslims here with whom your word counts a lot. We have decided to celebrate your birthday, on the 25th December,[1] and on that occasion a message from you would be very welcome. In addition to that we want to maintain close contact with the All India Muslim League and we shall be extremely obliged if you would kindly appoint a liaison officer of the League to maintain contact with not only the Uganda Muslims but the Muslims from India settled in all the colonies. The Congress has very active sympathisers here and they maintain a very close contact with them by devious methods. The Muslims find themselves in the position of neglected orphans as they were. With you as our leader and the powerful League taking real interest in our affairs, we have no cause to be despondent but we want this interest to take practical form. We would love to see you on this land but we realise that all the urgent duties on your hand demanding your constant presence in India, we would be satisfied if any other responsible Muslim leader visited us periodically.

I do not think I could add anything more at the moment. May *Allah*

bless you in your efforts to achieve the cherished aim of all the Muslims, i.e. Pakistan, our homeland.

Sincerely yours,
A. K. ESMAIL
Advocate

Thanking the Muslim Group of Uganda for celebrating his birthday, Jinnah regretted the delay in replying to his letter He expressed his satisfaction as well over their efforts at ameliorating the lot of the Muslim community in Uganda, assuring him that the Muslim League would not fail them. See *SHC*, FC II/24. Not printed.

271

Farrukh H. Mirza to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/24

15 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I write to you as an obedient and dutiful son to a loving father. After all, you are indeed the "Father of the Nation," and I think that every Muslim should look upon you as his father.

The rich Muslim landlords of the Punjab are a curse to the Muslim nation and disgrace to Islam. These traitors should be punished and done away [with] for good. They should never be allowed to return to the Muslim League. We can get on very well without them. We must ruthlessly crush them—I mean their power.

I know that there are some in the camp of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan today because they have got huge military contracts etc. Yet they are strong Pakistanis and will cross the floor the moment they realise that the Unionist game is up. Of course, we will have to show some leniency to them, for if they openly come in with us now, they know that the present Ministry will crush them for good. The Muslim League expects every man to make sacrifices for the Party and to stand by the Party at all costs, yet we cannot expect too much from these people at present, because a vast majority of the Muslims of the Punjab, including MLAs, are uneducated. When you came to Lahore last April to settle with Malik Khizar Hayat Khan whether he was prepared to accept the demand of the Party and run a full Muslim League Ministry, I for one had my doubts about your success. You know it full well and you had it out with the Punjab Premier because the time had arrived for the Punjab Muslims to increase their efforts. The present Ministry was a

thorn in our side. Most of them are uneducated zamindars and you cannot expect them to side with any one except the bureaucracy. I can even say that these zamindars will blindly put up their hands and side with the Governor without knowing what they are doing and some sly and cunning people use these uneducated people to further their own ends. I am not holding a brief for any of them. As a matter of fact, I don't know any [of] them and I have only come to know all this by educating myself and mixing with people of all classes.

I have only mentioned these because I have heard it said that these people are just waiting for a favourable opportunity to come over. Dr. Muhammad Alam and K. B. Sheikh Faiz Muhammed, Parliamentary Secretary, are all repenting for their sin. And I can assure [you] that Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Ashiq Husain, Jamal Khan Leghari and Mian Abdul Haye are all passing sleepless nights. These men have raised a hornet's nest about their ears by fooling with you and the Muslim League. The doors of the Muslim League should be shut to these people for all time. Like Fazlul Huq they should be sent to St. Helena to pass the rest of their days. Fazlul Huq wants to come back, but it is too late in the day. These people seem to think that they can kick the ladder by which they have climbed up and then be allowed to use it again. We require strict discipline and, knowing you, we are quite safe.

I thought of seeing you regarding the activities of the present Punjab Ministry and officials, but I think that you have full information already. I thought best to write. I attended gatherings and crowded meetings of the National War Front, presided over by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and attended and addressed by Sir Chhotu Ram and Ashiq Husain at Ludhiana and Hissar. I am in a position to let you know everything about the officials who helped to collect funds for the Zamindara League and you may rest assured that when an enquiry committee on the lines of the Pirpur Committee[1] begins to work, they will have my help. I am an evacuee from Burma. In these two years I have studied the political history of the country from the times of *Khilafat*. I am only twenty-two and like the entire youth of the nation, am solidly behind you.

Wishing you all success and praying that you may be spared for many years to guide the Muslim nation for the sake of a greater and better Islam,

Yours sincerely,
FARRUKH H. MIRZA

Appointed by AIML Council to enquire into complaints of hardship, ill-treatment and injustice to Muslims by the provincial governments led by Congress. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, Appendix XVIII.13, 607.

272

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

Telegram, SHC, Sind II/66

15 November 1944

Your telegram.[1] On principle cannot understand inclusion additional non-Muslim Minister. Besides contrary spirit letter/instrument/instructions. You should have consulted Parliamentary Board or me before taking such a serious decision. Please send full explanation.[2]

M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier, Sind,
Karachi

[1]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had requested Jinnah to trust him and hoped that 'all will be well'. See *SHC*, Sind II/65. Not printed.
[2]See No. 273.

273

Ghulam Hussain Hidyatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind II/76

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
16 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your wire[1] regarding the inclusion of an additional non-Muslim Minister in my Cabinet.

I do not understand how the appointment of Mr. Thomas is contrary to the Instrument of Instructions unless your point is that the European community is not an "important" one.

But really this point hardly arises for Mr. Thomas has not in any way been appointed as a representative of his community, and I understand that His Excellency has made this clear to both Mr. Thomas and the European MLAs, and there is an understanding that Mr. Thomas will take no part in Cabinet discussions or decisions on communal and political questions.

The Agricultural Department in Sind is in very low water; we cannot as yet get a satisfactory Director of Agriculture, and it is common ground

with all parties that in the interests of the agriculturists something must be done to improve it. Mr. Thomas is a trained expert agriculturist, who has made money in Sind, and is anxious to do something to show his gratitude.

Mr. Thomas will take only a nominal salary, and that only that he may be brought under the control of the legislature, and, as you are aware, his appointment cannot be for more than six months unless in the meantime he obtains a seat in the Assembly.

His appointment has been well received locally, and there is good reason to hope that within this time he will be able to give the necessary stimulus to the Agricultural Department in Sind.

As regards consultation with the Parliamentary Board, as this was not a political appointment, I did not consider such consultation necessary. However, I did consult Mir Ghulam Ali and a few others. As I have already said above, the appointment has been made purely in the best interests of this province, and Sind will benefit by his appointment. It does not affect the interests of the Muslims in the least in any way. On the contrary, it is the Muslims themselves who will benefit the most as they form the vast majority of the agriculturists of Sind.

I hope, therefore, you will be able to give my action your full approval. Everybody here realises that this appointment has no political significance, and that it leaves the relative strength of other communities in the Cabinet entirely unaffected.

Yours sincerely,

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

See No. 272.

274

M. Khundkar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/39

ASSAM PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DIVISIONAL OFFICE, GAUHATI,
16 November 1944

Sir,

I beg to forward herewith a copy of Resolution No. 1, passed at the meeting of the Gauhati District Muslim League Council, held on 3rd November 1944, under the presidency of *Alhaj* Maulana Abdul Hamid

Khan, MLA, President, Assam Provincial Muslim League, for favour of information.

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Council of the Gauhati District Muslim League, while regretting the breakdown of Gandhi-Jinnah talks for a settlement of the problem of India, fully supports the stand taken by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah during the talks for settlement, and expresses its full confidence in his leadership.

M. KHUNDKAR
Secretary,
Gauhati District ML

275

Sameen Uddin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/33

22 BABAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
16 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With trembling hands I have picked up my pen to write a letter to you. I regard you as the sole leader of the Muslims of India. I am at present studying in St. Stephen's College in the preparatory class (first year). I passed my matriculation examination from Aligarh. Previously I had studied in Doon School, Dehra Dun, and in Sherwood College, Naini Tal, an American institution. You may recollect when you graced us by sitting in a group of English House at Habeeb Manzil in February.

I had intended to meet you previously but I did not have the courage of coming to you. It's my intention to become your honorary secretary (private) after the termination of my education. My first intention is to go [to] America and get a Tripos in Political Science and then join the Bar in England. But my mother does not want me to go at such an early age. I will be 17 on Jan. 11, 1945. I gave your's, J. L. Nehru's and M. K. Gandhi's examples. How the two [*sic*] had gone at an early age and had become great men. I told her that I want to do something

for my country and my beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

I want to go to America as soon as possible so that I may not waste my superfluous time here where I cannot get good books to read. I have tried to read books but I could not get good books here. I am very fond of buying books and I spend most of my pocket money on them. People are fed up with me because I read too much day and night.

I want to go to a free country because I am sure no person can lead a nation to the goals of freedom and Pakistan, until he may know what freedom really is. I believe that I may be demoralized if I stay too much here in India.

My financial condition is by God's grace quite satisfactory and my monthly income is approximately Rs. 1,500. My great grandfather unfortunately got the estate in exchange to the services rendered in the mutiny. I am very much ashamed to possess it and want to wash that dirty spot by rendering appropriate service to the community. My father took much part in Khilafat [Movement] and gave up the use of foreign cloth in the latter part of his life due to the influence of Maulana Shaukat Ali, his staunch friend, and died in *Khaddar* clothes in 1934.

My maternal uncle, who was the Chairman of the Municipal Board of Rampur State, is at present acting as my guardian. He is an enlightened man and has done much for me and my estate. I do not belong to Rampur but to Sherpore estate in Dist. Pilibhit. The real intention of my writing this letter to you is that please ask my mother to send me to America as soon as possible after the war, either by a letter or by granting them an interview.[1] My mother is an able woman and she has managed to administer the estate very nicely. She wants to take much part in politics and intends to enrol herself as a member of the Muslim League. She asked me to purchase a photograph of yours. She gave me the proof that as all Hindus keep the photographs of their leaders why should not we also keep them. Now I will end my letter.

Your most sympathetic follower,
M. SAMEEN UDDIN KHAN

[PS.] If you would do this favour for me you will increase one more volunteer of the Muslim League and the hours of freedom may come nearer and nearer.

Jinnah advised him to trust his mother and follow her advice, adding that no man with character could be demoralized, no matter where he stayed. See *SHC*, Delhi 34 Not printed.

276

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mohkam Deen & Others

SHC, OM II/45&47

NEW DELHI,
18 November 1944

Dear Sir,

You will remember that you were good enough to make your contribution towards the All India Muslim League Fund during the last session at Delhi,[1] and it was announced at the time. I have not troubled you, hoping that you would send me the promised contribution as soon as possible, but a considerable time has now elapsed, and so I wish to remind you about it, as after all I am responsible for realizing the donations that were publicly announced.

Hoping that you will kindly send me your cheque without any further delay, and thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

1. Mian Mohkam Deen — Rs. 1,000
   c/o Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Premier,
   Peshawar
2. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur — Rs. 5,000
   Tando Ghulam Ali, Dist. Hyderabad, Sind
3. Nawab Ismail Khan — Rs. 1,000
   President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League,
   Patna
4. Mulla Jan Mohamed — Rs. 250
   c/o Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Premier,
   Peshawar
5. Haji Sharifuddin Hassan, MLA — Rs. 250
   Frazer Road,
   Patna
6. Secretary, — Rs. 100
   Islamia College Union,
   Wellesly Street, Calcutta
7. Ahmed Noor Khan, — Rs. 151
   President, Mendu Muslim League,
   Mendu, Hathras, U.P.

8.	Raja Sazaffar [Sarfraz], Punjab	Rs. 500
9.	Sayed Khair Shah, MLA Nawabshah, Sind	Rs. 200
10.	Sayed Hassan Bakshshah c/o Seth Yusuf Haroon, Napier Road, Karachi	Rs. 1,000
11.	Haji Mehr Bakhsh c/o Seth Yusuf Haroon Napier Road, Karachi	Rs. 2,000
12.	Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan Sukkur, Sind	Rs. 50

[1]Held on 24 to 26 April 1943.

277

Moin Azam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/21

ALIGARH,
18 November 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

We are anxiously waiting for your early visit to Aligarh. You have always been good enough to give our claims on you your first consideration, and we feel proud for the fact.

Your presence amidst us will be a source of the greatest inspiration and encouragement to us.

We would feel honoured if you could kindly communicate to us the possible dates on which you can visit Aligarh.[1]

Your humble follower,
MOIN AZAM KHAN
Secretary,
Muslim University Muslim League

[1]Jinnah replied that he would be visiting Aligarh to attend the annual session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation on 10 February 1945 or thereabouts, and that he was not going to forget the M. U. Muslim League. See *SHC*, UP III, 22. Not printed

278

Mian Mumtaz Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/28

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
19 November 1944

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very grateful to you for your kind letter of the 13th instant.[1] I have unfortunately been out of Lahore since the 14th due to the sudden death of my grandmother at my village near Multan. Therefore, I was able to read your letter only today.

The question of leadership is becoming more and more intricate. As far as I can gather, Nawab Sahib Mamdot is very unwilling to take up this responsibility for both political and personal reasons. The general trend of public opinion is very strongly in Shaukat's favour and I confess that I fear a considerable measure of disruption if Shaukat is not selected. All the arguments against him are shared and supported by almost every man of intelligence, but in our present stage the slightest suspicion of disruption would ensure harm that would take a considerable time to remedy. In any case Nawab Sahib Mamdot has gone to Delhi to place all the facts of the situation before you, and we shall resolutely carry out your directions.

I shall send an official invitation for the League session to you by tomorrow's post in the light of the resolution[2] recently passed by the Provincial Working Committee.

With my most respectful regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours obediently,
MUMTAZ

[1]No. 266.
[2]Passed on 30 October. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 15.

279

Secretary, Manbaul Hidhaya Mahajana Sabha, to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (162)

177 4TH CROSS STREET,
COLOMBO,
19 November 1944

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the above Sabha, I have the pleasure to forward herewith a copy of the resolutions passed at the general meeting of the above Sabha, held on 12th November 1944, for your kind perusal.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Enclosure to No. 279

RESOLUTIONS

At the general meeting of the above Sabha held on Sunday the 12th November 1944, at No. 86 Peer Saibo Street, Colombo, under the presidentship of *Janab* E.S. Shahul Hameed, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

i. A resolution was passed supporting the steps taken by *Janab* Jinnah during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, expressing full confidence in his leadership and deprecated certain attempts made by interested persons to bring disunity among the Muslim League.
ii. It was also resolved to request the All India Muslim League that till the right of self-determination of the Muslims to live as a separate society is accepted, no negotiations should be undertaken.
iii. It was also resolved to communicate these resolutions to be published in the *Dawn,* the official organ of the All India Muslim League, and the *Deccan Times* of Madras.
iv. Further, it was also resolved that a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League.

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M. Azizul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/138

CONFIDENTIAL

5 MANSINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
19 November 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I met you in Bombay, you brought to my notice the case of permission for the *Manshoor*. Immediately on my return to Delhi, I took up the matter and I am glad to say that in spite of various difficulties in the way, I have succeeded to have the necessary permission granted. As I spoke to you while at Bombay, Nawabzada spoke to me about this case some time in July and I then informed him that I would have the matter finally settled by the end of October or November, and I was able to keep to the time.

Trusting you are well and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQ

281

Muhammad Mahboob Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1102/596-601

LASCAR BAZAAR,
HANAMKONDA,
19 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly permit me at the very outset to state that in 1936 my humble self, as an educated young man residing in the District of Guntur (Madras), had in my humble way suggested that in order to make the Muslim League organization the only organization of the Muslims of India, the membership fee, which was then rupee one, might be reduced to *annas* two. While acknowledging receipt of my said suggestion, you were not only kind enough to place it before the Working Committee but the suggestion was given effect to. I thank the Almighty and you for this. This I would never have liked to mention

and thus waste your time but for the brief reasons and facts that follow, especially when I have no bodily connection with British India as I have since entered service in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominion at Warangal. In view of my qualifications etc., I would have got easily some loaf or fish under the then Govt.—Congress regime—though many a time I ran the risk of being gagged for whatever just views I held for reasons so latent [*sic*] and obvious to you. This of course was the basis for my natural aversion not [*sic*] to serve under the Hindu mind and, therefore, I sought service in the Muslim State of Hyderabad, about which I had ever cherished reminiscences of a life of prestige and peace and that I don't feel sorry for my choice though I am employed in the Revenue Department, where to speak the least, the nature and routine of work is such that it hardly feeds my brain nor do I get real problems worth solving but I have ever been a humble and practical worker of your creed and outlook on life and of life.

Being tired of this dull monotony I had been to Guntur where I was graduated. I stayed there for two months, saw my old workers and associates. I was away from Guntur for six years and my recent visit convinces me that the Provincial Muslim League is almost in a slumber. The Primary Leagues are not organized in those parts as you would expect them to be in these days, and the most relevant fact that ought to be brought to your notice is that mere show-boys, who are well-known for their inconsistency throughout their political life, want to enter and capture the District and Primary Leagues merely to exploit the Muslim masses for their own self-aggrandizement, e.g. to come out successful in the prospective Local Board elections or are [*sic*] want only joining hands with the so-called Communists who parrot about nowadays about unity and some of these Muslims have signed or intend signing such statements to be given to the Hindu press which are fundamentally against the basic principles of either the Lahore Resolution or the League's creed. I enclose herewith two cuttings from the *Hindu* dated 6th and 11th November 1944, which show the way in which the wind blows. Further, organized attempts are being made by some of the so-called harbingers of unity to exploit the lewd [*sic*] masses to make them believe that of late you are actuated by motives of lust in demanding six provinces for Pakistan and that the Muslims must bring pressure to bear upon you to concede virtually, so to speak, to their principle of separation. In my private capacity, I exposed their nefarious tactics and advised them not to interfere in our affairs and leave matters to be decided by ourselves and that if we fail in this we would prefer to go down than to yield to their machinations.

I, or young men of my way of thinking, know it for certain that you

know these tactics by intuition and at the same time feel *prima-facie* that you are about to issue a statement exposing the latest back door methods which aim at disruption. It is at this point that I feel the importance and urgency of a well-organized press for every group of districts at least. I am however glad to note recently that an English daily will be started from Madras shortly. We badly lack counter-propaganda even nowadays and many a time it struck to me why I should not run an Urdu press at Guntur—a wretched storm centre—mainly to guard and educate our own men in the first instance and then to think of having English and Telugu presses. The Muslim masses of Andhra readily fall in line with those by whom they are approached first. This thought is gaining ground in my mind as days pass, though I am in the employ of H.E.H. the Nizam, that I should begin one at Guntur and man the same a few months at least by applying for leave and leave the rest to God and a band of few sincere workers whom I might have trained by then. The late Bahadur Yar Jung would have been of immense help and use in Andhra in the initial stages at least. In the meantime, I emphatically advised the Muslim intelligentsia of Guntur, mostly college students, to be abreast of the game played around and over and above the shoulders of their real leader and to organize themselves thoroughly and do their bit by educating their ignorant brethren in the essentials of our goal and creed.

I would also most earnestly request you for drafting a band of a few sincere young men who might tour some of the important places of Andhra and thus rejuvenate the spirit of the League. As most of the districts of Andhra are on the border of Hyderabad, a few young men from Hyderabad, who are well up not only in current Indian politics but well up both in Urdu and English, might be drafted. I know a few of them and they can only be counted on fingers in Hyderabad. This will also pave the way for cultural affinity of these districts with Hyderabad, as, who knows, if God wills and you champion the cause the border districts of Hyderabad now in Andhra which had once been leased out to the British, as represented by the East India Company, as partners in common, would retrocede in fairness to the original lessor when the present Government would relinquish its present rights instead of to the Govt. that might be constituted then in which case it will again form part of Madras Province as at present.

How I wish I am [*sic* for were] one in the batch of touring lecturers, knowing as I do the mentality of both the communities living in those parts, but for the present outward shackles of service, though my mind

and soul have ever been free wherever I am, and even the former I would shake off if God wills or you bid me [to] now or at a later date. In the meantime I sincerely pray to God, if I could be drafted to the Constitutional or Political Dept. where I expect I can be more practical.

I heartily pray that you live long with sound health to guide us all. *Aameen*. Good-bye.

Yours ever sincerely,
M[UHAMMA]D MAHBOOB ALI
B.A.,B.Ed.

[1]Not traceable.

282

F. M. Kureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1127/297

NO. 2 WEST VIEW,
PREEDY STREET,
KARACHI,
20 November 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The instructions of your letter, dated 9th October 1944,[1] were communicated by me to Katraks and in reply Messrs Kotwal & Co., Advocates of Katraks, have sent a draft letter (enclosed) to be written by the Central Bank of India, Ltd., to you. Kindly send your approval so that I may act accordingly.

Trusting that this finds you in excellent health and with due respects,

Yours sincerely,
F. M. KURESHI

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 282
Draft letter by the Central Bank of India[1]

F. 1127/298

We hereby confirm that we hold Government loan paper of the face value of Rs. 65,000 as per the following particulars duly endorsed in

our favour, under your joint instructions to realise the interest thereof and pay over the same to Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak and to hand over the said securities to Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak on both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Sohrab intimating to us that Veera daughter of Sohrab has attained the age of 21 years and has executed a Deed of Confirmation ratifying the sale of the Bungalow No. 241 Staff Lines, known as Flagstaff House, duly conveyed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah under the sale deed dated 6th March 1944.

[1]Jinnah approved the draft letter on 5 December 1944. See No. 301.

283

M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Bahadur Khan

SHC, NWFP I/12

20 November 1944

Dear Sardar Bahadur,

With reference to our conversation this morning, it struck me that the best course that we can adopt immediately is that all the Muslim Ministers and yourself should come down to Delhi as soon as possible and we must put our heads together and find a solution of the position that has been created in the North-West Frontier Province, both outside the legislature and inside the legislature. I need not say to you that most of the reports that I have received, if true, are not only painful but are calculated to damage the prestige and honour of the League in your province.

In these circumstances, I hope you will press the Muslim Ministers to fix up a date to come down to Delhi and see me.

Please communicate your arrival telegraphically so that I may be free to receive.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Khan,
Speaker,
Legislative Assembly, NWFP,
71 Lodhi Road,
New Delhi

284

Zuhair Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/114

CENTRAL OFFICE,
3 PRAYAG STREET,
ALLAHABAD,
20 November 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You will be pleased to learn that the U.P. Muslim Students' Federation are holding their fourth annual session at Allahabad on Dec. 2nd and 3rd under the presidentship of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. On behalf of the Working Committee, I request you most respectfully to kindly take the trouble of gracing our session with your auspicious and august presence. Four years ago, on the occasion of our first provincial conference, we had the privilege of inviting you to preside over it, but due to your heavy engagements you could not find it possible to honour us. This time we again venture to humbly request you to honour our session with your presence, even if for a day. Moreover, it is now more than two years since you visited these provinces to preside over the annual sessions of the AIML; and not only the students but also the Muslim public are desirous and anxious to see their beloved Quaid-i-Azam once again in their midst and to hear his auspicious words.

We fully realize that you are extremely busy these days, being occupied by problems of the most serious and far-reaching importance but in spite of this we feel that your presence at the forthcoming rally of the Muslim youth of these provinces is imperative and indispensable.

However, amidst your pressing engagements and heavy preoccupation, if you cannot unfortunately find time to grace our conference with your presence, we shall feel highly obliged and honoured if you very kindly send us a message.[1]

Hoping to be excused for the encroachment I have made upon your valuable and precious time, [and] with humble respects,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant in Islam,

ZUHAIR SIDDIQI
General Secretary,
UP Muslim Students' Federation

[1]See No 295

285

M. Rafi Butt to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab IV/87

35A FEROZEPUR ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A friend of mine, who met you at Delhi on Sunday last [19 November], has spoken to me about the Chemical Fertilizers Scheme. I wish to discuss the matter with you and have your advice and guidance. I shall be able to spare rupees four lakh towards the initial cost of the machinery and make satisfactory arrangements to finance the scheme in consultation with you. I am arriving in Delhi on November 30th, 1944, but in case you consider that I should come earlier I shall feel grateful if you will advise me accordingly, preferably by telegram.[1]

I regret that, owing to indisposition, I was not able to attend the last meeting of the Planning Committee although I submitted my views in writing.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. RAFI BUTT

[1]Jinnah advised that on his arrival in Delhi on 30 November 1944, he should seek an appointment by telephone. See *SHC*, Punjab IV/88. Not printed.

286

Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind III/22

BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
22 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I happened to come to Sukkur from Quetta yesterday, and from there I

came here today with my friends Sardar Khan Bahadur Jagan Khan and Sardar Khan Sahib Allah Bakhsh Khan Kakepoto. You must have already heard the reports that last year it was mainly through our humble efforts and labours that the Muslim League candidate, Khan Bahadur Ahmad Khan Sadhayo, since deceased, was elected with a thumping majority to the Sind Legislative Assembly at the by-election from Shikarpur Taluka Muslim constituency, defeating the anti-League candidate, Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bakhsh, brother of the late Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, ex-Premier of Sind.

Now again it is the same family of late Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh which wants to put up one from among themselves for the by-election from the same constituency, and it is imperative in the interests of the cause of the Muslim League that we should put up strongest possible candidate on behalf of the Muslim League and that is Mr. Anwar Hussain s/o Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah. I say so not simply because he is son of our popular Premier, but because I sincerely believe that he, of all others, has the strongest chance to win, and the likelihood is that no anti-League candidate will feel it an easy task to stand against him. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan, who has been selected by the Sind Parliamentary Board by a majority of only one vote, and that of Mr. Ghulam Nabi Khan himself, has no hope of much support even from his own Pathans. This is the most sincere and trustworthy information which I, as a humble League worker, beg to convey to you.

I appeal to you, therefore, not only in my own name but also on behalf of Sardar Khan Bahadur Jagan Khan and Sardar Khan Sahib Allah Bakhsh Khan Kakepoto, both of whom are here at Karachi with me today, and also on behalf of several other Muslim League workers, including Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan Khoso, Peer Ahmad Shah Ranipurwala and several other Sardars and zamindars, who wield very great influence in Shikarpur Taluka, to use your good offices and urge upon the Central Parliamentary Board to cancel the decision of the Sind Parliamentary Board and to order the adoption of Mr. Anwar Hussain s/o Sir Ghulam Hussain as the League candidate for the by-election to the Sind Legislative Assembly.

We three here at Karachi have sent to you a telegram also to that effect today, in confirmation of which I herewith send you a copy of the same telegram.[1]

If your honour wants any further information from me, I can come and see you personally whenever and wherever you may be pleased to call me for the purpose.

Yours sincerely,
SIRDAR MIR JAFFAR KHAN JAMALI

[1]See *SHC*, Sind III/23. Not printed.

287

Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/17

THE *SPECTATOR*,
99 GOWER STREET,
LONDON W.C.1,
22 November 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My wife and I got back safely to this country in August and I have always meant to send you a line of good wishes for the new year and to express the hope that all is going well with you.

I have just finished my book. It is due to be published about Easter, when I will send you a copy.

I do not know if anyone else has sent you a copy of this letter,[1] which appeared in the *New Statesman* for the week ending November 18th. Does this organization amount to anything? It is the first I have heard of it.

With kind regards from my wife and myself to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH

[1]Enclosure.

Enclosure to No. 287

SHC, P&P III/18

INDIAN NATIONAL MUSLIM COMMITTEE,
8 WHITE CHURCH LANE,
LONDON, E.I.,
18 November 1944

Sir,

Pakistan would be justified only on the basis of a universal Muslim demand. But all the Muslim organizations of India, except the League, have unanimously rejected it. The Ahrars, which is gaining strength so rapidly that Mr. Jinnah invited it to join the League, condemns it totally. The Khaksars and the Khudai-Khidmatgars are strong Muslim bodies, and are Congressite. The Jami'at ul-'Ulama has expressed itself against the Pakistan scheme. The Momins and the Shias, who together form the bulk of the Muslims in India, have never supported this idea of partition. These are undebatable facts. Unfortunately, however, they are not known in this country, and Pakistan is thought of as a general Muslim demand. Indeed, such was the indignation of the Muslim community at Mr. Gandhi's even countenancing Mr. Jinnah as the sole leader of the Indian Muslims, that it formed in July an All-India Muslim Majlis in Delhi comprising all the Muslim parties of India as a challenge to the League. The President of this Conference declared on July 11th, "It is quite obvious that Mr. Jinnah or his League cannot face a plebiscite even in Muslim majority provinces on the question of partitioning of India." Mr. Jinnah tacitly admitted this when he demanded that no Hindu shall vote.

Pakistan has been described in your columns as "the demand of the Muslim masses for their right to self-determination in cultural as well as in political fields." In fact, as we show above, all Muslim organizations with but one exception have rejected it. Self-determination has meaning only if religious communities can be shown to have different political interests. In other words, we come to the Two Nations Theory which Mr. Gandhi has so categorically refused to accept. Representing the vast majority of the Muslims in this country, as well as the Indian Congressmen, may we be permitted to associate ourselves with the Indian Muslim organizations in supporting Mr. Gandhi's refusal? The partitioning of India would not solve whatever differences we may have now, but by creating exclusive religious states would start us off

on a period of religious wars.

S. A. SHAH
A. KLAN
D. M. SEN
A. GHANI

288

Mahmud Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students III/25

3 S.S. EAST,
M.U., ALIGARH,
22 November 1944

May it please Quaid-i-Azam,

A deputation of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, wish to wait upon Quaid-i-Azam on 28th or 29th November 1944, as suits his convenience, to present him with a purse of rupees one thousand and one only. The deputation longs to have a few minutes' talk at an appointed hour graciously granted to it.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply,[1]

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
MAHMUD ALI KHAN
Secretary,
Muslim University Union

[1]Jinnah consented to receive the deputation on 28 November. See *SHC*, UP III/26. Not printed.

289

A. B. A. Haleem to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/35

9 UNIVERSITY ROAD,
ALIGARH,
22 November 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Let me introduce to you the bearer of this letter, Mr. Fakhre Alam.

He is the General Secretary of the Reception Committee of the All India Muslim Students' Federation—the annual session of which is going to be held at Aligarh in January 1945—and is going to approach you with the request that you may kindly take the trouble of coming to Aligarh and presiding over the function. It is the earnest desire of the members of the Reception Committee and of all the office bearers and workers of the Federation that you may guide the deliberations of the Federation at this critical juncture in the country's history and we shall all feel grateful if you kindly accede to the request. The dates of the session can be fixed to suit your convenience.[1]

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. B. A. HALEEM

In consultation with Jinnah, dates in second week of February 1945 were fixed, which were later changed to first week of March. See *SHC*, Students, I/36, 43 &48.

290

Abdul Khalique to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/40

24 DURGA ROAD,
P.O. CIRCUS, CALCUTTA,
23 November 1944

Dear *Janab* Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

You have been fighting for the advancement and welfare of the Muslims of India. May the All Merciful *Allah* accept your services in the cause of your backward brethren and grant you success. The theory advanced by Mr. Gandhi that the converts and their descendants can not claim to be a separate nation from the main stock is a sheer political game. H. E. Lord Minto told the Muslim deputationists in October 1906, that the Muslims in India formed a nation separate and distinct from the Hindus (India Statutory Commission, IV). In his book, *The Constitutional Problem in India,* Mr. Reginald Coupland has observed, "if a people feel itself to be a nation, it is one...." "As a nation the Musalmans like other nations must possess a national home which they can call their own".

Mr. Beverley Nichols, in his book, *Verdict on India,* appears to have

supported Pakistan and has expressed regard for you.

I find in to-day's daily *Azad* that you are going to have an audience with H.E. the Viceroy and we wish you success.

With best regards and *Salaam,*

I am,

Your brother in Islam

ABDUL KHALIQUE
Retired Sub-Judge

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Abul Hashim to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/41

3 WELLESLY IST LANE,
CALCUTTA,
25 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Council was held on the 17th, 18th and 19th November last. I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the report[1] which I submitted to the Council.

I hope you will kindly go through it. By the grace of *Allah* and your inspiration and guidance we have been successful this year in laying the organizational foundation for the superstructure you have taught us to dream about. This year the Provincial League has enrolled five and half lakhs of members and this, I am told, exceeds the number ever scored by any organization in the province not excluding the Congress. However, compared with the large Muslim population of the province owing allegiance to the League and yet out of its organizational fold, this is but a minor achievement. We are conscious of this and with your blessings expect to multiply our efforts in the coming year.

As you will find from the report I had to touch upon certain extraneous matters. Just before the sitting of the Council a scurrilous campaign was started against me personally in the opposition and the press with a view to disparaging the League. Unfortunately this was joined in by a minor section within our organization who have been needlessly

terrified by the rapid growth of the League. The disrupters had calculated upon dissension within the League but had made only one slight mistake in that they forgot that the strength of the League lay not in certain personalities but on its mass basis. Thanks to God, the head of the disrupters was recognized and the entire rank rallied behind the call for unity. The session terminated in success and jubilation.

I shall forward to you the proceedings in full as soon as these are ready and I intend meeting you with detailed reports for your inspiring advice and guidance.

With profound respects,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
ABUL HASHIM
Secretary,
The Bengal Provincial Muslim League

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal I/42. Not printed.

292

Ibadat Yar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP III/29

28 OSMANIA HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
25 November 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum,

I have returned from Ceylon, South India, Malabar, Mysore, and Madras after having a tour of four months in the area. I addressed the meetings of the town Muslim Leagues nearly in every district of the province, the reports of which you may have read in the press. I had an opportunity of exchange of thoughts with the prominent men of that province and had a chance of feeling the pulse of the middle and lower classes also. I wished to bring to your notice the condition of the Muslim League in that part of the sub-continent and to draw your

attention towards some important points. For example:

i. The reaction of Gandhi-Jinnah talks.
ii. Condition of the Musalmans in Malabar where the Muslims are 33%.
iii. The representation of Malabar and Madras Muslims in All India Muslim League Council and Working Committee.

As a matter of fact, I was in charge of the Aligarh University deputation and by God's grace this deputation has collected nearly one and a half lakh [rupees] within this short period of time. During my collection work, I availed myself of the opportunity of carrying out the League propaganda. I think it necessary to give you the facts in detail. I will be obliged if you will give me some time[1] in the first week of December or later, preferably on Friday, so that I may be able to tell you some important things that deserve your immediate attention and serious consideration.

I think that this letter will find you in excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
[SAHIBZADA] IBADAT YAR KHAN
Secretary,
Duty Society Deputation,
Muslim University, Aligarh

[1]Jinnah replied that he might see him in February next in Delhi, adding that he would be in Aligarh in connection with the All India Muslim Students' Federation Conference on 10 & 11 February. See *SHC*, UP III/30. Not printed.

293

Secretary, Transvaal Muslim League, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/31

JOHANNESBURG,
27 November 1944

Celebrating your birthday 24th December. Please cable inspiring message in time.[1]

SECRETARY, TRANSVAAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

[1]Jinnah exhorted them to close ranks, work selflessly for Islam and Muslims, and support Pakistan, which he believed would be achieved, *Insha Allah*. See *SHC*, FC II/32. Not printed.

294

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/5

28 November 1944

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have had discussions with you[1] and Shaukat Hyat Khan, and today again with Mumtaz.[2] I have carefully considered the pros and cons, and I have definitely come to the conclusion that you must accept the leadership of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly. I have discussed this matter with you all three for hours, and also I have considered the views of other people, and I have given you my reasons and grounds and explained the matter fully, and now I have come to the final conclusion that in the interests of our cause and the Muslim League organization there is no other way but that you should accept the leadership of the Party, and I hope that the Party will support you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

[1]See No. 265.

[2]See No. 266.

295

M. A. Jinnah to Zuhair Siddiqi

SHC, Students II/116

NEW DELHI,
29 November 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 20th,[1] and as requested by you, I am sending you herewith my message on the occasion of the

U.P. Muslim Students' Federation holding their fourth annual session at Allahabad on the 2nd and 3rd of December, and I wish your conference all success.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Zuhair Siddiqi, Esq.,
General Secretary,
U.P. Muslim Students' Federation,
3 Prayag Street,
Allahabad

'See No. 284.

Enclosure to No. 295
SHC, Students II/117

MESSAGE BY M. A. JINNAH

The time has now come when the Musalmans of India should be prepared to meet any eventuality that may arise and tend to block our progress as a nation or stand in our way of achieving our goal of Pakistan. It is therefore imperative that all our efforts should be directed to doing solid and constructive work amongst the Muslim masses, and it is up to you now—Muslim students and Muslim young men—to take up this nation-wide task in its right perspective and in the spirit of voluntary service in the cause of Islam and the *Millat*.

It is the young men who can make the greatest contribution to mould[ing] the destinies of a nation. It is the youth who fight, toil and struggle for the freedom of a nation. I hope this grim reality is not lost upon you. Let you, therefore, be not led away by mere catchwords and slogans and appearances and shadows. Let your conscience lead you and the holy *Qur'an* guide you in your noble ideals and I am confident success will be yours.

In the recent Municipal elections the Muslims of your province have given yet another proof of their solidarity, strength of organization and unity of thought and action. They have exhibited unique discipline and faith in their national organization—the Muslim League. Go ahead in the same spirit, redouble your efforts, and I wish you Godspeed and your Conference every success.

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Salahuddin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/27

JULLUNDUR CITY,
1 December 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to bring to your notice that Mr. Danial Latifie, the Office Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, suddenly appeared at Jullundur on the afternoon of the 29th ultimo to ask the Jullundur City Muslim League to cooperate in a public meeting which was to be conjointly held by the Leaguers, Congressites, Ahrars and Communists. The function, as Mr. Danial Latifie explained, purported to put [up] a joint demand on behalf of the above named parties upon the Unionist Government of the Punjab, for the release of the Congress detenus and for the removal of different bans on certain political [*sic*] in the province.

I discussed the whole situation with Mr. Danial Latifie in the presence of some city Leaguers.... Mr. Danial Latifie referred to the discussion that, he said, the President of the Provincial Muslim League, Punjab, had with you and said that the Quaid-i-Azam did not in any way expressly disapprove [of] such a proceeding. I tried to make it clear to Mr. Danial Latifie that there was a world of difference between not disapproving and affirming of an affair, and that the Quaid-i-Azam did not thus delegate the authority to take a step which the All India Muslim League had made its policy to resist. If any subordinate organization of the League rises to claim what the chief body denounces and deplores, such a policy would be illogical, unscrupulous and politically unsound. It would positively create a divergence of policy within the organization, endanger the truth of the Quaid-i-Azam's word and position and develop a situation of which the fundamental falsity, it would be difficult to overcome.

The Muslim League and the Congress, and the relations between the Muslim League and the Congress, are exactly the same as they were before. The League still celebrates the Deliverance Day, and the Congress is still ready to denounce and resist all that the League stands for. It has repeatedly persisted in refusing to cooperate with us in matters vital to Muslim interest. The adjournment motion about the dismissal of Shaukat Hyat Khan and similar motions regarding the

ban on *Satyarath Prakash* and the collection of funds by the Zamindara League in the Punjab have been very recently opposed by the Congress MLAs in the Central Assembly. Without a change in the general policies of the two bodies, cooperation remains impossible. If such a change had appeared, the Muslim League Ministries in different provinces would have already released the detenus in their respective provinces.

The Muslim masses in the Punjab are now being asked by some of their leaders to cooperate with the Congress, but so long as Mr. Gandhi is unable to see the good of cooperation with our Quaid-i-Azam, it would evidently be unscrupulous and contrary to our express policy to support any Congress move, or help even those Leaguers who unwisely think to exploit positions where principles are shown no regard....

The conveners of this meeting had also invited representatives of the Ahrar Party, while no Muslim, recognising the unique position of the Muslim League as the only representative organization of the Musalmans of India, could enter into debate with or support the policy of a body of which the League refuses to acknowledge any value or power.

We had also received no official information from the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League concerning such a meeting.

With respects,

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
SALAHUDDIN KHAN
President,
City Muslim League

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Sardar Bahadur Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/14

PESHAWAR,
2 December 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I arrived here on 29th evening and conveyed your message[1] to all the Muslim ministers with the exception of Samin Jan Khan who is away to Calcutta. I have been to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan this morning, with a view to finding out as to what his reply is. He says that he has

written a letter to you as well as sent a telegram saying he will meet you on 7th as he has got engagements in connection with the forthcoming visit of the C-in-C.[2] He thinks it will be in the fitness of things to see you alone in the first instance. I am writing this letter to inform you about the developments that have taken place ever since I arrived here. All of them are prepared to come but he preferred to see you alone in the first instance. In view of this if there are any instructions for me, I may kindly be informed about it. In case you want me in Delhi or Bombay, I will be at your service.[3] Apart from this I and the remaining ministers will be prepared to come the moment we hear from you.

May God Almighty bless you with long life to guide the destinies of the Musalmans of this country. *Aameen.*

Yours obediently,
SARDAR BAHADUR KHAN
Speaker,
NWFP Legislative Assembly

[1]See No. 283.
[2]Claude Auchinleck.
[3]Jinnah intimated that he would be glad to see him on 7 December 1944. See *SHC*, NWFP I/15.
Not printed.

298

Paul Feng to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/20

CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY OF CHINA,
43A PRITHVIRAJ ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
2 December 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Enclosed you will find a transcript of the statements you made to me during the interview you have kindly given me this morning at your residence.

I hope you will be good enough to hand[1] the same back to bearer after you have finished reading it. I trust all the statements therein contained are accurate.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,
PAUL FENG

[1]Jinnah returned the transcript after making a few corrections. See *SHC*, P&P III, 22. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 298

SHC, P&P III/21

Mr. Jinnah was asked for his opinion on the proposed so-called Non-[Party] Conciliation Committee sponsored by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Mr. Jinnah said:

I don't know yet anything about this move in any concrete form and am not able to understand the move. I cannot express any opinion at [present].

Commenting on the Indian political situation as a whole, Mr. Jinnah [said]:

"We want Pakistan—immediately."

Mr. Jinnah explained in some detail what Pakistan is. He said: There are six provinces in the north-west and east zones of this great sub-continent of India and those are Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, [the] Punjab, Bengal and Assam. In the northern zones, Musalmans have a majority of seventy per cent as against the caste Hindus. And these have been homeland of the Musalmans now for one thousand years. We want to establish our independent sovereign Muslim state. Musalmans of this country are a separate nation from the Hindus, fundamentally and basically in their civilization, culture, social and economic life.

The remaining three parts of India are inhabited by seventy-five per cent Hindus and only twenty-five per cent Musalmans. And in that part of the sub-continent, we are willing to see established an independent Hindu State and we shall have a united front to secure the freedom of the Musalmans and Hindus from British domination.

Hindus have refused to accept this basis. They want the Musalmans [word illegible] to the position of an all-India minority."

"Hindus want", Mr. Jinnah went on, "a central government controlled by the Hindu majority vested with all the vital powers and thus bringing the Muslims under the control of the government in the centre."

"This is a position, the Muslims will never accept", Mr. Jinnah continued. "The Hindu majority will in that case, all over India, rule and dominate the Muslims in every department of life with the result that all that we stand for historically, culturally, socially and economically, will be gradually wiped off [*sic* for out]."

"We wish to live as friendly neighbours with Hindustan, according to our own civilization, our Islamic culture, life and ideals" Mr. Jinnah said.

Mr. Jinnah was then asked about the plebiscite proposition. Mr. Jinnah

said: "The plebiscite idea is an absurd thing. It's an insult to the Musalmans." He said the underlying question in the case of the plebiscite as proposed, is "whether Musalmans prefer to be dominated by the British or by the Hindus. It's an absurd thing" Mr. Jinnah repeated.

Mr. Jinnah was then asked about the organization of the Muslim League of which he is [the] President. Specifically Mr. Jinnah was asked whether there is any truth in that the League does not represent the Muslim elements in this country. Mr. Jinnah said: "This is false propaganda carried out by the Hindu press and Hindu leaders. It is the same as to say that the British Parliament does not represent the British nation. Ninety-nine per cent Muslims of India are with the Muslim League."

Mr. Jinnah said, "the League has several million members each of whom pays two *annas* per annum as dues". He also described the organization of the League as given in the League's constitution, a copy of which (together with other booklets on Muslim India) was presented to Mr. Feng.

299

M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Gazdar

SHC, Sind III/62

NEW DELHI,
4 December 1944

Dear Mr. Gazdar,

We have considered the entire situation and the developments that have taken place in Sind recently. All points of view were examined, and we have come to certain conclusions regarding various matters, which will have to be carried out and given effect to, but so far as your position is concerned, we think that in the light of past controversies and having regard to the apprehensions of Sir Ghulam Hussain, you should, in the larger interests of our people and the prestige of the League, reassure him through me that you are prepared to bury the past and pledge your loyalty to your Chief. I shall be obliged if you will write to me directly, embodying these assurances. I hope that this will secure a real co-operation between all of you. I cannot say

anything more, but I am sure you will understand.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. H. Gazdar, Esq.,
Minister, Government of Sind,
Karachi

300

Anwar Hossain to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/106

3 WELLESLY, 1ST LANE,
CALCUTTA,
4 December 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I, on behalf of the All Bengal Muslim Students' League, have the honour to state that the All Bengal Muslim Students' League has decided to celebrate your birthday on the 25th of December next.

May I request you to be kind enough to send me an inspiring message[1] with some special instructions so that we can formulate a constructive programme on this happy occasion.

With deepest regards,

I have the honour to be,
Yours most obediently,
ANWAR HOSSAIN
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League

[1]See No. 309.

301

M. A. Jinnah to F. M. Kureshi

F. 1103/118

NEW DELHI,
5 December 1944

Dear Mr. Kureshi,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 20th,[1] enclosing a copy of

the draft received from the Central Bank of India with regard to the deposit of securities in connection with Bungalow No. 241 Staff Lines, known as Flagstaff House, which I am returning herewith approved.[2]

Please attend to this matter without any further delay, and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

F. M. Kureshi, Esq.,
No. 2 West View,
Preedy Street,
Karachi

[1]No. 282.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 282.

Abdul Gani Yusuff Sait to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/74

TRICHINOPOLY,
5 December 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In the Madras Presidency, comprising 26 districts, we Muslims constitute the majority of the merchant community and we carry on trade in piece goods and other commodities on a grand scale. But disabilities that we are forced to suffer by the Hindu officials are too many. Our representations and deputations carry no weight with them. Our stock of goods has all but run out. Consequently our customers turn their backs on us and we suffer a loss on our reputation. But the Hindu merchants, who are comparatively few, command priority of attention from the Hindu officers and their stock of goods is replenished as soon as exhausted. Communal bias and discrimination against Muslims by the Hindu officers will account for this woeful plight of the Muslim merchants. It may be recalled here that there is only one Muslim Textile Commissioner for the whole Presidency and to add insult to injury, in the Textile Board, which is the mouthpiece of the public, Muslims are completely kept out. In the subordinate service of the department, Muslim representation falls short of the standard.

We focused [*sic*] the attention of Maulana Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur on this disconcerting point. Even Muslim merchants who, by virtue of their long traditional practice in this line of vocation, have merited the

acknowledgment of being the leading wholesale merchants in piece goods, have been let down by the Hindu officers without granting them A and B class licences, whereas Hindu merchants who sprung up yesterday, as it were, have been conferred with the same. The attitude of the Hindu officers is one of the most damnable partiality and [they] have definitely set their faces against us. We are now in a fit frame of mind to address you in supplication for assistance and intervention on our behalf.

About two months back, when *Jamab* A.K. Sharafuddeen met you he conveyed to you our intention to hold a Muslim League Conference here in Trichinopoly District, you said that you would be in a position to pay a visit to this place after the month of August. In the hope that you would implement our earnest desire we have set about making arrangements to receive you. We, therefore, request you to let us know the probable date when it will suit your convenience to visit our place and make this District Muslim League Conference a grand success.

I beg to remain, respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours obediently,
ABDUL GANI YUSUFF SAIT
Secretary,
District Muslim League

303

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind III/66

CASURINAS,
SCANDAL POINT ROAD,
KARACHI,
6 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is to acknowledge your kind letter dated 4th December 1944, personally delivered to me by the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain. I am extremely grateful to you for it.

I am entirely ignorant about "points of view examined and conclusions regarding various matters" which will have to be "carried out and given effect to". I respectfully submit that I am also ignorant about what you are pleased to mention as "that in light of past controversies and having regard to apprehension of Sir Ghulam Hussain". What were

these exact controversies or what was apprehension of Sir Ghulam Hussain, I am not aware. I have seen your statement in this morning's papers (6th December 1944), copy enclosed.[2]

But before I proceed further I must assure you that I am a disciplined soldier of Islam and I shall follow implicitly and willingly all commands given by our *Amir*, the Quaid-i-Azam. As desired, though there is no occasion for it, I assure Sir Ghulam Hussain that I am prepared to bury the past and pledge my loyalty to him as my chief. I hope you will convey my assurance to him. But I submit that my loyalty to the organisation comes before all other loyalties.

As stated at the outset, I am completely unaware of what was discussed between you and Sir Ghulam Hussain and what are the conclusions which must be given effect to. I would, therefore, like to respectfully but frankly submit, briefly, some feelings of mine regarding some running sores which must be stopped and healed in the larger interests of our people and the prestige of the League. These are:

i. Complete non-cooperation of Sir Ghulam Hussain with me and Pir Ilahi Bakhsh.
ii. After the election of Sind Provincial Muslim League this year when Yusuf Haroon was not elected as a General Secretary of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, a most malicious, false, mean and disruptive propaganda is being carried on against Mr. G. M. Sayed, myself and generally other League leaders in the *Al-Wahid* of which Yusuf Haroon is Managing Director, and a new Urdu rag *Baluchistan Jadid* by Yusuf Haroon, Dr. A. A. Khan and other paid agents of Yusuf. This is definitely encouraged by Sir Ghulam Hussain. This group is working under Mr. Muhammad Khan, a Congressite, with the sole purpose to disrupt the League. These papers are writing unmentionable matters about me, my wife and children. I have submitted to you 30 daily issues of this, through G. M. Sayed, for your kind perusal and that of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali. I can reply with real true stories about Lady Haroon and her family and about Sir Ghulam Hussain. But I do not want the world to laugh at us. If one group degrades itself, the other should keep its head cool.
iii. Scant respect is shown by Sir Ghulam Hussain to the Muslim League Parliamentary Party. He seldom cares for its resolutions, and did not care to consult it nor his colleagues in appointing Roger Thomas, thus upsetting Muslim balance in the Cabinet of one non-Muslim to two Muslims.
iv. The real conflict is between an autocratic Premier and all other League organisations in Sind and not between the Parliamentary

Party and the Provincial Muslim League. The Parliamentary Party has seldom come into conflict with the Provincial Muslim League.

v. The Hon'ble Premier kept to himself all Revenue Minister's portfolios after the resignation of Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro and all portfolios of Pir Illahi Bakhsh when he proceeded to *Hajj* in spite of Pir requesting that I should manage them.

vi. Taking away Home Department from me and entrusting it to Mir Ghulam Ali. The whole Hindu press rejoiced over it and Sir Ghulam Hussain gave an appearance that it was done to punish me.

vii. Sir Ghulam Hussain does not allow us even to suggest to him what should be done in departments under his charge or those of Hindu Ministers when we find that in the interest of the community certain matters should be brought to his notice and thrashed out in the Council of Ministers or the Cabinet.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that immediate remedies should be applied, if real and hearty cooperation and team work is to be restored, for healing the above sores. I would, therefore, respectfully suggest that Sir Ghulam Hussain should do the following immediately:

a. He should permit consultation and free discussion between himself and his cabinet colleagues on all subjects and freely take them into confidence on all important matters;

b. He should consult his Muslim [League] colleagues on all important matters of policy and administration;

c. He should show due regard to the Parliamentary Party and honour its wishes as we are in office due to its support. He should take them into confidence on all important matters affecting Muslim interests. Sir Ghulam Hussain's present policy of Syndicates for grain purchases has ruined producers;

d. He should give Revenue portfolio to Pir Illahi Bakhsh which was promised to him by Sir Ghulam Hussain as far ago as March 1944. He is due to arrive in India by 12th instant;

e. He should restore Home Department to me so as to remove insult and disgrace heaped on me by him. My honour should be as dear to him as his own. There should be sincere mutual respect;

f. He should ask Yusuf Haroon to revert the policy of *Al-Wahid* to that of the Muslim League policy and the editor should be dismissed. This can be done immediately if Yusuf Haroon and Mahmood Haroon vote with G. M. Sayed, myself and another

director. We are seven directors and we shall have five votes if Yusuf is sincere as against two of Shaikh Abdul Majid whom Yusuf has installed as Chairman of the Board of Directors;

g. Yusuf and Sir Ghulam Hussain should withdraw financial and moral support from *Baluchistan Jadid*. Government can take action against it as it did in the case of another paper. Sir Ghulam Hussain had actually extern one Muslim League worker of Jodhpur (that ban still exists) for agitation for restoration of Manzilgah Mosque to Muslims in 1930, when he was Home Minister and Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Premier. If he is sincere, the editor of *Baluchistan Jadid* can be put right in no time. Under any circumstance this vendetta against me should cease.

One more point I would like humbly to urge for your serious consideration and that of the Muslim League high command is that due weight should be given to the acts and opinions of the Provincial Muslim League. The members of the Provincial Muslim League know better [the] local facts and needs of the province. Under these circumstances any order from the high command contrary to the wishes of the Provincial Muslim League is bound to have serious repercussions. Please pardon me for venturing to say this.

I would also like to submit respectfully that it is absolutely essential for consolidation of the Muslim League in Sind and making it stronger and stronger; for the prestige of the League and for the prestige of League leaders that this internal disruptive and fatal strife must stop and stop immediately and that there must be hearty cooperation and confidence between the Hon'ble Premier on one side and his Muslim [League] colleagues, Parliamentary Party and the Provincial Muslim League on the other.

In the end I would again assure you and Sir Ghulam Hussain that I shall be loyal to him and do whatever I am asked to do by your good self.

With best regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. H. GAZDAR

No 299

See Yusuti, *Speeches*, III, 1965-6

304

Secretary, Transvaal Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/31

BOX 5339,
JOHANNESBURG,
7 December 1944

Celebrating your birthday 24th December. Please cable inspiring message in time.[1]

SECRETARY,
TRANSVAAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

Jinnah advised them to unite as one man, work selflessly for Islam and Musalmans, and support realization of the cherished goal—Pakistan See *SHC*, FC II/32 Not printed

305

Syed Abdur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1103/119

61 DHARMARAJA KOIL STREET,
BANGALORE CANT.,
7 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the statement issued to the press by me, for your kind perusal.

I hope you are in excellent health.

With the greatest regards,

I remain,
Yours very respectfully,
SYED ABDUR RAHMAN
M. A., LL.B.
Member, AIML Council

Enclosure to No. 305

F. 1102/575

I fail to understand the real object of the Sir Sapru Committee. It

would have been a different matter if Sir Sapru alone, who, according to his own statement, is not committed to the views of any particular party, had tried to act as a peace emissary and bring about a fair and just settlement between the Congress and Muslim League, on the basis of Pakistan and independent India.

The personnel [*sic* for members] of the Committee, particularly the Muslim element contained in it—never much credited with political leadership—can never command, in the existing circumstances, the confidence of Muslim India since they have more of anti-Muslim League leanings, and have very little to do with the aspirations of the Muslims in India. Sir Sapru saw Mr. Gandhi. But did he see Mr. Jinnah? At least tact and diplomacy required an intelligent move on the part of an eminent lawyer like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Sometimes the most obvious things do not strike our great men in India and the smallest mistake committed by them results in something most dangerous. His pilgrimage to Wardha made him forget all about the other side of the picture. Is this Committee going to prepare a constitution for India or will it bring about rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League? The very start is fraught with danger and savours of an attempt to destroy Muslim solidarity. What is wanted is not a constitution but settlement, a change of heart on the part of Mr. Gandhi and his willingness to accede to the Muslim demand of Pakistan. Once a settlement is reached, constitution making [will] become easy, when this so-called Conciliation Committee could as well convert itself into constitution-making body and frame a constitution for Muslim and Hindu India. Unless and until a settlement is reached first, the Conciliation Committee is a farce and is doomed to be a dismal failure....They are now having the League discontact movement in a different form. But I am confident that the Muslims of India are quite awakened to their potentialities, aspirations and ideals and they know fully well how to emerge strengthened from such ordeals under the unerring leadership of Mr. Jinnah. It is no use going the wrong way about. Better Mr. Jinnah is approached straight away.

SYED ABDUR RAHMAN

306

S. M. Bazlool Huq & Bistu Mukherjee to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/44

39 DR. SURESH SIRCAR ROAD,
ENTALLY, CALCUTTA,
8 December 1944

Revered Sir,

With reference to the unfortunate breakdown of discussions between you and Gandhiji and the subsequent development in the country, we think it a necessity to write you this letter, though we maintain that it would cost you some of your most precious time. As a leader of a vast community and as a seeker of public welfare, you have done just right for the proper maintenance of the Muslims but what prompted us to write to you is that, as stated by Gandhiji in his statement[1] to the press conference on 29th [28th] September 1944, there are large number of Muslims outside the League who do not see eye to eye with the League....

In this connection a number of parties among Muslims have been set up whose only aim is to torpedo the Pakistan demand from [*sic*] India as they believe (though being Muslims) that Musalmans are not a nation but only a large body of converts. For the present we should refer to you, the President of Muslim Majlis,[2] who, with his idiotic idiosyncrasies and inferior complexity [*sic*] had gone to see Gandhiji with a view to arriving at a settlement for the benefit of Muslims. We ask on this point as to who has given him the authority to talk on behalf of the Muslims. It is really indecent for one to term himself [*sic*] as the representative of Muslims when in fact he is not, and the next thing is this that we middle-class men are not given such opportunities as to put forward our difficulties and grievances, and under such circumstances we can only regard one who has really sufficient sympathy for a nation.

[*Two paras omitted*]

Our request to you for the present is that this is the proper time for you to go in rounds in all the provinces and convert the Muslims who have been kept in illusion by the leaders of these nauseous and vague organisations, to get into League. In doing so you will help a large

number of Musalmans to understand the real road of independence and freedom.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your sincerest admirers,
S. M. BAZLOOL HUQ
BISTU MUKHERJEE

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, Appendix xi, 3(a), 839 40.
[2]K B Sheikh Mohammad Jan, see Zaidi, A. M., ed., *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought*, Vol VI, New Delhi, 1979, 577.

307

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind III/69

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Mr. G. M. Sayed arrived here from Delhi today and informed me about matters discussed with you and has asked me to write you a letter of assurance of loyalty to the organisation and the Chief Minister. I have already, in my previous letter of 6th,[1] in reply to your letter of 4th,[2] assured you of the same. However, in view of Sayed's message I am sending you this second letter of assurance which may kindly be conveyed to the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain.

With best regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. H. GAZDAR
Minister

[1]No. 303
[2]No. 299

308

Tej Bahadur Sapru to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/73

19 ALBERT ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
10 December 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah

As you may be aware, the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference met at Delhi on the 18th and 19th of November last and passed a resolution in accordance with which I made a statement at a press conference on the 19th of November 1944. I am enclosing herewith a printed copy of the resolution and a summary of my statement.[1] Accordingly a committee has been appointed and the names of its members have appeared in the press. It will soon begin to function.

The main function of the committee is exploratory. It will endeavour, by personal contacts and otherwise, to ascertain the views of the main political parties in regard to the basis of the future constitution of India. It will study carefully the full implications of the proposals of the Muslim League in regard to Pakistan as well as the full import of the proposals made by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari during the recent Gandhi-Jinnah talks. It will study, with no less care, the demand of the Hindu Mahasabha, of the Sikhs, of the Scheduled Classes and other important bodies. The Committee hopes that by a thorough and unbiased examination of these conflicting views it may find it possible to make concrete suggestions which may pave the way for a solution of the present controversies.

I am, therefore, earnestly approaching you, on behalf of the Committee and on my own behalf, to enquire if you will kindly allow me and one or two other members of the Committee to see you in order to obtain clarification on the practical aspects of the problem. I shall, therefore, be much obliged if you would kindly fix two alternative dates that may suit you and also let me know the place where we can meet you.[2]

Yours sincerely,
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

[1] See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/74. Not printed
[2] See No 317.

309

M. A. Jinnah to Anwar Hossain

SHC, Students I/107

NEW DELHI,
12 December 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated December 4th,[1] and I thank you very much indeed for the honour you have done me by deciding to celebrate my 68th birthday on the 25th of December.

I can only appeal to you and, through you, to the entire youth of Muslim India to stand united, as a disciplined nation, and work unceasingly for our cherished goal of Pakistan. In the meantime do not forget to build up the life of the nation by a constructive programme for the uplift of our people educationally, socially and economically.

Thanking you again for your kindness and the regard for me,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

PS. May I draw your attention to the fact that *Moharrum* is between the 17th and the 27th of December 1944?

Anwar Hossain,
General Secretary,
All Bengal Muslim Students' League,
3 Wellesly, 1st Lane,
Calcutta

[1]No. 300.

310

M. A. Jinnah to M. H. Gazdar

SHC, Sind III/67

NEW DELHI,
12 December 1944

Dear Mr. Gazdar,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 6th.[1] With regard to the list of what you call "running sores" and your feelings in that connection,

it is composed of various matters, many of which raise difficulties and controversial questions, and you can very well understand that it is not possible for me to pronounce any opinion on them at present. Internal strife has been the bane of Sind. I am not at present in a position to do more than urge upon you the necessity of maintaining the status quo for the time being and if you are really prepared to bury the past and assure Sir Ghulam Hussain of your loyalty to him as your chief, and so long as he remains your chief, then I think the atmosphere is bound to change. I am going to convey your assurances to him, and I hope that they will enable us to resolve such honest differences of opinion as may arise in future or may have arisen in the past. You need not have emphasized that your loyalty to the Muslim League comes above all other loyalties. That is the case surely of every one of us. I have since received your letter of December 8th,[2] and I am glad that Mr. Sayed informed you about the matters that were discussed between us here, and you have been good enough to repeat in this letter your assurance of loyalty to the Chief Minister. I think for the present I will not communicate to Sir Ghulam Hussain the contents of your letter of December 6th, until a better and requisite atmosphere is created. I am glad that you have noted the statement[3] issued by me after the close of our conversations in Delhi, and I have received the press cuttings that you have sent me.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. H. Gazdar, Esq.,
Minister, Government of Sind,
Sind Secretariat,
Karachi

[1]No. 303.
[2]No. 307.
[3]See No. 303, note 2.

311

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/66

4 NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
12 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I read in yesterday's *Dawn* your message[1] on the occasion of celebration of Iqbal Day. Let me congratulate you for this message which is such a true and lucid exposition of the thought and work of our national poet, sage and philosopher.

It is reported that towards the closing years of his life Iqbal had prayed to *Allah* that He may raise a man who would take up the task of Muslim national reconstruction and work for the realization of Iqbal's idea of Pakistan. *Allah* listened to him and gave us a leader in your person. How happy must be the soul of Iqbal to see how worthily you are guiding the Musalmans in the pursuit of the ideal he set before them!

I find that there are some misprints in the report of your message appearing in the *Dawn*. May I request you kindly to send me a copy of this message.[2] It is required for the new edition of *Speeches* which is under preparation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers, AIML

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1966-7.
[2]Copy provided by Jinnah's Secretary See *SHC*, UP V/67. Not printed.

312

Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/40

GAUHATI,
12 December 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Hope and pray to *Allah* that you are doing well in all respects. I am glad to learn that the All India [Muslim League] session is going to be held at Lahore. Here in Assam work of the Muslim League is progressing satisfactorily by the grace of *Allah*.

But it is of great regret that the problem of landless Muslims has taken a serious turn recently due to the antagonistic attitude of Hon'ble Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla in the matter. The Congressites have been making all possible efforts to stop Pakistan by all means. The recent policy laid down by the Saadulla Govt. will evict all landless people immediately. The figures so long furnished by the Assam Govt. to the Central Govt. are all bogus and baseless as land has [not] yet been settled with the landless. All these are being sided [*sic*] by Sir Saadulla.

The more strange and regrettable matter is that Saadulla did not exercise his vote in favour of any candidate in the last by-election of the Central Assembly, though he was present at the polling station. Moreover, there is ample evidence that he had antagonised [*sic*] the League nominee in this election.

I am working sincerely and hope and crave for your good wishes and for our success.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAMID KHAN
President,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the information. See *SHC*, Assam I/41. Not printed.

313

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/32

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
13 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for the kind hospitality extended to me during my visits to New Delhi. I was most comfortable and at home.

I am seeing His Excellency on Saturday, the 16th instant, and I will write the result of my talk with him.

Yesterday I met Sir Adamjee and he told me that he had no alternative but to accept the chairmanship of the Federation. This has solved one of our problems. The other problem to be solved is the house which we must occupy by hook or [by] crook, before the first meeting of the Federation is called.

With regard to Dr. Ansari's house, it is only about 12,500 sq. yds. and they want five and a half lakhs of rupees. The present occupier, Maulana Abdul Haq, will not vacate the place. Under the circumstances, to purchase [it] for our immediate need will be useless.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self, in which my wife joins me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

314

M. A. Jinnah to Mrs. M. A. Khuhro

SHC, Sind III/34

NEW DELHI,
13 December 1944

Dear Mrs. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 28th[1] and thank you for it. I am in full sympathy with you and with what you are going

through, but you know that your husband's case is now before a court of law, and it is for the court now to deal with it and decide the matter. Let us hope that he will be able to vindicate his honour and secure his acquittal.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mrs. K. B. Khuhro,
124 Muslim Colony,
Karachi

Mrs. Khuhro had requested Jinnah's help in the murder case against her husband. See *SHC*, Sind III/33. Not printed.

315

M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Sabiri

SHC, Delhi/42

NEW DELHI,
13 December 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 30th[1] and I am glad that you have made a move to establish a joint front of the Muslim journalists. The Muslim nation has got to organize itself in all departments of life, and journalism and the press is second to none in its importance, and I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Sabiri, Esq.,
President, The Muslim Journalists Federation,
Editor, the *Anjam* weekly,
Jam'ia Masjid, Delhi

Not traceable.

316

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/43

KASHMIRI BAZAR,
LAHORE,
13 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Hoping you will be enjoying best of health.

Mr. Matlub has forwarded to me the manuscript of your biography up to 1942, and the appendices. The real manuscript covers 489 pages of the foolscap. I have written to him to bring the biography up to date, which I hope he will do. I guess that the work will expand to 1,000 pages of the printed book. The entire manuscript has been revised by Mr. Pothan Joseph, as desired by you, because Nawabzada Liaquat Ali could not have the leisure to go through it. Now it will pass through the machines and we pray that it may be appreciated by the readers.

We wish to decorate the volume with your photographs. I have secured some photos from the *Deccan Times*. In this connection I respectfully beg to recall to your memory my interview with you in Mamdot Villa, Lahore. You were then kind to secure for me your photos from your old class-fellow in U.P. Now it is a ripe time to approach you again for this. I have learnt from Mr. Matlub that Miss Fatima Jinnah has got some of your photos which depict a phase of your life. I will be much obliged if you would be very kind to favour me with those photos. You will agree with me that the dignity of the book will be considerably enhanced if the volume is decorated by the photos which have not yet caught the eye of the common reader.

I hope you will appreciate that in spite of paper famine and printing difficulties, books supporting fervently the cause of Pakistan, so dear to us, are pouring out from my publishing house. Recently I have published *Through Pakistan to Freedom* by Jamilud Din Ahmad, a complimentary copy of which has been submitted to you under a separate registered cover. The Paper Control Economy Order has put fetters on my publishing activities, otherwise I would had [*sic*] many valuable and exhaustive books in favour of Pakistan to my credit.

I will be coming to Delhi in the next week and will be glad to wait on you.[1]
With high respect,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
Publisher and Bookseller

PS. I will be promptly returning the photos, if so graciously and generously lent to me after taking their negatives.

[1]See No. 325.

317

M. A. Jinnah to Tej Bahadur Sapru

SHC, Non-Muslims I/75

NEW DELHI,
14 December 1944

Dear Sir Tej,

I am in receipt of your letter dated December 10th,[1] enclosing therein a printed copy of the resolution passed by the standing committee on the 18th and 19th of November last, and also a summary of your statement at the press conference of the 19th ultimo, and I thank you for them.

I regret to say that I cannot recognize the Non-Party Conference or its Standing Committee, and it follows therefore that I cannot recognize the committee recently appointed by the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference for the purpose and the manner in which you propose to proceed and deal with the present political situation. My views about your Non-Party Conference are already well-known to you and the public. In these circumstances, I am unable to comply with the request contained in your letter.

However, I hope that you will understand that I do not mean any discourtesy to you personally, and that had you desired to meet me otherwise than on behalf of the Non-Party Conference or the Committee referred to in your letter, I would have been glad to see you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,
18 Albert Road,
Allahabad

[1]No. 308.

318

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/99

BENARES,
14 December 1944

Dear Sir,

I want you to kindly help me in a literary enterprise. Please bear with me while I explain.

'Aj, a Hindi weekly of high repute and great popularity, is launching a new scheme for the benefit and edification of its readers. With the utmost ease you can help me make it a success.

You have travelled far and wide. You have met all kinds of people. You are a man of varied experience. Surely you can call to mind at least one humorous incident with which you happened to be personally concerned. Perhaps it was a ludicrous situation you found yourself in, or a comic occurrence you were present at, or a fine piece of waggery you witnessed, or a brilliant bit of repartee you enjoyed. You smile when you recall it. Please don't hide it away. Please let me pass it on to innumerable readers. They will love to hear it from you.

Anything droll and amusing, anything apt, pithy and tickling in not more than 500 words. Just a dear little paragraph. It will appear under your name and along with your photograph.

It shouldn't take much of your time. Please remember this letter and you will make excellent use of the many odd disputes you often lose in deciding what to do next.

Please intimate your assent in advance to enable me to arrange for your photograph.

Thank you very much,

Yours respectfully,
PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA
Acting Editor,
'AJ weekly

319

Mohammad Samin Jan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/20

PESHAWAR,
14 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You asked me to write to you on my return to Peshawar about admission to seats for engineering study with the Muslim University, Aligarh, and also about the Bengal Government.

At Aligarh the next session for engineering study begins in January 1945, and we have been allotted three seats. So far there are about 22 applicants seeking admission for engineering study at Aligarh. I have gone through these applications and consider most of them as very deserving cases. I am afraid some of these candidates will have to turn to other pursuits in life if they are not given admission to engineering studies; they will become overage for admission. All other provinces have got engineering colleges of their own. Since we came to power, two seats that had been allotted to us by the Bihar Government, have been refused to us. The Punjab has also scrapped one of the two seats which originally had been allotted to us. Naturally, therefore, we turn to the Bengal Government and the Muslim University, Aligarh, for help. It is most essential that we should have qualified men ready, when the war ceases, to take up their jobs in the post-war reconstruction scheme. I beg you, therefore, to kindly help me, as you promised to do, by prevailing upon the educational authorities at Aligarh[1] to give us, in the next session, at least ten seats, if not more.

Similarly you can help me by writing a letter to Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin.

Praying for your long life and good health,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD SAMIN JAN
Minister, Education

[1]Jinnah asked the Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, to help in the matter See *SHC*, UP V/18. Not printed.

320

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/68

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
15 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you requesting you kindly to send me an authentic copy of the message[1] you sent on the occasion of celebration of Iqbal Day.

I am informed by my publisher that he has sent you a complimentary copy of my book, *Through Pakistan to Freedom*. I shall be much obliged if you will kindly let me know what you think of it.

I have a number of articles ready and they will soon be published under the auspices of the Committee of Writers.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See No. 311, note 2.

321

Fazal-ur-Rehman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 905/151
[Original in Urdu]

235 GHALIB ROAD,
AGRA,
17 December 1944

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I had written a letter to the Khaksar leader, Allama Mashriqi, on the 16th of November 1944 asking him why, since Muslim League was the biggest Muslim organisation, he could not place the Khaksar Movement under its banner. In this manner the Muslims in India will become

more organised and powerful. In reply, Idara-i-'Alia Hindia, stated that Allama Mashriqi is prepared to cooperate with Quaid-i-Azam in every respect, but the Quaid has been dilly-dallying, for which League should be held responsible. However, Allama Mashriqi is prepared to act as deputy to Quaid-i-Azam and, if necessary, will order all the Khaksars to join the League. If in spite of all these announcements Quaid-i-Azam is not prepared to extend his hand of cooperation, it will be the greatest misfortune of the Muslims.

Therefore, I as a Muslim request you to please extend your hand of cooperation towards the Khaksar leader. The Muslim youth now desires that an agreement should be reached between the Muslim League and the Khaksars, which will, I strongly hope, make the Muslim League so powerful that nobody will dare to oppose it, and thus Pakistan will be achieved easily. I hope you will not let my efforts, which I am determined to make successful, go waste. I also hope that by ignoring all personal interests you will try to organise and unite all the Muslims who, at present, stand divided.

I shall wait for one week for your reply and in case I don't receive a satisfactory reply, I shall be obliged to give publicity to the voice of the Muslim youth through the press since our association, in its meeting, had vowed to make every sacrifice to unite the Khaksars and the Muslim League. May God help us.

Yours sincerely,
FAZAL-UR-REHMAN
President,
Muslim Youth Association

322

Obaidullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/4

PATNA,
17 December 1944

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the boarders of the Muslim Hostel of the Patna College (in the Province of Bihar), are going to celebrate the anniversary of our hostel on the 7th January 1945. Knowing the deep love that you have for the student community, who are the flowers of the nation, it would have been our greatest honour and good fortune to have you amidst us on

the occasion. But we realize full well the high task in discharging of which you are engaged and feel that it would be sheer impertinence on our part to request you like that. So will you kindly send us your affectionate blessings and a message[1] of goodwill for the occasion and thus encourage us.

Thanking you for the trouble,

Yours obediently,
OBAIDULLAH
Union Secretary, Muslim Hostel,
Patna College

[1]See No. 351.

323

M. A. Jinnah to Taj Ali

SHC, NWFP I/19

BOMBAY,
18 December 1944

Dear Mr. Taj Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter,[1] giving me all the information with regard to the situation in the North-West Frontier Province. From the account you have given me of the conditions in the North-West Frontier Province it seems to me that the intelligentsia and the educated people are not doing their duty as they should. It is up to you all to realize that you have to put your house in order, and I hope that those who are really sincere have learnt their lessons from the past experience that you have been going through for the last eighteen months especially. The Centre is doing its best to help and guide, but the root is in the province itself, and it is, therefore, up to you all to work selflessly for the cause and establish solidarity amongst those who understand better, to begin with, and create complete unity and discipline amongst our people. I shall always welcome further information from you as to how things are developing. You must have noticed my press statement[2] after my interview with all the Muslim Ministers and also with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of your province. Certain lines were laid down, and I

hope that they will earnestly carry them out as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Taj Ali, Esq.,
President, Provincial Muslim League,
N.W.F.P., Bannu

Taj Ali had reported divisive activities of some prominent Leaguers causing lack of unity and solidarity among the Frontier Muslims in general and the Leaguers in particular. See *SHC*, NWFP I/18. Not printed.
[2]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1967-8.

324

Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/28

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
18 December 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was wanting to come to Delhi for some days to see you and have been intending to write and ascertain the date that will be convenient to you to see me, but noticing how busy you have lately been, I did not want to trouble you, or intrude upon your valuable time. Besides, my League work here in Lahore, before and during the Punjab Assembly session, left me very little time as I had to hold meetings and do other propaganda for the League Party, at the suggestion of the Leader, the Nawab of Mamdot. This whole programme culminated yesterday afternoon in a huge mass meeting of Muslims held in the Mochi Gate gardens under Lahore City Muslim League auspices, to welcome the stand taken by the League Party in the Punjab Assembly.

Attendance was nearly fifteen thousand, which is a record for public meetings in Lahore. We did a lot of propaganda work in connection with this meeting. The leader and nearly all the Muslim League MLAs were present and many, including Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Sardar Shaukat Hyat, addressed the meeting. At the end, I moved the only resolution from the chair in which the Muslims of Lahore welcomed the stand of the Muslim League Party and all they are doing for the cause of the League. The resolution pledged the full support of the Muslims of Lahore, gathered under the auspices of the Lahore City Muslim League, to the Muslim League Party in their struggle against the Unionist

Party and all those who have betrayed the cause of the Muslim League. I should like to inform you that I am doing my utmost, both as the President of the League in Lahore and in my individual capacity in co-operation with the President of the Punjab Muslim League, to advance our policy and programme. I am extending to him the fullest co-operation.

As I have said above, I intended to come to Delhi to see you as there were a few urgent matters which I wished to discuss but I saw yesterday in the papers that you had left for Bombay. It is, indeed, bad luck for me. However, could you kindly let me know when you are likely to return to Delhi. If you are making a long stay in Bombay, then I could come there and at the same time finish some other work which I have in Bombay. My wife will also accompany me if I come down to Bombay. She will also like to meet you and Miss Jinnah and see your house (new) of which we have heard so much.

I am making arrangements in Lahore to hold a public function at the Barkat Ali Hall to celebrate your birthday on the 25th instant.

Hoping you are keeping quite well and to hear from you,[1]

I am,

Yours sincerely,

NAWABZADA RASHID ALI KHAN

[1]Jinnah expressed satisfaction over the work ML was doing in the Punjab, telling Nawabzada he could see him in Delhi during the first week of February next. See *SHC*, Punjab I/29. Not printed.

325

M. A. Jinnah to Sh. Muhammad Ashraf

SHC, P&P I/44

BOMBAY,
18 December 1944

Dear Mr. Ashraf,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 13th,[1] and you must have learnt by now that I left Delhi on the morning of December 16th. I have noted what you say in your letter, and I have conveyed to Miss Jinnah your request with regard to the photos, and if she can find any, I am sure she will send them to you direct.

I have received the complimentary copy of the booklet published by you—*Through Pakistan to Freedom*. I wonder whether you can afford to send me at least fifty copies of this booklet,[2] as they will be useful to

me in giving them to some important foreign press correspondents, who every now and then visit me, and I think its distribution will also be an advertisement to you and your publishing house.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sh. Muhammad Ashraf,
Publisher & Bookseller,
Kashmiri Bazar,
Lahore

[1]No. 316.
[2]Sh. Muhammad Ashraf sent fifty copies of the booklet to Jinnah. See *SHC*, P&P I, 45. Not printed.

326

M. A. Jinnah to Evelyn Wrench

SHC, P&P III/19

BOMBAY,
20 December 1944

Sir Evelyn,

I was very glad to receive your letter of November 22nd,[1] and to find that Lady Wrench and you have reached home safely and are well. I shall certainly be looking forward to receiving a copy of your book, which you say you have just finished.

As regards the press cutting of a letter which has appeared in the *New Statesman* for the week ending November 18th, you ask me whether this organization amounts to anything. You have only got to look at the names of the signatories, and I echo that it is the first I have heard of it. This letter was reproduced in some Congress newspapers in India, and this is one more instance of how mushroom bodies are created and of the extent of false propaganda carried on in England against the Muslim League and the demands of Muslim India. However, I hope we shall survive all this, as falsehood can never succeed.

We wish Lady Wrench and you a happy new year.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Evelyn Wrench,
The *Spectator*,
99 Gower Street,
London, W.C.I.

[1]No. 287.

327

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/4

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
20 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have read in the papers about what has happened in connection with the Sukkur by-election.

Mr. Sayed's planning and scheming have all miscarried, as was anticipated by everyone excepting himself and his supporters in the Sind Parliamentary Board.

They first put up Ghulam Nabi Pathan, a man of no importance or influence whatsoever in the constituency, in preference to my son, who had behind him the fullest support of all influential persons in the constituency.

Ghulam Nabi Pathan had not the slightest chance of success against his powerful non-League opponent. I impressed this on all concerned, and shoals of telegrams were sent to you by leading zamindars in this connection, the originals of some of which were handed over to Nawabzada.

But in spite of Hossain Imam's reporting in favour of my son, the Central Parliamentary Board rejected my son's appeal, and upheld the decision of the Sind Parliamentary Board regarding the nomination of Ghulam Nabi Pathan as the League candidate.

The Sayed party, however, very soon realised that Ghulam Nabi Pathan had not the slightest chance of success against his powerful non-League opponent, and made him withdraw from the contest.

They then offered the contest on behalf of the League to my son, but my son declined the offer as he had been turned down by the Central Parliamentary Board, and he had to abide loyally by the decision of that body.

After my son's declining the offer, they then offered the contest, on behalf of the League, to Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha. In spite of the Khan Bahadur having been adopted as the League candidate, one of the members of the Sind Parliamentary Board was working against him. Owing to the intrigues of Sayed and his friends, Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha has now given up the contest.

You will thus see how Sayed has been maneuvering to have his

own man at all costs and even at the certain risk of the League being defeated by the non-League candidate.

In fact, after Ghulam Nabi Pathan was finally adopted as the League candidate by the Sind Parliamentary Board, and confirmed by the Central Parliamentary Board, it was not open to Sayed to make him withdraw and offer the League ticket to other candidates, who had been previously rejected by him and his friends on the Sind Parliamentary Board. This action of his has been severely criticised in the local press.

2. Another vacancy has now arisen owing to the recent death of Mir Ghulam Allah, MLA, a cousin of the Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali, Minister. The ticket for the League candidate is to be given by the Sind Parliamentary Board. But we can have no faith in this body, which is Sayed's own packed [*sic*] body of three. They are trying to put up their own candidate against one of the Mirs who is likely to stand.

Any candidate that may be put up by Sayed and his friends will not have the slightest chance of success against the Mirs candidate who is likely to stand, as the Mirs are all powerful in their own area. Besides, the Mirs candidate will come on the League ticket.

I think you had better wire to Sayed not to be so foolish as to put up his own candidate against a powerful Mirs candidate, as any such candidate is sure to fail.

I was going to Shikarpur myself to help Khan Bahadur Nizamdin Agha, the League candidate. But I have not done so as the Khan Bahadur has himself withdrawn owing to the intrigues of Sayed and his friends.

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th instant[1] and the copy of your letter to Gazdar.[2]

Hoping you are doing well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind III/78. Not printed.
[2]See No. 310.

328

R.F. Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/56

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,
21 December 1944

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you know, the Indian Institute of International Affairs is sending

a delegation to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference to be held in London in February. The following have already accepted Sir Sultan Ahmed's invitation to join the delegation there:

1. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar
2. Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan
3. Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya
4. Mr. Pothan Joseph
5. Begum Ikramullah
6. Dr. Pannikar
7. Mr. Siva Raj
8. Sir Shanmukham Chetti

Sir Sultan is very anxious to have a strong Muslim Leaguer as a member of the delegation, and he asked me to approach Chowdhry Khaliquzzaman to find out whether he would be willing to join. I wrote to him, and he has replied that for long he had felt that the League required some propaganda in England and so far no action had been taken by them. He adds, however, that Sir Sultan's object will be defeated if he were to go without your permission and suggested that Sir Sultan should write to you asking for your approval, in which case he would certainly agree to go to London. As Sir Sultan is away from Delhi, I am writing to you myself.

2. If Khaliq were to join the delegation, he would be free to express his own views and would not be taken as committing even the League. He would be free also to express the views of the League as strongly as he liked. The only limitation imposed on him would be that he would be expected to support the idea of India remaining within the British Commonwealth. Even this apparently, however, Sir Sultan does not consider a *sine qua non*. Delegates will be given a free passage by air to and from England and, when there, will be the guests of Chatham House.

3. In these circumstances I hope you will be able to give your approval to Khaliq's joining the delegation. The matter is somewhat urgent,[1] as passages have to be arranged. My address between the 23rd and 29th of December will be:

Government House, Naini Tal

With best wishes for the new year,

Yours sincerely,
R. F MUDIE
Home Member,
Viceroy's Executive Council

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 340.

329

M. A. Jinnah to Hasan Reyaz

SHC, P&P II/13

BOMBAY,
21 December 1944

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 13th,[1] and I have much pleasure in sending you herewith a message[2] for publication in the first number of the daily *Manshoor*.

Wishing the paper every success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hasan Reyaz, Esq.,
Editor, *Manshoor*
Daryaganj, Delhi

[1]Hasan Reyaz had asked for the message. See *SHC*, P & P II/12. Not printed.
[2]See No. 335.

330

M. A. Jinnah to Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem

SHC, Hyderabad I/37

BOMBAY,
21 December 1944

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 14 December 1944,[1] and thank you for it. I am grateful to you for the honour you propose to do me by celebrating my birthday. Nothing will make me more happy than that the Muslims should stand united and work selflessly for the social, educational, economic and political uplift of our people wherever they may be. My greatest reward is that I may be able to see that our efforts are bearing fruit, and to-day Muslim India stands united and occupies a position in this land of greater self-respect and prestige than ever before during the last few centuries. No power on earth can prevent us from realising our goal of Pakistan if we are united and determined, and

I am confident that we shall succeed sooner than many people expect.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem, Esq.,
General Secretary,
Quaid-i-Millat Library,
Usman Shahi,
Hyderabad (Dn.)

[1]Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem Siddiqui had asked for a message on the occasion of Jinnah's birthday celebrations. See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/36. Not printed.

331

M. A. Jinnah to Dinshah K. Mehta

SHC (169)

BOMBAY,
22 December 1944

Dear Dr. Mehta,

I received your letter when I was in Delhi, but for the moment I am unable to trace it in my files, hence I am replying to you from my memory of its contents. I thank you for your kind offer to make arrangements if I decide to visit your clinic at Poona. Unfortunately it seems to me that just now it will not be possible for me to do so. I also go by my memory that you had stated in your letter the amount of the fees due to you for your kind treatment to me up to date, which as far as I remember, was Rs. 250 and I am sending you herewith a cheque for this amount.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Dinshah K. Mehta,
The Nature Cure Clinic & Sanitorium,
6 Tediwala Road,
Poona

332

Mohamed Bashir Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 533/334

CAROLINA,
TRANSVAAL,
22 December 1944

Musalmans of Carolina gratefully recognize your meritorious services rendered to Islamic world in general and to Muslims of India in particular, and congratulate you on passing sixty-eight milestones in the journey of life. Offer humble supplications to Almighty to spare you for many more years for accomplishment of our cherished goal, Pakistan, under your inspiring leadership. Long live Quaid-i-Azam of Islamic world.

MOHAMED BASHIR KHAN
Secretary, Carolina Muslim League

333

A. K. Sheikh Allauddin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (170)

DHARAPURAM,
COIMBATORE,
25 December 1944

We, the members of the Muslim League, Alangiam, hereby heartily congratulate you on your sixty-eighth birthday. May the Almighty *Allah* shower His choicest blessing on you and crown you with success in all your enterprises for the Muslim cause.

You will be glad to know that a hall has been purchased recently by the association and the opening ceremony of the same will be held in the future. We, the members of this association, are unanimously thinking of naming the hall in your name. We beg to have a word of reply regarding this.[1]

A. K. SHEIKH ALLAUDDIN
Secretary, Alangiam Muslim League

Jinnah consented to the hall being named after him See *SHC* (171). Not printed

334

Hadi Naqshbandi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/44

ALIGARH,
25 December 1944

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with the greatest joy that I beg to offer my heartiest and sincerest congratulations on your 68th birthday. Every such occasion fills our hearts with pride in having you as our guide and leader and our hearts ring with a prayer that we may have numberless occasions to celebrate your birthday.

Allow me to request you, as a symbol of Muslim solidarity and an embodiment of highest aspirations of the Muslims of India, to approach you for a message[1] for the *Awakening* which is going to publish, "The Special Camp Number" in January 1945.

The AIMSF held a camp of workers at Aligarh in the last week of October, 1944. Many distinguished Muslims read papers on Pakistan, reconstruction of Muslim society and the distinctive culture of the Indian Muslims. These papers, reports of the camp, the central and the provincial organisations and other contributions are to form the chief features of this issue.

The AIMSF and its central organ, the *Awakening,* are the good fruits of your selfless efforts and those who are associated with both or either of them look to you, revered Quaid-i-Azam, for encouragement and inspiration, and I hope that a message from you for "The Special Camp Number" would inspire the Muslim youth and put a new life in our organisation.

I beg to remain,
Revered Quaid-i-Azam,
Your dutiful follower,
HADI NAQSHBANDI
Editor-in-Chief, the Awakening
and President, Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation

In his message, Jinnah appealed to the Muslim youth to give their best to build the edifice of Pakistan. See *SHC,* Students I/45. Not printed.

335

Message by M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P II/14

25 December 1944

I am very glad to know that the weekly *Manshoor* is shortly coming out as a daily. The services which it has rendered to the Musalmans, and particularly to the Muslim League, during the past few years of its existence are considerable, and I hope it will continue its task of serving the Muslim public and advocating our national cause with redoubled vigour, as being now a daily newspaper, its scope will be considerably increased . I am confident that it will not fail in its duties to the Muslim nation.

Muslim India is fully alive to the necessity of having a strong and powerful press of its own, both Urdu as well as English, and I need not emphasize the desirability of every Muslim doing his bit in strengthening the Muslim press.

I wish the daily *Manshoor* a bright future and I hope that it will soon find its place amongst the leading papers of this country.

336

Kanji Dwarkadas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 508/1-2

BOMBAY,
26 December 1944

My dear Jinnah,

I send you my very very best wishes. I recall to my mind that I first met you in 1916, and I always consider it a great privilege that I worked with you in close contact during the Home Rule League years and during 1920-1930.

My one big prayer is that by the time you celebrate your birthday next year, a healthy settlement will have been arrived at between the two big communities. It is curious but it is a fact that Hindus in this

country look to you for leadership, and today you have as many Hindus as Musalmans as political and personal friends. Your opportunity, as your responsibility, is great and the best wishes of humble friends like me are with you.

Once again with my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
KANJI DWARKADAS

337

M. A. Jinnah to Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali

SHC, Sind IV/9

BOMBAY,
26 December 1944

Dear Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali,

I have received your letter[1] and also a telegram[2] regarding the Karachi affair. You know that after my talks with Sir Ghulam Hussain and Mr. G.M. Sayed in Delhi, I issued a statement,[3] and it is a mystery to me why some of these leading men in Sind cannot see how unwise it is for them and for the Muslim League organization to quarrel amongst themselves and bring down the prestige of the League and their own. If the leaders had only acted according to the understanding arrived at recently at Delhi, and would do so even now, it would be within their grasp to make progress and serve the welfare of the people of Sind. It is not possible for me to say more, and I do hope that the lesson of the recent by-election may be taken to heart by all who are really and sincerely devoted to the policy and programme of the Muslim League and the service of our people.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali,
Rojhan, Jhatpat,
Baluchistan

[1]See No. 286.
[2]See ibid., note 1.
[3]See No. 303, note 2.

338

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind IV/5

BOMBAY,
26 December 1944

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 20th,[1] which reached me yesterday, and I have noted all that you say. According to the clear understanding arrived at between us in Delhi and the statement[2] issued thereafter by me, the matter of the by-elections to the Sind Assembly is within the purview of the local Parliamentary Board, subject to an appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board, and it is not possible for me to interfere with their function or their jurisdiction. It is for you people in Sind to build in harmony, co-operation and unity or destroy by disunity, by pulling each other down. To me the whole affair is painful reading indeed. It is very difficult to help when the leading men, who are expected to know better and guide the people, are quarrelling amongst themselves like children. The constitution and the rules and regulations of the All India Muslim League and the machinery set up cannot be upset, and I regret I am unable to interfere in this matter.

As regards the forthcoming elections of the Provincial Muslim League and the District Leagues, the same observations apply. All powers to deal with the organization of the Muslim League are vested finally in the Committee of Action, and they alone are entitled to deal with this matter. I would draw your attention to the statement[3] that was issued by me after my talks with Mr. G. M. Sayed and yourself and the conclusions that were reached in agreement with both of you. I think sufficient damage has already been done to the prestige of the League in the way in which the recent by-election from the Shikarpur constituency was handled , and I do hope you all may learn a lesson from it before it is too late. You can show this letter of mine to your colleagues , the Muslim League Ministers, Mr. Sayed and other leaders who stand to serve the League and maintain its honour, prestige and reputation.

Many thanks for your telegram[4] of good wishes on my birthday. Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 327.
[2&3]See No. 303, note 2.
[4]Not traceable.

339

Fasih Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 829/120

BENGALI KOTHI,
CIVIL LINES,
ALIGARH, U.P.,
26 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been asked by the members of the Aligarh Bacha Muslim League to send you a copy of the resolution passed at its meeting held on 25 December 1944.

Yours sincerely,
FASIH UDDIN AHMAD
Vice-President,
Bacha Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 339

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the Aligarh Bacha Muslim League congratulates Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah , Patron, Aligarh Bacha Muslim League, on his 68th birthday and prays to Almighty God to bestow on the Quaid-i-Azam many such happy returns and a long life to lead the Muslim nation for the attainment of our cherished goal of Pakistan.

340

M. A. Jinnah to R. F. Mudie

SHC, UP IV/57

BOMBAY,
26 December 1944

Dear Sir Robert,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 21st[1] to-day, and thank you for it. Perhaps you are not aware that there has already been a talk between Sir Sultan Ahmed and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan with regard to this matter. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan finally expressed his inability to associate himself with the proposed delegation, and I think he has fully explained our position in his correspondence with Sir Sultan Ahmed. We all feel that the Muslim League requires some propaganda in England, but so far no effective action has been taken by us for the reason that the Government have not shown any inclination to provide facilities for a Muslim League delegation. We are quite willing and ready to send an independent, representative and responsible Muslim League delegation to England, if we are provided with facilities. We want no financial aid from anybody. Sending a single individual Leaguer in the manner suggested by you, along with the persons whose names you have mentioned, would do no good. On the contrary, it would be completely misunderstood and would not serve the purpose which you have so sympathetically expressed in your letter.

By the way, as regards the names mentioned by you as constituting the delegation, my information is that Mr. Pothan Joseph and Begum Ikramullah are not likely to go.

I wish you a happy new year,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Robert Mudie,
Government House,
Naini Tal

[1]No. 328.

341

S. M. Zaki to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/44

164-E TIMARPUR,
DELHI,
28 December 1944

ISSUE OF AN ALL INDIA MUSLIM TRADE JOURNAL IN URDU

Sir,

I venture to address your goodself on this subject of national importance and I am sure that it will receive the most sympathetic consideration of all concerned.

Establishment of the various Muslim papers, opening of the various Muslim Chambers of Commerce and the recent awakening created by the Muslim League for keeping pace with the other industrially advanced nations of the world, can well be attributed to your selfless and gallant spirit of leadership.

Your recent address[1] to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce is an expression of the deep interest being taken by your goodself in this line. You will admit that not a single commercial paper, representative of Muslim interests, exists throughout the length and breadth of India, and it is high time that due attention be given to fulfil this important aim at a very early date, with a view to popularising the Muslim industries, protecting the Muslim trade interests and also for creating closer commercial contact of Pakistan with the neighbouring Islamic countries. Apart from publishing this paper in Urdu for satisfying the needs of common traders, it can later on be published in English, Persian and Arabic, as occasion demands.

On going through the following few lines regarding the affairs of this magazine, your goodself will be able to judge why it is being considered essential to serve the Muslim cause in particular. Considering the immense necessity of a Hindustani trade journal, this humble Muslim, while running a big commercial institute in Saharanpur and possessing several degrees and diplomas in the various branches of commerce, ventured to bring out the above journal in 1941. Soon it became so popular that innumerable appreciation letters were received from the government officials, Indian States and even from certain foreign

countries. However, the publication of it had been started on the assurance by the district authorities to secure financial backing from the government which was never received. Circumstances compelled me to close the paper temporarily in 1942, due to the then prevailing lack of interest in trade by the Muslims, hostile attitude of the Hindu business community due to its publication in Urdu, paper shortage due to war, and last of all, growing ratio of expenses in contrast with the income due to complete absence of financial support from the government or any other public body.

Now in view of the fact that industrial awakening in the Muslims is on the increase, which is evident from the fast increasing number of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and the establishment of a federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, such a paper with the proposed aims and objects published in the *lingua franca* of India under the distinct patronage of your goodself and guidance of the above Federation, is bound to play an important part in our economic and industrial life, specially in the post-war period.

I am sure that this matter of national importance , specially the one in which Muslims still lag behind, will receive most favourable consideration, and I will very kindly be favoured with your valued suggestions at your earliest convenience.

On approval of this suggestion, further details regarding the republication of this useful journal either under a proprietary concern or in the form of a limited concern and other relevant matters can well be decided on my personal visit, whenever desired.

Anyhow I, along with the ex-staff of the magazine, who are thoroughly experienced and eminently qualified in this line, unanimously place our services at the disposal of the Muslim League to be utilized in whatever way it may be desirable.

Awaiting to have [*sic*] the favour of your early reply, please.

I remain,

Faithfully yours,
S. M. ZAKI
Managing Proprietor,
Tijarat *monthly*

1See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 30.

342

M. A. Jinnah to Income-Tax Officer, Bombay

F. 1118/257

29 December 1944

Dear Sir,

With reference to my interview with you yesterday regarding the item of interest Rs. 414-6-0 in the year 1941-42, to which you were good enough to draw my attention, I beg to inform you that this item of interest relates to and is credited to my Account No. 2 for the year commencing January 1941 to December 1941, as follows: from January to June 1941 the amount of interest credited is Rs. 247-15-0 and from June to December 1941 the amount of interest credited is Rs. 166-7-0, making a total of Rs. 414-6-0 credited to this account. This Account No. 2 is not my personal account. Various donations and contributions that were sent to me towards the All India Muslim League Fund were deposited in this Account No. 2, which was opened for that specific purpose. You will therefore understand that this is no part of my income, and hence it was not included in my return for the year in question, namely 1941-42.

Hoping that you will expedite the matter of assessment which is now pending before you, as I may have to leave Bombay within the next few weeks.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Income-Tax Officer,
D Ward, Section I,
Central Government Building,
Queen's Road,
Bombay

343

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/27

SEAFIELD ROAD,
KARACHI,
29 December 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is now a well-established fact that Mr. Sayed and his protege,

Ghulam Nabi Pathan, had no influence whatsoever in the constituency of the Shikarpur by-election, and a large number of zamindars had already informed you and the Central Parliamentary Board about this.

Mr. Sayed was not even able to make his candidate stand even for a few days. He got cold feet at once, and at once started asking others to stand.

The Central Parliamentary Board had deputed Mr. Hassan [Hossain] Imam to make an enquiry on the spot, but they nevertheless brushed aside his report, and decided as they wanted to.

I have no doubt that Mr. Sayed must be writing all sorts of false stories to you to save his face now. He is not only a dictator, but is above all law, and is a law unto himself. But no action has yet been taken by you against him for his unconstitutional behaviour during this whole affair.

I cannot, however, tolerate Mr. Gazdar for a moment longer now. In spite of his assurances to you and to me, he is still intriguing against me. They are trying to stab me very soon, and so I must get rid of him at once. I cannot allow a disloyal and treacherous colleague with me in the Cabinet.

It is not my concern now what the Sayed party is doing as regards K. B. Moula Bakhsh. They have put a dummy candidate, the brother of Pir Pagaro, for reasons best known to themselves.

Kindly reply[1] to me at once. Hoping you are both doing well, and with kind regards, and all good wishes for the new year to you both,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See No. 349.

344

Pir Ghulam Majadid to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind III/37

HYDERABAD, SIND,
29 December 1944

On behalf Muslim India we thank for Karachi Muslim League's *Satyarath Prakash* resolution and congratulate you for its result as Sind Govt. banned fourteenth chapter. Sind Premier meeting you. Kindly

assert this emphatically. We pray for your final goal, Pakistan.

PIR GHULAM MAJADID

345

Mohammad Masud to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (172)

TALIM MANZIL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
30 December 1944

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you know that prejudice is prevailing throughout India in every branch and department, and the same is the case in the film industry. At present there are few Muslim film producers and directors. Mr. Mahboob has attained the highest rank. He has given so many outstanding pictures which nobody can ever forget. But the Hindus and other non-Muslims have always tried to discourage this director. They have always been propagating against this director and other Muslim producers. At present Mr. Mahboob is producing a historic[al] picture, *Humayun,* and Hindus have tried their level best to cry against Mr. Mahboob and his film so as to make it unsuccessful.

So we, the students of Aligarh Muslim University, request you to give some good and encouraging words, after having seen this film when it is released. Every Muslim thinks you as an uncrowned king of Muslim India, i.e. Pakistan, and will follow what you will do or say. Having seen your words the Muslims will see this film heartily and seriously and will not let the criers to laugh [*sic*].

May I expect my request to be granted by you—that you will certainly give encouraging words in praise of Mr. Mahboob and his picture *Humayun*.

I am sure that you won't mind if I ask you for a reply[1] to this letter in spite of [the fact that] you are always engaged.

Thanking you very much,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD MASUD
On behalf of Aligarh students

[1]Jinnah replied that he could express an opinion about the film only if he happened to see it. He desired more Muslims to enter the film industry, and promised them all possible help See *SHC* (173). Not printed.

346

Zuhair Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/118

CENTRAL OFFICE,
22-A MUIR ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
[*Undated*] *December 1944*

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the fourth annual session of the United Provinces Muslim Students' Federation, held on December 3, 1944, in the Muslim Hostel, Allahabad University, under the presidentship of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad:

RESOLUTION

This session of the U.P. Muslim Students' Federation views with alarm the project of the so-called Non-Party Leaders' Conference to appoint a conciliatory committee, which is obviously a move inspired and blessed by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders after the failure of his talks with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and his refusal to accept the Pakistan demand as envisaged in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League.

This session unequivocally and most emphatically declares that since all the Musalmans and Muslim students of India have been and are determined to remain and rule as a separate nation according to their own ideals and genius, they will resist with all the power at their command any move by any party calculated to torpedo this just demand of theirs which is the urge of a hundred million souls for real and complete independence.

This session also urges upon the Congress leadership and the Hindu press to abstain from giving any favourable publicity to the sporadic organizations of mushroom growth manipulated from time to time by a few Musalmans who are regarded by the entire Muslim people as political non-entities, and whose game has been the out and out opposition of the cause of the great Muslim nation.

ZUHAIR SIDDIQI
General Secretary,
UP Muslim Students' Federation

347

Abdul Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/7-10

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

JINNAH ROAD, ISLAMABAD,
GARGESWARI,
MYSORE,
1 January 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hope you are keeping good health. In connection with a suitable and befitting memorial for the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, I have thought of a practicable scheme which I would like to bring to your kind notice.

It is an undisputed fact that the late Moulvi Bahadur Khan rendered valuable service to the nation and the country. As the President of the All India [States] Muslim League he infused fresh life in the poor and miserable Muslims of the States. Himself, a staunch supporter of the Two-Nation Theory, he was a great asset to the great leader.

His services to the South Indian Muslims are of no mean order and the Nizam publicly acknowledged by saying that "he was faithful to the king and the country. Let everyone follow his example."

In one of his orations in South India he said there are two things to be done in the South—that every Muslim should become a Muslim Leaguer and follow the Quaid-i-Azam implicitly, and secondly we should propagate Islam.

In my opinion this life mission of the Quaid-i-Millat can materialise by [*sic*] a first-rate newspaper in English, from a most conveniently placed centre—say Madras, which can command the circulation of Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore. The greatest need of the day is a daily newspaper for the South and you have expressed your valuable opinion in this connection.

For this a strong committee consisting of influential men of the South should be formed, and an appeal for a loan of ten lakh rupees should be made; the entire amount divided into ten thousand shares of one hundred rupees each, payable at paper at the end of five years, through some authorised bank. The interest on this amount realised in thousands should be utilized towards financing the paper.

Of late, there have been many suggestions regarding the conversion

of the *Deccan Times* into a daily, but I am of opinion that the *D.T.*, with its long record of faithful service to the nation, should preserve its individuality as a first-rate weekly and instead there should be an independent daily.

This is not a great task, only if Hyderabad, Madras and Bangalore take it seriously.

Regarding the committee and other things, I would like to discuss with you and get your blessings. On my way to Aligarh for my studies I am halting at Bombay for a day for this purpose and I would be very much obliged if you kindly grant me an interview.

Possibly I might reach Bombay on the 3rd or 4th of January 1945, and it will be the happiest of all moments in my life to have an interview with my Quaid-i-Azam. My brother, who is very anxious to see you, is accompanying me.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL QADIR
B.Sc.(Alig.)

348

S. N. Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Delhi/45

MIR COTTAGE,
DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
1 January 1945

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

As an expression of our devotion to our Quaid-i-Azam, we have organised a big football association in Delhi which has been named Jinnah Sporting Club. Among the teams presented to you on the day of the inauguration of the Jinnah Football Tournament was this Club. It is our cherished aim to prove worthy of the name we have adopted and to derive a constant inspiration as much in sports as we do in other spheres of our national life today.

Our Quaid-i-Azam has infused in ourselves a spirit of faith and fire. To keep that spirit ever burning we are urged, as by a natural instinct, to have the privilege of our Quaid-i-Azam kindly agreeing to honour us by consenting to be our Patron-in-Chief.[1]

We are confident that you will kindly agree to this request and bless us in our aim of fostering unity, faith, and discipline among the Muslim

youth by favouring us with a word or two as a message[2] to the Club, which will give a magical effect to our performance in this behalf.

I am,

Your most obedient humble servant,

S. N. AHMAD

Honorary General Secretary,

Jinnah Sporting Club

[2]Jinnah consented to be the Patron-in-Chief of the Club and wished them all success. See *SHC*, Delhi/47. Not printed.

349

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind IV/28

BOMBAY,
2 January 1945

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I have received your letter of December 29th,[1] but since you phoned me up this morning on the trunk line, I do not think I need go over the matter again in this letter. Suffice it to say that only recently, in the presence of Mr. G. M. Sayed, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and yourself, certain agreed lines[2] were laid down, and I hope that you will act in conformity with that arrangement. You can understand that I cannot interfere with the normal function of the Central Parliamentary Board or the Committee of Action, as was acknowledged by all at our last meeting in Delhi.

As regards the Muslim League Party in the Sind Assembly, you are its leader, and so long as you enjoy the Party's confidence, you can handle the question regarding Mr. Gazdar in such a manner as you may think proper, and this position of yours was recognized by all the others who were present at our last meeting.

With kind regards and good wishes for the new year to you all,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 343.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 16-9.

350

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/14

ALMANZAR,
32 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
3 January 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A happy new year to you and Miss Jinnah from the Bashir family.

May you live long to guide the destinies of Muslim India. How often I long to give expression to such wishes. But then millions of others who have no access to you feel the same longing and so why should people like me encroach upon your valuable time, which after all is being spent for the good of us all.

I am sending you, under a separate cover, a copy of the annual number of my monthly literary magazine, the *Humayun*. I started the *Humayun* exactly 23 years ago in memory of my late father Justice Shah Din, whose *nom de plume* was Humayun. *Humayun* is the only magazine which has been published regularly on the last of every month for 23 years. Besides producing literary pieces, it carries on propaganda for Urdu, which is our national language.

In the issue I am sending you, you will find, besides an account of Urdu activities, a comprehensive chronology and survey of the world's events in 1944 and post-war plans, with special reference to India. Both the chronology and the survey contain many references to the activities of the Muslim League and its great leader.

In this connection, I may inform you that a friend and I worked together and have produced Urdu translation of the Punjab Muslim League manifesto, which has become quite popular.

In the end, may I request you that, if you no longer need the following five pamphlets, which I sent you on 26 March 1944 at Lahore, you may kindly send them to me:

1. *All India Muslim League Central Board, Policy and Programme.*
2. *Mr. Jinnah's Speech at Lahore on 11 October 1936*, published by Mr. Ghulam Rasul.
3. *All India Muslim League Manifesto* about coming elections issued

by Mr. Ghulam Rasul.

4. *Rules and Regulations of the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board,* by Mr. Ghulam Rasul.
5. *History of Fourteen Points,* by Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Of course if you need any of these pamphlets, you may certainly keep them.

With my kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

351

Message by M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, Students II/6

BOMBAY,
3 January 1945

I am glad to know that you are celebrating the anniversary of the Muslim Hostel Union of the Patna College on the 7th of January, and I wish your function success. I hope that it will bring you, the Muslim students, closer to one another and enable you to establish fraternal relations between you. Muslim India has now realized that in unity alone lies its salvation and the achievement of our national goal of Pakistan.

As students, I would like you to remember that you will have to continue what is being done today in various departments of life. This is the proper time of your life to equip yourselves for the future, to prepare yourselves for the struggle of life that is awaiting you all. Studies, therefore, should come first, and everything else afterwards. So train yourselves, discipline yourselves, and equip yourselves enough to shoulder the responsibilities that will fall on you.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]The message was sent by Jinnah in response to the request of Muslim Hostel Union, Patna College. See No. 322.

352

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/114

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
4 January 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry to have to inform you that I am still not able to get sanction from the Controller of Capital Issues for Al-Meezan.[1] I have tried my best and have now decided to report the situation to you and solicit your personal support in the matter.

The last report I had from Sir Allan Lloyd, the Controller of Capital Issues, is that he is still awaiting the reply from the Government of Punjab.

I intend proceeding to Bombay on 10th of this month and shall be there on 11th and 12th. I shall be very grateful if you could find it convenient to spare some of your precious time for me on any of the dates.[2]

I trust Miss Jinnah and yourself are enjoying good health and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIR LAIK ALI

[1]See No. 72.
[2]Jinnah suggested 11 January for a luncheon meeting See *SHC*, Hyderabad II, 115. Not printed.

353

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Yaqub

SHC, UP I/69

BOMBAY,
5 January 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter,[1] and I have noted what you say with regard to the situation concerning your Provincial Muslim League, and I can only repeat what I have said before, that the matter referred to in your letter is the function of the Committee of Action, and I cannot interfere with them, as you must approach them at any rate in

the first instance. I think you will appreciate that we have now set up certain statutory bodies, so to say, like the Committee of Action and the Central Parliamentary Board which are vested with certain powers, and I do not see how I can interfere with them. I would draw your attention to resolution No.I[2] of the All India Muslim League session held on 23, 24 and 27 of December 1943 at Karachi, which has appointed the Committee of Action defining its powers and functions; and resolution No.IV,[3] appointing the Central Parliamentary Board in accordance with the Constitution of the All India Muslim League (see Clause 29 of the Constitution and the Rules of the All India Muslim League). I think our people now ought to understand and know the Rules and Regulations and the Constitution by which we are governed. I would, therefore, advise you to exercise all your rights and proceed accordingly.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Yaqub, Esq.,
President, City Muslim League,
Cawnpore

[1]See *SHC*, UP I/68. Not printed.
[2&3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 680 & 686-8.

354

S. L. M. Shafie Marikar to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (309)

JEELANI MANZIL,
447 MARADANA ROAD,
COLOMBO,
5 January 1945

Honoured leader,

I am forwarding herewith, with pleasure, a gold medal presented to you by the Dikwella Muslim League of Ceylon in recognition of your invaluable services towards the upliftment [*sic*] of the Muslim community.

Meetings, in honour of your 68th birthday, were held by Muslim League and other organizations all over this little island and prayers for the success of your mission were made.

I am sure you will accept this present coming from the Muslim League of Dikwella as a tribute to your services towards Muslims.

Looking forward to your visit to this fair island in April,

I remain,

Yours-in-Islam,
S.L.M. SHAFIE MARIKAR
B.A.
Administrative Secretary,
Ceylon Muslim League

355

M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Esmail

SHC, FC II/24

BOMBAY,
6 January 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 14th[1] and thank you for it. I have noted all that you say, and I am glad that the Musalmans are now realizing more and more that their salvation lies in organizing themselves and working for the betterment of our people. I am sorry I overlooked your letter, and therefore could not reply to it earlier, as by mistake it remained in a file which has not been attended to by me owing to very great pressure of work. Nevertheless I thank you for the honour you have done me by celebrating my birthday on the 25th of December, and the Muslim League will not fail to do all that we can for our Muslim brethren wherever they may happen to be. We shall always share their joys and their sorrows and give such helping hand to them as it is possible for us to do so.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

A. K. Esmail, Esq.,
P.O. Box No. 635,
Kampala,
Uganda

[1]No. 270.

356

Ibnul Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/114-7

B[IHAR] N[ATIONAL] COLLEGE,
PATNA,
6 January 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With all due respect to you, I, an humble servant of your door [*sic*], beg to lay in [*sic*] your honour that through your tireless efforts and inspiring zeal and by the grace of God, we the Muslims have so much awakened politically that no game of Mr. Gandhi can lead us astray or [*sic*] we are inferior in no respect to Hindu intelligentsia. So a heavy task is almost done and the most important task, which is really the backbone of a nation and in which we are utterly backward to [*sic*] Hindus, is Muslim trade and commerce. This profession is the national profession of Muslims because it was the very profession of our most beloved Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). It was through merchant enterprise that the British rule was established in India. It is the economic strength that has made America so powerful a nation. It is trade that has made the Jews a powerful factor in world politics. In fact trade is the lifeblood of a nation.

Let us divert all our attention and energy towards the revival of trade and commerce in [*sic*] Muslims. Let us start a campaign under the caption of Muslim League Industrial Revolution Campaign. The aims and objects of this important campaign should not be mere suggestions and paper resolutions, as is the general characteristic of every move in India, but something practicable and profitable in real sense of the term. Big zamindars and nawabs should be approached to invest money, rather big capital, in order to open firms and factories, banks and insurance companies, film studios and picture houses.

Polytechnic institutes should be opened in good numbers which would yield a huge amount [*sic*] every year besides teaching the Muslim boys in various trades. A deputation of Muslim League should be sent to America in order to study their various enterprises, e.g. banking, brokerage, advertising of goods, sole agencies, and other vital factors of trade and commerce of international concern. The

Muslim League should approach the Govt. of India to get adequate grants of war contracts and canteens for Muslims as the services of Muslims in men and money are no less than those of Hindus in the present war. A federation of Muslim traders, big or small, should be formed under the name of Muslim Merchants Federation, on districtwise basis in order to enrol all the businessmen, from business magnates down to ordinary shopkeepers, into one organised body which would become a tower of strength in the business world. A Muslim League Commercial Co-operative Bank should be started to invest capital to [*sic*] Muslim traders on lease with interest. A Muslim League Renaissance Committee should be formed to educate the school and college boys to take up business as their profession after finishing their education. A committee to look after the trade monopolies from [*sic*] India Govt., England and America should be formed.

Muslim League Cottage Industries Committee [be formed], the function of which would be to propagate handicraft work in poor women circles who are forced to starvation partly owing to *purdah* and partly because they find no means of livelihood. Ready market should be organised to sell their goods immediately. Muslim League Cottage Industries Exhibitions should be organised from time to time in order to popularise handicraft in Muslim masses.

In short an all round industrial revolution among the Muslim masses should begin immediately under the auspices of the All India Muslim League, the only representative organisation of Indian Muslims. *Aameen.*

I am,

Your most obedient servant,

IBNUL HASAN

First Year Student

PS. Muslim League Tea Expansion Market Board [may be set up] in order to popularise and advertise Muslim owned tea firms in the public, especially in Muslim restaurants, hotels and homes, for example, Ispahani Tea Company of Calcutta.

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/41

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
8 January 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 2nd instant.[1]

As I have been telling you for some time, I was finally constrained to remove Mr. Gazdar. They will now carry on all sorts of propaganda, and try to mislead you. Even now, they are giving false information to you about me as regards my leaving the League, etc. But it is Mr. Sayed himself who has spoilt the name of the League in Sind by all his crooked planning and scheming. In the Shikarpur by-election, he set up the stunt of Sayed's election, and in the Mirs' constituency, he is doing the same. Mir Sardar Bahadur has sent you a wire asking for the League ticket.

Don't be anxious about anything. I will always consult you as I have been doing. Please do not put any faith in anything they may tell you regarding me or my attitude towards the League. I am doing my very best for the League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]No. 349.

358

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/39

BOMBAY,
8 January 1945

My dear Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of January 3rd.[1] It was not possible for me to go to Calcutta in the month of January, as I had fixed up certain public engagements in Gujarat, and further Bombay is making preparations to hold the Provincial Muslim League Conference about the end of January. After my arrival in Delhi, which must be in the first week of February,

as I have a commitment to inaugurate the All India Muslim Students' Federation Conference at Aligarh on the 10th and 11th. I will be very glad indeed to follow your advice and of Sir Nazimuddin, and if you think that it is desirable that I should come to Bengal about the end of February, then I can fit it in with my other engagements. You know how pressed I am, and I think you had some evidence of it when you were staying with us for a few days. However, if you all think that I must come to Bengal, I will make a real effort and be there about the end of February.

With very kind regards and wishing you all happiness and prosperity for the new year,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta,

'M A. Ispahani had expressed his disappointment over Jinnah postponing his visit to Bengal. See *SHC*, Bengal III/38. Not printed.

359

Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/58

LUCKNOW,
9 January 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

A few weeks back, Sir Francis Mudie wrote[1] to me that Sir Sultan was anxious to find out if I would agree to go as a delegate to the Commonwealth Relations Conference to be held in England. I replied to Sir Francis that it was a matter of principle and that Sir Sultan should write to Mr. Jinnah, the leader of our organization, to find out his views on the matter (copy enclosed).[2] I was under the impression that Sir Sultan would not write to you on the subject and the chapter will be closed; but from the letter of Sir Francis Mudie dated 5th January 1945 (copy enclosed), I find that Sir Sultan asked him to write to you also, which he did. From his last sentence of the letter, I gather that he wants to know the facilities which you would require for the League delegation but instead of writing to you, he has written to me perhaps with the idea that I might find out the details of the facilities required and convey them to him. If you consider it right that he

should be informed of the facilities required, you may kindly convey them to him[3] straight or write to me so that I may convey them to him.

I have read in the paper today that Bhulabhai Desai is going to Delhi after having had long talks with Mr. Gandhi at Sevagram. The replies to Bhulabhai talks will be conveyed to him at Delhi. I believe the replies have already been given to Bhulabhai Desai, but with a view to having something in writing under the signature of Mr. Gandhi, before he seeks another interview with H.E. the Viceroy, this procedure is adopted. The Congress high command will condescend [*sic*] to all such intrigues, if they could score a point against the Muslim League.

I hope you are in the enjoyment of best of health.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See *SHC*, UP IV/59. Not printed.
[3]See No. 372.

Enclosure to No. 359
Francis Mudie to Khaliquzzaman

SHC, UP IV/60

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI,
5 January 1945

Dear Chowdhry Sahib,

Please refer to your letter of the 18th December.[1] I wrote to Mr. Jinnah,[2] and he replied[3] that he was of opinion that to send an individual member of the League as one of the Delegation would do no good and might even be completely misunderstood. I have informed Sir Sultan accordingly.

2. At the same time he said that the League were willing to send "an independent, representative and responsible Muslim League Delegation" to England if they were provided with facilities. I do not know exactly what facilities he refers to as he said that no financial aid is required.[4]

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS MUDIE

Chowdhry Khaliquzzaman,
Advocate,
Khialiganj,
Lucknow, U.P.

[1]See No. 359, note 2.
[2]No. 328.
[3]No 340.
[4]See No. 372

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M. A. Jinnah to Commissioner of Police, Bombay

F. 1104/21

BOMBAY,
10 January 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No.137/AA of 44 dated 5th January 1945,[1] and as I have already informed you, I am unable to secure a copy of the *Bombay Arms Act Manual 1937*. I am obliged to you for the typed extract of para 23 (2) of this Manual, but I am unable to understand why an exempted person, without any reason or ground, should be asked to produce his weapon for the inspection of the Police authority. Suffice it to say that the weapon in question is in my possession, and I am entitled to keep it. My objection to your demand is based on the ground that the exemption is useless if the exempted person is not to be relied upon or trusted. I see no difference between an exemptee and a licensee if the procedure suggested by you is to be given effect to. I am quite willing to examine the question further if you can lend me a copy of the *Bombay Arms Act Manual 1937*, so that I may consider the effect of para 23 (2) along with the other paragraphs, and whether these rules override the statute which gives the exemption to me.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Commissioner of Police,
Arms Department,
Bombay

[1]Not traceable

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Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/47

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
[*10*] *January 1945*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am constrained to write to you an account of some happening here, and to seek your advice as to how I should act in the matter.

I enclose a copy of a statement[1] published by Mr. G. M. Sayed.

I have ample proof that this statement was actually written by a Hindu gentleman who is very well known to you.

In this statement, Mr. Sayed says that he strongly urged that justice should be done to the minorities, and that I should, without any further delay, right the wrong that I have done to the Hindu Party.

In the same statement, Mr. Sayed also says that you have openly advocated that the Muslim League's policy towards the Hindus in the provinces in which Muslims are in a majority should not only be fair but generous, and that it is only right and proper that the Hindus of Sind should be given the right to select their own representatives in the Cabinet.

Mr. Sayed is now making overtures to the Hindu Independent Party, and is impressing on them that they should demand that we should consult that party for the selection of their own representatives in the Cabinet.

The Hindus are prepared to join the Ministry; and, without their cooperation and support, it will be difficult for the present League Government to function. A coalition Government is, therefore, the only Government that has any fair prospect of stability.

I may only impress on you that it is not I who am anxious to take such a step, but it is Mr. Sayed who is moving in this direction. I can assure you, however, that they will support me rather than him.

I should like your advice in this matter as early as possible, as the budget session is soon coming on, and I must take the necessary steps well in advance so as to stabilise the present League Government, which is otherwise in danger of collapsing.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind IV/48-9. Not printed

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M. K. Veera Raghava Iyer to Tej Bahadur Sapru
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1104/22-3

46 B COMMERCIAL STREET,
BANGALORE,
10 January 1945

Dear Sir,

I was an ardent Congressman under Lokamanya Tilak's[1] regime and, though now seceded [*sic*], feel to what depth Congress has fallen. This crisis is a gradual but increasing cleavage due to its mock-show [*sic*] fight with the Govt. and the inroads into religion with its strong support.

2. The demands of the League are justified by such acts. Its clause "Govt. or any other party should not interfere with religious and social customs and usages" is a general one applicable to all religions—Hindu, Muslim, Christian, etc. If the inroads into Hindu religion are cancelled and positive safeguard of this principle is assured, *Janab* Jinnah may withdraw his demand for Pakistan and work for the common cause. He has, during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, showed his capacity and capability of a statesman worthy of Tilak's name.

3. The minorities and backward classes should be safeguarded and given ample scope for improvement in all spheres—political, industrial, educational and economical [*sic*]. But religious and social questions should be [settled] by a decision of a jury of eminent orthodox men, chosen from the two parties by themselves and never by the Government.[2]

5. The present crisis in India is due to various causes such as:

a. the influx of I.C.S. and other British officers and their removal from India of several crores of rupees,
b. enormous export of raw materials and less proportionate import of manufactured goods,
c. competition between Indian manufacturers and foreign articles in the markets,
d. customs duties and tolls and taxes impeding Indian industry,
e. unnecessary and uncalled for interference with the Hindu religion to satisfy the depressed classes yearning for economic uplift—which caused caution to and estrangement by the Muslims.

6. The remedy for all is very simple and should be mooted step by step.

As a first step, the following would best solve the present time [*sic*].

i. Formation of elected Central and Provincial Assemblies to frame laws and scrutinise and redress the misdeeds of the subordinate officials of the Government, without any reference to party spirit, but each member based on his intrinsic merit and capacity [*sic*].
ii. To insist upon the British Govt. to appoint Indians to every appointment [*sic*] in the Govt. whether civil, military, naval or air force (Defence) without any heed [*sic*] to community, but according to capability, from the Minister to the lowest post, provided he is an Indian in its truest sense. This was the original and starting maxim of the Congress under Dadabhai[3] ignored by the Gandhiji Congress, and has been recently vehemently advocated by Mr. Roy[4] and others.
iii. To start Indian industries by forming limited companies by wealthy philanthropists, purchase raw materials at the source—thus avoid exports and imports—-run the same on minimum profit basis, utilising the surplus towards increase of wages, housing, sanitation, medical comfort and relief of the workers.
iv. To suitably amend the Govt. of India Acts 1919 and 1935, so as to safeguard religion, etc., and hand over full powers to the Central and Provincial Legislatures and have the Viceroy[alty] and Governorships alone filled in by Britishers who are at one with the aims and objects of the Indians, i.e. unswerving loyalty and allegiance to the British crown.

7. I attach herewith a questionnaire[5] to enable you to gauge the crisis.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. VEERA RAGHAVA IYER

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,
Allahabad

[1]Bal Gangadhar Lokamanya Tilak had advocated independence for India way back in 1897 and steered the Congress towards an anti-British position.
[2]Para 4 containing information about comparative monthly emoluments of British sergeants and civilians in England and in India, omitted.
[3]Dadabhai Naoroji was elected Congress President three times and as a member of Parliament in 1892.
[4]M N. Roy, a Marxist, was founder-member of Jugantar Party, Radical Democratic Party and Indian Federation of Labour.
[5]See F. 1104/24-5, *QAP*. Not printed.

Ruttie Jinnah, wife of Quaid-i-Azam

Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan

Members of All India Muslim League Working Committee

Jinnah with members of Cabinet Mission

Jinnah in conversation with Dr. Khan Sahib

Traditional loaf of bread being presented to Jinnah by tribal Maliks of Khyber Agency

Jinnah being taken along in a procession in Peshawar

Tribal elders with Jinnah at Torkham

Jinnah in conversation with Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai

Inaugural ceremony of State Bank of Pakistan

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C. Raman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/92

CANNANORE,
MALABAR DISTRICT,
11 January 1945

Sir,

I beg to communicate to you the following resolution unanimously adopted at the annual conference of the Chirakal Taluk Central Council of Local Trade Unions held at Cannanore on the 7th January 1945, for your kind information.

RESOLUTION

Food crisis, industrial and agricultural chaos in production which has brought scarcity of commodities, insufficiency of wages and dearness to meet the increased cost of living; hoarding and profiteering by unsocial elements, all these have conspired to drown the general public in a pathetic position of stress and travail. Disappointment and defeatism have begun to kill the morale of the people, and the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks has only accentuated the situation.

The workers believe that only by the combined strength of the Congress and Muslim League can the people be saved from the critical position, by uniting people and leading them to the goal of independence. In the name of independence, to save our motherland and the Indian people, to dispel the disruptive forces and remove the present imperialist deadlock, the unity of the two great organizations is most essential. The practical solution of the problem lies in conceding self-determination to the Muslim nationality. On this question, the workers of Chirakal Taluk accept the stand taken by the All India Trade Union Congress, and this Conference requests Mahatma Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to restart negotiations for the achievement of unity. This Conference further urges all labour organizations to start [an] intensive campaign to rouse public opinion with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for the two national leaders to resume their talks for a

peaceful and honourable settlement.

Commending the resolution for your kind consideration,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

C. RAMAN

Secretary,

Chirakal Taluk Central Council of Local Trade Unions

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Zia Uddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/19

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
11 January 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter dated 30th December 1944,[1] about the quota of NWFP students in the Engineering College. The Education Minister of the NWFP spoke to Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister of Bengal, and the D.P.I. spoke to me about their demand. I suggested the following and if you consider it unreasonable I will modify them:

We are very anxious ourselves to help the Musalmans of the Frontier Province. We are now admitting six students every year from NWFP in the Engineering College and I suggested that we increase the number to ten. They may join Civil, Electrical or Mechanical course according to their own choice. I further said that the first chance for admission will be given to NWFP students who are studying at Aligarh and the remaining vacancies may be given to the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, which is unfair [*sic*]. It is not fair to disqualify the students of NWFP who have taken their B.Sc. degree from Aligarh. The quota of ten students appears to me to be generous but it should include the NWFP students educated at Aligarh.

The next point is the capitation grant. The Frontier Government at present pays Rs. 1,500 per annum per student whom the Government sends to Maclagan Engineering College, Lahore, or in other words, they pay Rs. 4,500 per student for the entire course. I requested that the capitation grant for each student which they may pay to the Aligarh University is Rs. 300 per student per annum or Rs. 600 for the entire course which is less than one-sixth of what the Government has

been paying to other colleges.

The cost of education in the Engineering College is Rs. 900 per student per annum. I thought it was reasonable that the University should pay one-third of the cost and one-third should be recovered from fees and one-third may be given by the Provincial Governments who reserve seats for their own students. We are getting no grant either from the Central or the Provincial Governments. Mr. Shah Alam Khan argued that the Frontier Government is very poor and it cannot even pay a small sum of Rs. 300 per student. I replied that the Aligarh Muslim University is certainly poorer than the Frontier Government. Their non-payment will be a fine on the University. You may decide this issue.[2]

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMED
Vice-Chancellor

See *SHC*, UP V/18. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah forwarded a copy of the Vice-Chancellor's letter to Mohammad Samin Jan, Education Minister, NWFP, suggesting to the Vice-Chancellor at the same time that all concerned strive for a fair arrangement. See *SHC*, UP V/20. Not printed.

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Abro Dost Mohammed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/27-8

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

MUSLIM HOSTEL,
MCLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
12 January 1945

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

As a Muslim and a citizen of Sind, I think it my duty to make you know of Sind Muslim League leaders' acts. So I have determined to send you such reports monthly. You may listen to it or not, but as your humble servant it is my duty to make my Quaid-i-Azam, my guide, know of Sind politics. I will send you the general view of Muslims. Before I deal with others, I want to introduce myself. Your humble servant's name is Dost Mohammed Pir Bux Abro. I am a poor man and study law with the aim to represent the poor class and make all poor believe in your leadership and make them ready to sacrifice

their lives, which I think will be the only price for achieving Pakistan. I beg to state, Sir, that the Muslim League at present is not popular amongst the poor and middle classes here in Sind who only are able persons to achieve its goal. They do not know the goal of Muslim League. But most of the rural people have not heard its name. They do not know who beloved Jinnah is! But they know Congress and Gandhi. This is all because of selfish capitalists who think League [to be] their monopoly and do not allow others to work. Anyhow I think [*sic*] such confidence in myself that I alone can make the poor politically conscious.

Now I deal with the prominent leaders of Sind. I start with Mr. G. M. Sayed who is the President of M.L., Sind. He is a selfless person and feels for the poor but his Sayedist movement has made him unpopular. Then comes Premier Ghulam Hussain whom no Muslim or non-Muslim likes. He is the most selfish man in Sind. He has no principles at all. He is in the League till he is Premier. He does nothing for the people. Then comes K. B. Khuhro. He is a capitalist and selfish but still is liked by the Muslims of Sind. He does something for the poor also. He should be the Premier as well as President of the Muslim League. But now this real leader of the people became the victim of the conspiracy of Mr. Gazdar and Mr. G. M. Sayed. Every Muslim in India should try for his acquittal. He is not the real murderer of the late Mr. Allah Bux, I think. Then comes Mr. Yusuf Haroon. He does not feel for the Muslims at all. In his firm, his clerks are mostly non-Muslims. He never likes to favour Muslims. He is a capitalist in the true colours [*sic*]. As regards his private life, I can't attack him, but it is the view of most of the Sindhi Muslims that Yusuf is not fit at all to be the leader of the Muslims of Sind. His brothers are also like him. His father was a very good man; Sind can't create such person soon [*sic*]. Mr. Gazdar has lost his reputation. Every one is happy to hear of his dismissal from the Ministry. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh has no principles. He is also a Leaguer till he is a Minister. He is not a real Leaguer. But still he feels for Muslims and does something for them. About Talpur Minister, let us wait and watch.

K. B. Moula Bakhsh has been elected only because of the selfish motive of Sir Ghulam Hussain and my request and the request of the Muslims of Sind is to dismiss Sir Ghulam from League. We do not want such a Ministry and dismiss also Mr. G. M. Sayed from his presidential office. He is interested only in Sayedist movement. He is not interested in League at all.

I will send my report, you may listen or not, I will send my request, you may accept or not. Poor have suffered much, now they can't

remain silent, but soon every one would realize.

"We shall make this temporary life immortal. Either we shall die or we will attain freedom."

I will send the monthly report in the first fortnight of every month. You may listen to it or not. Pakistan is the article of my faith.

Your obedient servant,
ABRO DOST MOHAMMED

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M. Anis Bin Haji Ismail Effendi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/8

SHIBLI MANZIL,
COLOMBO, CEYLON,
13 January 1945

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dear Sir and brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On behalf of the Muslims of Ceylon, we offer you our humble congratulations on your recent birthday celebration and we offer our greetings on your very successful leadership of India. Yours has been a very heavy task; we are proud that no other person could have taken the question of Pakistan through the blackest hours of Mahatma Gandhi's conference at Malabar Hill when he met you as nobody's representative. Your determination, courage and perseverance will never be forgotten by the entire Muslim world. At the same time, we are grateful for all you have done for the revival of Islam's glory in India, Palestine, Egypt and other parts of the Islamic world. Further, we assure our devotion and cooperation to the cause for which you stand, and pray [to] Almighty *Allah* to grant you more power, honour and recognition on your humanitarian mission.

While thanking for all your past favour and cooperation, given to our journal by releasing messages from time to time, the copies of which are attached for your kind perusal, we humbly beg your honour for an appreciation from your worthy pen for the work done through our columns, so as to be published in this year's holy Prophet's [PBUH] annual, which will be issued on the 26th February 1945, when the Muslim world celebrates the birthday of our great Prophet [PBUH], as the management will be ever grateful to you for such Islamic duty.

Thanking you in anticipation and waiting [for] your early reply,[1]

Your brother-in-Islam,
M. ANIS BIN HAJI ISMAIL EFFENDI
Editor, the Muslim Views

[1]See No. 392.

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M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed

SHC, Sind IV/54

AHMEDABAD,
15 January 1945

Dear Mr. Sayed,

Various complaints have been sent to the Committee of Action, and some of them have been sent to me also, about the forthcoming elections of the Primary, District and Provincial Muslim Leagues, which I am given to understand, will commence from the middle of January. Consequently, the Committee of Action have thought fit to send Mr. Isa to look into the matter and see that these elections are conducted fairly and properly. I had a talk with him when I met him here at Ahmedabad, and I also think it to be necessary that he should go to Sind, and consequently he is leaving tomorrow morning. I hope you will give him all your cooperation and assistance in his work and we shall await his report. I had wired to you on the 13th,[1] asking when the elections were going to commence, but I have received no reply from you so far. Similarly I had wired[2] to Sir Ghulam Hussain, and I understand from him that the elections are going to commence from the middle of January. I am sending a similar letter[3] for his information and I hope Mr. Isa will receive the fullest co-operation in his mission from all our leaders and workers.[4]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. G. M. Sayed,
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

[1&2]See *SHC,* Sind IV/51. Not printed.
[3]See *SHC,* Sind IV/55. Not printed.
[4]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah assured Jinnah, he would fully cooperate with Qazi Isa. See *SHC,* Sind IV/60. Not printed.

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Yusuf Abdoola Haroon to Nawab M. Ismail Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

SHC, Sind IV/59

[KARACHI,]
16 January 1945

Dear Sir,

You must have learnt from the press that Mr. G. M. Sayed, as the Chairman of the Sind Provincial Parliamentary Board, has failed to nominate a candidate for the ensuing by-election to the Sind Legislative Assembly from Tando Mahomed Khan Division.

The Parliamentary Board invited applications from the candidates but then refused to nominate any candidate for the seat on the pretend [*sic*] that the Government of Sind had fixed the nomination date for the election on the 4th January 1945 and that the Parliamentary Board had called the meeting for selection of candidate on the 5th January, and therefore it was not possible for the Parliamentary Board to nominate a candidate as it was too late to decide this matter. Mr. Sayed tried to put the entire blame on Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah that he had fixed the date for nomination without consulting Mr. Sayed.

Now, having failed to nominate any candidate, Mr. Sayed should be kept away from this election. There are two candidates: one is Mir Hussainbux Talpur and the second is Sayed Kabul Shah, and Mr. Sayed has taken upon himself the entire election campaign of Sayed Kabul Shah and has gone to Tando Mahomed Khan to support the latter. As I protest that Mr. G. M. Sayed is not an individual but President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Member of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, and a Member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and as such he has no individual capacity, and it is not befitting him to take part in the election, side [with] one or the other [candidate], when League has not set up its candidate. Another grievance of mine is that Mr. G. M. Sayed has utilized the entire machinery of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in this election campaign. The Muslim League office staff are working day and night for Sayed Kabul Mahomed Shah.

I am sure that the Committee of Action will take notice of the same

and will call upon Mr. G. M. Sayed to explain all these things.

I have honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

YUSUF ABDOOLA HAROON

MLA (Central)

Mayor of Karachi

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/54

SATTI BAZAR, AMRITSAR,

16 January 1945

INDIAN COMMUNAL PROBLEM: ITS CAUSES AND SOLUTION

The following views may be twenty years in advance of the present times but I sincerely believe there is no other solution. If all communities unite, this gulf of time can be reduced to one year or shorter. The causes of communal differences are many. The main causes are:

i. Creating disunity by the British Government through religion.
ii. Untruthful policy of Congress in accepting the system of separate electorates. During elections they stand as Hindus, Muslims, etc., but inside the Councils etc., they become Hindustanis.
iii. Weak-kneed policy of Mr. Gandhi in accepting the Pakistan theory. Pakistan means perpetual civil war in every town and village.

The only solution is as follows:

a. Let the communities become most religious devotees but their devoutness must remain inside temples and mosques. Religious belief is a personal belief. Religion has nothing to do with politics.
b. The Congress, or any nationalist body with any other name, must demand joint and unreserved electorates to be run on merit alone. This system prevails in all countries of the world, including China and Russia, where the inhabitants belong to different religions. It is better to fight for a right principle single-handed rather than tread a wrong path with a large majority, which is bound to dwindle.

c. Till the communities get sense [*sic*], let the elections be run by staunch Hindus, staunch Muslims, staunch Sikhs, etc. These bulls will fight and then come to sense [*sic*] and then become nationalists, as did Roman Catholics and Protestants in England and European settlers of different countries who settled in Canada, Australia, U.S.A., South America and Africa.

d. The Congress must resign forthwith from Municipalities, Councils and Assemblies and give way to staunch followers of different communities as set forth in the constitution. The nationalists must do constructive work outside without caring for reward and remuneration. They may work for economic and social uplift and do propaganda work outside on right lines.

Disunity is most harmful to the Muslims as they are poor. In Bengal famine, for example, more than seventy-five per cent who died were Muslims. By following the true path, the gulf of time will be bridged sooner than expected. One, with God (truth), is a majority.

For Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity,

[UNSIGNED]

370

Rasulbhai A. Ghandi & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/59-60

AHMEDABAD,
17 January 1945

Respected Sir,

We, the undersigned Muslim students, most respectfully and humbly beg to say before your honour, the following few lines for your honour's kind consideration and favour.

Many Muslim students from outside come here to prosecute their studies further in high schools as well as colleges. As there is no Muslim boarding house to reside in, they find it very difficult to get accommodation elsewhere in the city. Moreover, due to acute scarcity of housing, they don't get any room for the above-mentioned purpose even at the highest rent. It had been decided in the last Educational Conference to create a Muslim boarding house in the city of Ahmedabad. But no concrete action has been taken in this direction. This dire necessity still stands unsolved [*sic*] as before.

Can Muslim Education Conference, which has collected one lakh of

rupees for educational purposes, not spare some few thousand for the establishment of a Muslim boarding house and thereby oblige the Muslim students coming from outside?

We request on behalf of the Muslim students to do the needful.

We beg to remain

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,
RASULBHAI A. GHANDI
AND 33 OTHERS

N.B. Due to lack of time, we have not been able to secure signatures of most of the students.

371

Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 398/25-6

SARDAR MANZIL,
CHIRAGH ALI LANE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
19 January 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In obedience to your wishes and in view of your letter[1] I did not write to you earlier, though I have constantly prayed for your health and long life. It gave me immense pleasure to hear that you have now considerably improved. I have followed with the utmost interest the telegraphic communication[2] that you had with the Viceroy and his replies to you. Believe me, the parity now given to the Muslim representatives in the proposed council at the Centre along with the Caste Hindus is a great triumph of your statesmanship, sagacity and political wisdom. There is no doubt that Muslim India owes its present recognition to your policy. Thank God, Gandhi has been thoroughly exposed before the world that any sensible person can easily realise how intriguing and undignified a man he is. If he is not the representative of the Congress or the Hindu India, then what right has he to speak on behalf of India. I am sure you will expose him thoroughly at the bar of political justice.

You will receive this letter on the eve of your impending departure for Simla. I send you my best wishes and am confident that the status

and position of Muslims will emerge out still greater, on account of you, in this conference. You are the heart and mind of Muslim India. May God help you. *Aameen*

Yours very sincerely,
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See F. 810/193, *QAP*. Not printed.

372

M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

SHC, UP IV/61

BOMBAY,
19 January 1945

Dear Sir Francis,

I have been informed[1] that you did not quite understand what I meant when I said, in my previous letter[2] to you, that we would like to send an independent, representative and responsible Muslim League delegation to England if they were provided with facilities, and you happened to have expressed the view that you did not know exactly what "facilities" I referred to. As I made it clear in my letter to you, no financial aid is required by us, and the facilities that I referred to were the provision or the arrangements for their passage by air, and their passports and all other matters in connection with their journey across, and further, similar arrangements from England, so that the delegation can go on to America.

I am sending this letter to you at Government House, Bombay, as I understand you are there, so that it may reach you as soon as possible.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Francis Mudie,
Government House,
Bombay

[1]See No. 359.
[2]See No. 340.

373

Mian Mumtaz Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/30

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
19 January 1945

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I went and saw Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan at Delhi on the eve of his departure for Madras about the arrangements for the next All India session to be held at Lahore. He told me then that there might be some difficulty in holding the session during Easter, because most of the League Ministries would be busy with their budget sessions. On my return to Lahore I consulted my colleagues and they are all unanimously of the opinion that Easter is the only really suitable time. It is only then that we would have the benefit of consecutive public holidays which are essential for real success. Besides, the rural population gets busy with the wheat harvest from the 10th April, after which date hardly any villager will be able to attend the session, and their participation is the most essential. And after the second week of April it gets too hot at Lahore.

I am placing these considerations before you because the final decision must be yours. I feel that the difficulty about the budget sessions might be overcome if our Ministries are prevailed upon to arrange for a long enough recess to cover the session.

Work in the Punjab is going on very satisfactorily. Every day the League is getting stronger and closer to our people. We hope to be invincible by the end of this year—with the grace of God and under your guidance.

With deepest respect to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours obediently,
MUMTAZ DAULTANA

374

Hatem Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal I/47

HAJIGRAM,
SENHATI,
KHULNA, BENGAL,
19 January 1945

Dear brother,

We, the distressed Muslim sisters of you[rs], are appealing to you for the removal of the severe troubles we are undergoing at present. Last year we saved ourselves from expected famine by getting five hundred mounds of *atta* and rice from the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, by your grace. Presently we are suffering from biting cold.

So we request you to save the lives of your hundred and forty-one distressed sisters by spreading [*sic*] your ever helping hands with adequate number of blankets and warm garments. For this act of benevolence we shall be ever grateful to you.[1]

On behalf of the distressed,
MOULANA HAJI HATEM AHMAD
Secretary,
Hajigram Relief Centre

[1]Jinnah advised that he take up the matter with the Bengal Muslim League. See *SHC*, Bengal I/48. Not printed.

375

M. H. Gazdar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind IV/62

KARACHI,
20 January 1945

Ghulam Hussain issued orders for interning G. M. Sayed for three months in his native place.[1] Things getting serious. Please intervene immediately. League organisation and provincial autonomy made farce.

M. H. GAZDAR

[1]The report turned out to be incorrect. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 57-8.

376

Khawaja Ahmed Ali Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad I/41

ATRAF BALDA,
MOAZZAM JAHI MARKET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 January 1945

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,

Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen, Atraf Balda, is holding its annual session on 2nd February at Shahabad this year. On behalf of the Reception Committee, I am deputed to ask you for a message. This session is important for us as the first public gathering after the lamentable death of Quaid-i-Millat. It is for us to preserve and advance the work that is now left [for us] to perform. As believers in Pakistan we are deliberating in this session on the future of this State and [on] the future of the Muslims of India. I hope that your message[1] will help us a great way [*sic*] in manoeuvring our strength for the struggle of the future.

I beg to remain,
Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,
Yours most obediently,
KHAWAJA AHMED ALI SIDDIQUI
President, Reception Committee, Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen

[1]See No. 382.

377

Mir Osman Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad II/13

PERSONAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
22 January 1945

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

It is a very long time since we have not met, so I should like to

know when it will be possible for you to come here and stay three or four days as my guest, as was the case some years ago. Probably some date in the month of June or July will suit me,[1] provided you are free then from your arduous duties as President of the Muslim League.

Trust you are well.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

[1]Jinnah accepted the invitation to visit Hyderabad on a date to be fixed later See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/14.
Not printed

378

Muhammed Shah Khan Tareen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/75-6

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

NADIAD,
AHMEDABADI, BHAGOL,
23 January 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I belong to Baluchistan, a country [*sic*] which is educationally and economically a backward country. During this war period our people are put in great trouble. We do not get our requirements at all. Only the influential persons get something for their use. The rest of the public get nothing. Specially, the question of cloth is very serious. Cloth even for deceased persons' *kafan* is not procurable. There are instances that many persons were buried without *kafan*.

I write this letter to you, dear Quaid-i-Azam, thinking that you will be able to do, through the leaders of Muslim League in Baluchistan, something in the matter and solve some of the difficulties of the people.

If the leaders of the Muslim League take this matter in their hands, then the problem is not at all difficult. Our people are not educated, and so they take no interest in the League affairs. If some such substantial service is done to them by the leaders of the Muslim League, then they will realise that there is a Muslim League and it is for the benefit of the Musalmans. In this way Muslim League will

have a strong hold over the public of Baluchistan.

This is what I have got in my heart and I thought it is better to put my thoughts before my Quaid-i-Azam who has a kind heart for Musalmans.

I may be excused for the trouble and mistakes committed by me and for taking your precious time.

Your servant and devotee of Pakistan,
MUHAMMED SHAH KHAN TAREEN

379

Kassim Dada to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students I/119

BANTVA,
KATHIAWAR,
23 January 1945

Sir,

The Muslim Students' Union, Bantva, has decided to publish a magazine under the name of the *Sarban*. We are inviting articles in English and Gujarati from well-known writers and journalists on subjects of educational, religious, political, historical, social and scientific interest. If our venture is a success, it is our earnest desire to make the magazine a regular feature.

It will be a source of great encouragement and pride to us if you kindly send a message[1] for the *Sarban*. We shall consider ourselves highly honoured if you will find it convenient to forward it to us by February 15.

Thanking you,

Yours respectfully,
KASSIM DADA
Editor, the Sarban

[1]See No. 396.

380

H. M. Ismail Tabish to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/78

C. & M. STATION,
BANGALORE,
24 January 1945

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your kind message[1] for the Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League Conference, which was a source of great inspiration to us all. The Conference which was presided over by the Nawabzada was a great success from every point of view. According to the figures given by the Hindu papers, nearly 25,000 people attended the Conference. I hope that Nawabzada *Sahib* will personally convey to you the great love and affection that we, the Muslims of Bangalore and Coorg, cherish for you. Throughout the Conference, we were actually feeling that you were with us in spirit. May I add that it is the desire of all of us that you should take a holiday and rest awhile in Bangalore. This will be of immense good to your health which is so precious to the nation—nay, even dearer than our own lives. May you live long to lead the nation to its destiny.

I am enclosing herewith[2] a copy of the resolution passed at the second sitting of the first Bangalore-Coorg Provincial Muslim League Conference, expressing its entire confidence in your leadership and assuring you of its abiding loyalty. May I request you to be kind enough to acknowledge receipt and give our suggestion the consideration it deserves.

Thanking you,

Yours obediently,
H. M. ISMAIL TABISH
General Secretary,
Bangalore-Coorg Provincial ML

[1]See F. 1132/10, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See F.1104/72, *QAP*. Not printed.

381

Qamaruddin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP I/75

SHERPUR,
DIST. PILIBHIT,
24 January 1945

Our beloved and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with a very grieved heart that I venture to bring certain facts before you. It is a well known fact that your following in the masses is unparalleled in the history of Indian leadership but it is a sad fact to note that a number of important persons in U. P. Muslim League have been trying to save their positions in the Provincial Muslim League by very unfair and unconstitutional means. So, as a last resort I approach you to please appoint a separate tribunal from outside U. P. to settle the disputes in the coming elections and to please send an order to the President, U. P. Muslim League, to see personally to the affairs of issuing Receipt Books for membership. As a reference, I may draw your kind attention to the fact that I placed an order for 500 books in the month of December 1944, but till now we have only received 100 copies and it appears rather impossible in the circumstances to enrol 10% of the Muslim population, according to your orders. As the Provincial office is not inclined to send the Receipt Books, so I request you earnestly to please consider the matter as very urgent. A resolution of the District Muslim League was passed regarding this, a copy of which is enclosed herewith[1] for your kind perusal.

We all wish you good health,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
QAMARUDDIN KHAN
General Secretary,
District Muslim League,
Member All India Council

[1]See *SHC*, UP I/76. Not printed

382

M. A. Jinnah to Khawaja Ahmed Ali Siddiqui

SHC, Hyderabad I/42

BOMBAY,
25 January 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 21st,[1] informing me that you are holding the annual session of Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen, Atraf Balda, this year at Shahabad on February 2nd, and you ask me, as desired by the Reception Committee, to send you a message on this occasion.

In the first place I deeply grieve the loss that Hyderabad has sustained by the untimely death of the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, who was your President. Not only did he work selflessly for the Musalmans of Hyderabad, but he was a tower of strength to the rest of India, and his moral support to the ideals of the Muslim League was whole-hearted. I hope that the Musalmans of Hyderabad will take every measure possible to fully organise themselves in every department of life—educational, social, economic and political. No doubt your problems are different from those of ours in British India, but our deepest and sincerest interest in the welfare of the Musalmans of Hyderabad will endure in all circumstances. No territorial barriers will stand in our way, and we shall be ready to share your joys and your sorrows. Similarly I am confident that we shall have your brotherly concern in our progress and the achievement of our goal of Pakistan in British India. I wish your annual session, therefore, every success, and sincerely trust that there will emerge from this conference real solid constructive programme of work, which is most essential to strengthen your struggle and ours for the future, for your ideals and aspirations and for our ideals and aspirations in British India.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Khawaja Ahmed Ali Siddiqui,
President of the Reception Committee,
Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen,
Moazam Jahi Market, Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]No. 376.

383

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

SHC, Punjab III/31

BOMBAY,
25 January 1945

My dear Mumtaz,

Many thanks for your letter of January 19th.[1] I entirely agree with you that the reasons for the change of dates already fixed for the forthcoming session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore are not adequate and can be easily overcome, as you suggest, by the Muslim Ministers making arrangements to extend the Easter recess so as to cover the few days of the session.

I am very glad that the work in Punjab is going on well, and I have been following very carefully through the press all the activities of the Muslim League in Punjab. I am confident that we shall win, provided our leaders will work in harmony, co-operation and unity, and stand together.

In conclusion, I may add that our people must realize now that in fixing the dates of the session of the All India Muslim League it is not possible to meet the convenience of individuals or of a particular group or section of the people, and every one should now try not to think of his convenience or of a group or section but the general convenience of the thousands and lakhs who are concerned with their attendance and participation in the session of the All India Muslim League. Once the dates are fixed, it will be very unwise for us to change those dates in order to meet the convenience of one particular section or class, because in that case there will be no end to it, and I think we ought to realize this now.

With kindest regards to Begum *Sahiba* and you from both of us.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Mian Mumtaz Daultana,
Lahore

[1]No. 373.

384

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/71

4A NAZIR AHMED ROAD,
ALIGARH,
25 January 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you before you left for Ahmedabad but I haven't heard in reply. I am waiting to have your opinion about the book *Through Pakistan to Freedom* which, I believe, you have read through by now.

The Congress-Hindu press has launched another offensive of virulent propaganda against the Muslim League. As a case in point, I may draw your attention to the series of supposed interviews between a representative of *Hindustan Times* and a member of the League Working Committee. If there is any truth in these reports, there could not be a more diabolical kind of fifth-columnist and the sooner he is eliminated from the League the better. Another story circulated by the same paper is that the Govt. of India have, through a high officer, made an offer[1] to Ch. Khaliquzzaman to go to foreign countries to do propaganda for the Muslim League. From Bihar comes the news of a sinister plan to revive Muslim mass contact campaign through Muslim mercenaries. In a way these activities of Congressmen may prove to be a blessing in disguise as they did some years ago. Inertia had overtaken the League branches in many places with the result that League workers have begun to wrangle among themselves. Let us hope that the renewed onslaught of our opponents will find us together again and give us a fresh incentive to work for the organization.

There is, however, one disconcerting feature which, unless checked, may do great harm to the organization. Ever since the League has acquired some power, many persons of dubious character and loyalty, who wish to gain their own ends, have begun to join the League and pose as sincere and zealous Leaguers in the hope of capturing positions of vantage and power in the organization. In many cases, we regret to note, they have been successful in their nefarious designs. As an instance in point, the news of Dr. Zakir Husain, a henchman of the Congress, being co-opted as a member of the Planning Committee came as a surprise to Muslim Leaguers. I need not say much about him as you know well his antecedents and affiliations. I only enclose a cutting[2]

from *Hindustan Times* showing his latest performance in the service of the Congress. It is really unthinkable what use can our Planning Committee have for a man like Dr. Zakir Husain who is wedded to Hindu ideology.

In U.P. itself, which had been a bulwark of League solidarity, fifth column activity of anti-Muslim League elements has been very much in evidence of late. They have been resorting to all sorts of machinations to disrupt our carefully built solidarity. Part of their programme is to scandalise and discredit the honoured leaders of the League like Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Khaliquzzaman, who have given their all to build the League organization. Recently a very scurrilous type of pamphlet was issued by the Aligarh Muslim Students' Federation, of which Prof. Haleem is President, making wild and outrageous attacks against Nawab Ismail Khan. If a sifting inquiry were held into U.P. affairs, startling revelations about a deep-laid conspiracy to discredit and weaken the League will [*sic* for would] come to the fore. Some such tendencies seem to be at work in other provinces as well. I submit that these developments merit your personal consideration. I personally think that the saner and stable elements must bestir themselves and rescue the League from internal disintegration. I also think it is necessary that methods were devised to ensure that only tried and trusted workers of the League would hold positions of responsibility in the League organization. We seek your advice on these matters.

May I know when you would be arriving in Delhi and when you propose to visit Aligarh?

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See No. 359.
[2]Not traceable.

385

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP V/72

CONFIDENTIAL

4A NAZIR AHMED ROAD,
ALIGARH,
26 January 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written[1] to you. Pray excuse me for writing again so

soon, but certain important developments here compel me to draw your attention.

We have learnt from papers that the annual session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation is to be held in Aligarh on Feb[ruary] 10 and 11 and you are to inaugurate it. It appears that the old workers and sympathisers of the Federation and the Muslim League in Aligarh have not been consulted at all in this matter. For some time past we have noted that several communists, posing as Muslim Leaguers, have crept into the local branch of the Federation and have found a patron in Professor Haleem. I am very sorry to have to say that ever since his removal from the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Haleem, instead of reconciling himself to the new situation with grace, has been trying to ingratiate himself with the disgruntled and mischievous elements—most of them communists and self-seekers—with the ulterior motive of establishing a position for himself. He has been actively associated with the group which has been responsible for disruption in the Provincial Muslim League affairs. Under his inspiration the local Muslim Students' Federation has circulated a very libellous pamphlet against Nawab Moh[ame]d Ismail Khan. It is also known for certain that Prof. Haleem is at the back of all those disgruntled students who engineer agitation and indiscipline among the general body of students of which there have been two or three instances recently. It appears that he is constantly on the look-out to turn any incident in the University to his own advantage for the purposes of discrediting the new system of administration of the University. If a thorough inquiry were held, all these things can [*sic* for could] be proved to the hilt. There is an old adage 'A man is known by the company he keeps'. Prof. Haleem's intimate association with anti-League and anti-Islamic elements, among both the staff and the students, exposes his real attitude.

For two or three days I have tried to find out the persons who are really engaged in arranging the session of the Federation at Aligarh. The real moving spirits are [a] few communists masquerading as workers of the Muslim Students' Federation. They have been trying to incite the students into acts of indiscipline. I also understand that they are bringing out a journal in which attacks will be made against the staff and administration of the University. It has also come to our knowledge that the organizers of the Federation have completely ignored the authorities of the University, the office-bearers of the University Union, and the University Muslim League. These tactics, I am afraid,

are hardly conducive to the success and progress of the Federation itself. Knowing, as I do, your firm opinion about students concentrating their primary attention on their studies and observing discipline, I am sure you will not approve of the kind of activities they are here indulging in. We have always followed the principle that there should be goodwill and cooperation between the workers of different Muslim bodies and the authorities of Muslim education[al] institutions, specially if the authorities are themselves pro-Muslim League.

In the circumstances, I request you to advise as to what the old workers of the Muslim League should do in the matter. Our greatest anxiety is that your name should not be used by persons whose motives are suspect, though we are always ready and willing to render all possible help in the arrangement of any function which is to be graced by you.

JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers, AIML

No. 384.

386

Mahmood Sheriff to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/92

241 AVENUE ROAD,
BANGALORE CITY,
26 January 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You are aware of the fact that since 1938, the organisation known as the All Mysore State Muslim League has been successful in bringing together, on one platform, the Muslims of the Mysore State and, except in certain particular details, it has been working on lines similar to the All India Organisation.

Thanks to the united efforts made by the organisation from time to time, the Government of Mysore has conceded to the Muslims many important political rights and privileges including the right of separate electorate. In the Year 1940, when you had come down to Bangalore for your convalescence, you had spoken appreciatively of what the

organisation had been able to do for the upliftment [*sic*] of the Muslims of the State. In the elections that were held for the first time in 1940, under the Government of Mysore, the State League had set up a Parliamentary Board and sent its members on the League ticket and the League Party in both the Houses of Legislature; well organised as it was, [it] did its part in a worthy manner. As fresh elections are due to take place on the 17 February 1945, the League held a special session on the 30 December 1944 and decided to send in their candidates as it had done previously. The Board that was set up for the purpose selected the best material from amongst numerous applicants. But most unfortunately, the disgruntled element from the rejected candidates under the lead of one Mr. Mohamed Abbas Sait, who is himself a Leaguer, is out to wreck the organisation, has set up rival candidates and has been trying to malign the institution, with results which I would leave you to imagine, and all this at a time when Dr. Moonje[1] and other Mahasabha leaders are about to visit the State in connection with the ensuing elections. No doubt, the organisation would be put to a hard test, as it has to contend against not an outsider but an enemy in the camp. Yet, we feel that with your blessing and our united effort the organisation will emerge victorious and succeed as it has never done before. As this is the time of our trial, may I earnestly request you kindly to send your message as this would surely strengthen the hand of an organisation that has stood loyally by the five lakhs of Muslims of the State and which represents the sole political body of the State Muslims. The inspiration that this message would give in the troublous days ahead of us would be invaluable. I earnestly beseech you, therefore, to immediately send me the message[2] so that it may have an electrifying effect on the voters.

Thanking you,

Yours respectfully,
MAHMOOD SHERIFF
President,
All Mysore State Muslim League

[1]Dr B. S. Moonje, formerly-President, later General Secretary, of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha
[2]See No. 394.

387

Dilawar Syndicate Limited to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/82

JUNAGADH,
28 January 1945

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

We beg respectfully to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your very kind letter dated 20th inst.[1], which has infused in us fresh incentive to make best efforts for our contemplated enterprises like Hydrogenation of Oil, Cement and Banking. All the members of our Syndicate are very much beholden to you for your kind and inspiring letter and pray to *Allah* to spare you for many more years to inspire and guide us in our undertakings and give us your blessings which we value most.

In order to make this concern of all India fame, we believe that like Birla and Tata we will also require the co-operation, help and guidance of prominent Muslims of Government as well as public side, and this could only be done if you establish our contact with such persons and make them interested in our industries.

We, therefore, beg respectfully to request you to help us in realizing our aim. We are glad to say that we have been fortunate in getting as members in our Syndicate such well-known Muslims as Seth Husen Kasam Dada, Seth Haji Habib Haji Peer Mohamed and Sir Adamjee.

With a view to get your guidance in our future programme our Mr. Mussa, the Managing Director, intends to come to Bombay in the first week of February. We, therefore, request you to kindly let us know the date and time which will suit you to grant him an interview for your further guidance and inspiration.

Praying for your long life,

We remain,
Most respectfully yours,
DILAWAR SYNDICATE LIMITED

[1]Not traceable.

388

A. Sattar Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (351)

5 RESIDENCY ROAD,
NAGPUR, C.P.,
1 February 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With due respect and humble submission I beg to submit that last month I had the honour of communicating to you, by telegram, the resolution of the Working Committee of our Provincial Muslim Students' Federation, respectfully requesting you to kindly preside over the first annual conference of our Provincial Muslim Students' Federation, which we are contemplating to hold at Jubbulpore at any convenient time during this year.

At that time I had the occasion to visit Bombay along with Mr. Tajuddin, our Joint Secretary. I had come to Bombay in connection with the arrangements for my marriage which would take place at Poona shortly, and I had then made an appointment with you for an interview, regarding the above invitation. But I am extremely sorry to say that I was called away from Bombay in connection with some important work before I could have the honour of meeting [you] at the appointed time. I had therefore instructed our Joint Secretary, Mr. Tajuddin, to interview you at the given time and to request you personally on behalf of the Working Committee of our Provincial Muslim Students' Federation to accept our humble invitation.

Later on, I was glad to learn from Mr. Tajuddin that you were kind enough to receive him and that he had the honour of talking over this matter with you, in greater detail. I was told that you were graciously pleased to promise considering our above invitation, and had asked him to write to you later on, when we have decided about the dates, etc.

Sir, I might venture to state here that for the past two years the Musalmans of this province are keenly desirous of the fact [*sic*] that the annual session of the All India Muslim League be held in this province, so that they may benefit by it, and make their organization all the more stronger [*sic*]. But each time their hopes were shattered by the refusal of our Provincial League to invite [*sic*] the session. Sir, we

are, of course, fully alive to the difficulties, responsibilities and liabilities which our Provincial League will have to face, in case it decides to invite [*sic*] the annual session of A.I. Muslim League.

But at the same time, Sir, we feel that these obstacles are not such as could not be easily overcome by a resolute will and determination, sincere effort and co-operation of our elders. We feel that these difficulties and obstacles will continue to persist and as such we see no chances of the annual session of the League ever being held in this province. Hence, we the Muslim students, have once again ventured to invite your honour to this afflicted province, which badly needs a more stronger [*sic*] and lively organization, and we sanguinely hope that your honour would be kind enough to consider our above invitation favourably. We are sure that if your honour accepts our humble invitation we would make our provincial session in no way lesser than the annual session of the League, if it was held in our province. We are confident that your acceptance of our humble invitation will enable us to bring down to our province all the important leaders, which [*sic*] would have attended the League's annual session, and the Musalmans of this province will receive greater impetus and become more united and solid.

We are, of course, prepared to hold the above conference at any time after May 1945, which may prove convenient for your honour.

I, therefore, once again pray that your honour be kind enough to consider our above invitation most favourably and I would be grateful to receive a favourable reply[1] from your honour in the near future.

With respects,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. SATTAR SIDDIQUI

Hony. Secretary,

C.P. & Berar MSF

[1]Jinnah regretted he would not be able to attend the proposed annual conference of C.P. & Berar Muslim Students' Federation. See *SHC* (352). Not printed.

389

S. Ahmed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/97

THE MUSLIM CRESCENT SOCIETY,
MELAPALAIYAM,
TINNEVELLY,
2 February 1945

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We are running a society by the name of The Muslim Crescent Society. Our constitution runs [*sic*] on the same lines as that of the Muslim League. We intend holding a political conference at our place by the first or second week of May 1945. We have selected you as the President of the said conference.

We think it unnecessary to stress [on] you that your presence at this juncture is of utmost necessity. Our place is at the tail-end of India, i.e. about 40 miles off the Cape Comorin. There is a population of about thirty-two thousand Muslims at Melapalaiyam. Our district is a thickly populated Muslim centre. We, the people of South India, especially those of Tinnevelly District, are very anxious to see you here. There is another reason for having you here at this time. Perverted news of Jinnah-Gandhi meeting is on [*sic*] the air. The whole responsibility for not solving the present deadlock is thrown entirely on the back [*sic*] of the Muslim League. The real state of affairs has to be exposed and such an exposure will be more appealing and emphatic if it is made by men like you. Secondly, when we talk of Pakistan, the other party creates the fear of subjection of the minority Muslim community to the majority Hindu community in a province like Madras where there is Hindu majority. Even though this point was cleared in full in the All India Muslim League Conference, the fear of subjection to Hindu majority is still lurking in the minds of the Muslims. That fear is to be removed once and for all from the minds of the Muslims, beyond all shadow of doubt, which can be done only by men like you with authority.

We consider it as pardonable pride, when we say that we held a memorable political conference in 1940 under the presidentship of *Janab* Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib, the then Vice-President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League. We spared no pains to bring the

All India Muslim League Conference held at Madras to a great success.

We hope and trust that we will not be disappointed to see you. It will not take even a week to come here and go back. We are prepared to hold it on any date convenient to you in May 1945, if intimated.

We are waiting for your consent.[1]

Yours sincerely,
S. AHMED ALI

[1]See No. 398.

390

M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed

Telegram, SHC, Sind IV/70

EXPRESS

SHADMAN, KARACHI,
3 February 1945

Your letter twenty-ninth January.[1] My reports information your attitude unreasonable detrimental our cause. Please come Bombay[2] immediately for me verify allegations against you before situation out of hand.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind IV/69. Not printed.
[2]G. M. Sayed had invited Jinnah to Karachi. Instead, Jinnah asked him to come to Bombay.
See *SHC*, Sind IV/71 & 72. Not printed.

391

M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/74

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

CAXTON HOUSE,
KARACHI,
4 February 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Forgive my presumption but I thought that I might write this confidential note. You might be keeping in touch with the developments in Sind. Perhaps you have also been reading the articles in our paper about Sind politics of the recent weeks. In my opinion, a situation has arisen which merits your interference and personal handling. Without

necessarily identifying myself with the League's programme and politics, I am amongst those who, like Mahatma Gandhi, wish for a strong League which is not susceptible to official influences, as such an organisation alone could provide a reasonable ground for better understanding between the two communities.

It looks as if the League in Sind is bidding for disruption. It will benefit only the Britisher, although my friend Nihchaldas is foolish enough to believe that he and his party would benefit by sowing seeds of dissension in the League camp and gathering such crops as the harvest might yield. I would beg the question but it would be superfluous to repeat what I had already stated in my paper pretty openly and strongly.

Where you come in is here. Nihchaldas is relying on Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to support him in any move to reject a major demand for grant in the forthcoming budget session. If Pir Sahib, who has been deluded by visions of premiership, falls a prey to the temptation, the League Ministry will find itself unable to escape a constitutional exit. Sayed, as you must be aware, is very bitter because he has seen the order declaring him a Hur and seeking to intern him in his village under the Hur Outrages Act. I have myself seen a copy. Between you and me, I had long conversations with Sayed whom I impressed—at least I tried to impress him—with the need for maintaining an unbreakable League front, if the Congress-League unity was going to come in the near future as I believed it would be. I would not swear to it but it appeared to me that he was indulging in some grievance against you. If the Sayed group coalesces with the Hindu independents and the independent Muslims, and if the combination secures the co-operation of the Pir group, you may take it that the Ministry will not be able to withstand an attack.

I hear from a friend in close touch with Sayed that the only way in which unity in your ranks could be patched up, according to Sayed, is that Sir Ghulam Hussain might continue as Premier but without portfolio. I am not prepared to examine or argue this contention. It seems to me, however, that excepting Yusuf Haroon everyone else appears to have lost his head. After all Yusuf is young also. That being so, I would earnestly suggest a surprise visit from you before the meeting of the legislature. I have my own views which favour a non-party ministry in which the League would predominate in Sind. But this is not the occasion when I ought to worry you with my notions of how Sheikh Abdul Majid and G. M. Sayed ought to be roped in. I shall only say this—that the situation is far more serious than you could realise from Bombay. I have a notion that a serious bungling has taken place. But it

would not do to discuss it even in a confidential letter.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. S. M. SHARMA
Editor,
The Daily Gazette

PS. I really am not expecting a reply to this letter. My thirty years' old admiration for you is alone responsible for the presumption to write to you in this strain. You need not acknowledge it unless you want to. I have no political or personal axe to grind. I shall not, therefore, be disappointed if you are not writing to me. I might, however, suggest that if you were not coming here immediately, you should make use of our columns to issue directions and appeals from time to time. You have already got my telegraphic authority for the purpose.

M.S.M.

392

M. A. Jinnah to M. Anis Bin Haji Ismail Effendi

SHC, FC I/11

BOMBAY,
5 February 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 13th,[1] and I thank you for your good wishes on my birthday and for what you say about what little I have been able to do for the Musalmans of India.

As desired by you, I am enclosing herewith a message for this year's holy Prophet's [PBUH] annual of your paper, the *Muslim Views*.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. Anis Bin Haji Ismail Effendi,
Editor,
The *Muslim Views*,
Perrira Lane, Wellawatte,
Colombo, Ceylon

·No. 366.

Enclosure to No. 392

MESSAGE BY M. A. JINNAH

SHC, FC I/12

You ask me to give you a message on the occasion of the birthday of the holy Prophet [PBUH]. What message can I give you today save that every Muslim throughout the world should live up to the best traditions of Islam, the faith which came to us through the holy Prophet (peace be upon his soul).

Islam came in the world to establish democracy, peace and justice, and to safeguard the rights of the oppressed. It brought to humanity the message of equality and universal brotherhood—the equality of the rich and the poor, of the high and the low. The holy Prophet [PBUH] fought for these ideals for the major part of his life. Is it not, therefore, the duty of every Muslim, wherever he may be, to do his level best to preserve the great ideals and the glorious traditions of Islam, to fight for the equality of mankind, the achievement of man's legitimate rights, and the establishment of democracy? We in India believe that Pakistan is our legitimate demand, our birthright. We believe that it is in consonance with democratic principles and justice. We are, therefore, determined to fight for it and *Insha Allah* we shall win.

M. A. JINNAH

393

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/76

KARACHI,
6 February 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Last evening I sent you a telegram as under:

"Referring your telegram to Sayed and his reply please call Sayed to Bombay—Hatim Alavi."

Not that I had any doubt that you would respond to Sayed's invitation to visit Karachi, but I thought that there was no harm in my letting you know that it is not at all difficult to settle this matter at your residence in Bombay.

If I were to detail all that I have seen and heard and known of the upheaval in our organisation since I returned to Karachi two months

ago, it would take sheets and sheets of paper. I am, therefore, trying to set down in this letter a few of the barest facts as they emerge from the labyrinth of allegations and counter-allegations, moves and counter-moves by the several factions in our provincial politics.

The withdrawal of the League candidate in the Shikarpur by-election has been a bad blow to us. Since his success, Moula Bakhsh, in collaboration with Sheikh Abdul Majid, has been playing all the mischief that he is capable of. Sheikh Abdul Majid is obsessed with the one idea that his sole aim and purpose in life is to destroy the Muslim League in India. It may appear an absurd and grotesque idea to anyone that so small a man should have so big an ambition but that is how it is.

As you know, Sayed has no majority in the Muslim League Assembly Party; but the plan appears to be to throw out Sir Ghulam Hussain with a combination of: (1) Muslim members of the Sayed group, (2) Muslim members of the Moula Bakhsh Group, and (3) Hindu members of the Nihchaldas Group. Between these three they certainly make a majority. The moment Sir Ghulam is thrown out, the tribes of Khan Bahadurs and Khan Sahibs swing up to Sayed and straight away he will have a majority in the Muslim League Assembly Party who [*sic*] will proceed to have a vote of confidence in him and elect him as their leader. It is expected that the original sin of revolting against the Party can thus be covered up and a *fait-accompli* presented to you.

This is how the enthusiasts hope everything will work out. Along these lines have promises been given and pacts drawn up, but I am afraid these nice calculations will not work out so satisfactorily as their sponsors believe.

My fears are that the moment Sir Ghulam Hussain is thrown out of office, Sheikh Abdul Majid, having regard to his present obsession, will have no qualms of conscience in getting out of any arrangement already made. I am afraid he will go to Sir Ghulam Hussain and offer him his co-operation, provided Sir Ghulam resigned from the League and formed what they are pleased to call "an all Parties Government in Sind." I have no doubt of Nihchaldas' sincerity towards Sayed and that he is one of those who will stand to his word, but his own position in the Hindu Independent Party will be made extremely untenable when an offer comes to him to join a coalition with Sir Ghulam as Premier of a non-League Government. That Sir Ghulam Hussain will not have a moment's hesitation to resign from the League if by doing so he can retain his Premiership, I have not the shadow of a doubt.

But from the tone of your telegram[1] to Sayed it would appear that you have been apprised of the idea of interning him. Yusuf gave out in an interview to a local paper that if Sayed is to be interned, it will not

be on political grounds. Our information is that a case against Sayed is being diligently prepared with the active assistance of Indian District Collectors. I do not know whether any material along these lines has been placed before you. If so, we have no doubt that you will sift the evidence and come to a conclusion which will be our guidance. It is not for me to express any opinion, as I have had no access to any of the papers and am not in a position to evaluate any evidence that may be in the possession of Government. I can, however, tell you that the British civil servants have expressed disgust at the ways in which Sayed is being persecuted.

If Sayed is really involved, let him take the punishment. After a quarter of a century of friendship with him, I shall be the first to say publicly that the Muslim League Government will punish all those who transgress against the law and if the President of the Provincial League happens to be one such, then no exception will be made even in his case.

But if all that is alleged against Sayed turns out to be false, then bitterness is bound to increase and we have got to find a way out of it. Our organisation is in the doldrums between an inefficient and corrupt Premier and fanatical and unsteady Provincial President.

Here is my solution; Sayed should be persuaded to join the Ministry as a fourth Muslim minister and the Premier should officially write to the Hindu Independent Party and ask them to nominate two Hindu ministers and thus officially join the Muslim League in a coalition. I am afraid this solution may be stoutly opposed by both Sir Ghulam and Sayed. To me, however, it does appear to be a solution not out of reach. I have not so much as even hinted at this solution to Sayed in his present violent mood, but if it were to meet with your approval, it is something that appears to me worthwhile.

As our policy is not to permit Ministers to have executive office on the Provincial Committee, Sayed will have to resign as President and we can have somebody else as the Provincial President. Yusuf and Sir Ghulam would not like to see Gazdar in that place and I think it would not be difficult to make a right choice for this vacancy which may be acceptable to all groups in our organisation.

Sir Ghulam Hussain may doubt (and with all the justification in the world) that Sayed inside his cabinet will be a great[er] nuisance than outside. Provided the solution is acceptable to you and further provided that it can be put into effect, then I pledge you my being to guarantee that this new alliance will work well and to the greater good of our organisation.

The judgment in the Khuhro case will be given tomorrow. If he is released, all that I have written above may, perhaps, have to be revised

in the light of that new event.

Since reading your appeal[2] to the Sind Muslim Leaguers to pull together, I have given my prayerful consideration to that appeal and it is a result of that I have written this letter.

Yours sincerely,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]See No. 390.
[2]See F. 1020/1, *QAP*. Not printed.

394

M. A. Jinnah to Mahmood Sheriff

F. 1104/93

BOMBAY,
7 February 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 26th.[1] You ask me for a message on the occasion of the forthcoming elections in your State.

What I would like to impress upon you all is that the salvation of the Muslims of Mysore, as of every other part of India, lies in complete unity and in working under the discipline and within the constitution and rules of one organization. If any individual or a minority group fails to stand by the majority decision of your State League and tries to bypass it, it will be decidedly harmful to the Muslim cause. Discipline demands that after the final decision is taken, every member of the State League should stand by that decision and support it.

I wish you all success in your efforts in connection with the ensuing elections in Mysore.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahmood Sheriff, Esq.,
President,
All Mysore State League,
Bangalore City

[1]No. 386.

395

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh

SHC, Sind IV/84

BY AIR MAIL

7 February 1945

Dear Mr. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,

From all reports that I have received hitherto, the situation in Sind is far from satisfactory. Unless you work within the Party discipline and according to our constitution and rules, it is impossible to satisfy everybody. There is your Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Sind Assembly, and then come the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, and so on and so forth. Normally the decision of the Sind Assembly Parliamentary Party should be final in the last resort, but of course it is subject to the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board and of the Committee of Action if necessary, and the minority in the Assembly Party have to abide by the decision of the majority in the normal course. I have been trying to impress upon our people that there should be no personal rivalries and quarrels which develop into feuds and vendetta, for in that case no organisation can successfully work or make any progress. It really means fratricide, and disregard of team-work and discipline. However, I am glad that you are taking the right view which I gather from what little information I have been able to get, and I hope that you will stand by the League in the light of my above observations. There is no purpose in destroying things, which is very easy. I understand that your Sind University Bill is going to be introduced in the next session of your Assembly, for which you have laboured so hard. In my own way I have done everything to give my support to you, and it has now reached a stage when you should get it through. Don't allow this opportunity to be missed. It will be a great achievement and open up a great field of work for you in the direction of further educational progress and welfare of the people of Sind. I know you were very keen about it, and now you have got the support of everyone who counts, from what I understand, and that your Ministry and the Governor are now in complete agreement on this point. Please therefore do the best you can and see it through.

As regards other matters, I can only say to you that you should stand by the League, come what may, and so long as Sir Ghulam Hussain has the confidence of the Assembly Party, even of a strong majority. Discipline demands that every other member must submit to it, and if there is any grievance or grievances, they can be put right through and by means of our own machinery which is of our own making and

creation, such as the Central Parliamentary Board, the Committee of Action, the Working Committee, and the Council of the All India Muslim League, and there is every scope and freedom to agitate matters within the framework of our constitution, regarding them as our own internal affairs. I do hope that in spite of the bitterness that is created owing to recent developments, at any rate, the leaders will resolve all differences as a team and a disciplined body. That is the acid test for success, and I hope that you will not fail in making your contribution in that direction.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

396

M. A. Jinnah to Kassim Dada

SHC, Students I/120

BOMBAY,
7 February 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 23rd,[1] from which I note that the Muslim Students' Union, Bantva, has decided to publish a magazine under the name of *Sarban* and that you want my message for it.

If Muslim students are united and organized, they can do a lot in their own way towards the advancement of our national cause and the achievement of our goal of Pakistan. They can educate our people and explain to the other communities, through the press and platform, the demand of Muslim India. I hope the Musalmans of Bantva, Kathiawar, will take every measure possible to fully organise themselves in every department of life—social, educational, economic and political.

I trust that the *Sarban* will not lag behind in discharging its duties in

this respect, and I wish this venture of the Muslim students of Kathiawar every success.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Kassim Dada, Esq.,
Editor,
The *Sarban*,
Bantva

No. 379.

397

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/7

BOMBAY,
8 February 1945

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I hope you will not misunderstand me when I make the following suggestion, that during my visit for the forthcoming session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore I would like to have a small house to myself and my staff, as it is necessary for many reasons which I need not go into. I hope that you will do your best to comply with my request. Of course, I consider your house and your hospitality as always open to me, and I have had the fullest advantage and benefit of it in the past. I need not say that I am very grateful to you, and I know that I will be always welcome under your roof. It is not that I was not happy or would not be happy with you, but I would prefer another place for many reasons, as I have said above. I might say that it is absolutely essential, as a house entirely in my charge will not be so freely accessible, and besides my health is such that I must have simple food and I propose to bring my own cook which is really now absolutely necessary. I do hope that you will not misunderstand me but see that I get a separate house, however small it may be.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards and *salaams* to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

398

M. A. Jinnah to S. Ahmed Ali

SHC, Madras I/98

BOMBAY,
8 February 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of February 2nd.[1] In the first place I do not [know] the reason for the existence of The Muslim Crescent Society which you say is constituted on the same lines as the Muslim League. I do not approve of different political organizations amongst the Musalmans. There is only one political organization of Muslim India which is authoritative and representative, and that is the All India Muslim League. All political conferences should be held under the auspices of the Muslim League organization, Primary, District or Provincial, and therefore I cannot accept the honour that you have done me by electing me as the President of your proposed conference. Besides, I am not in a position at present to visit your Province because numerous commitments of mine do not allow me to do so in the near future.

As regards the other matters referred to in your letter, I think you had better study the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence which is published by the All India Muslim League office, Daryaganj, Delhi. You will then understand the position in its true light and perspective.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Ahmed Ali, Esq.,
The Muslim Crescent Society,
Melapalaiyam,
Tinnevelly Dist.

[1]No. 389.

399

S. M. Ghouse to Arthur Hope[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1104/97-100

DOWLAT LODGE,
HASNAPURAM, CHROMPET,
MADRAS,
10 February 1945

May it please Your Excellency,

We beg to invite the kind attention of the Government of Madras towards the following important and genuine grievance of South Indian Muslims.

The Village Settlement Register printed and sold by the Revenue Department for public information furnishes particulars relating to the land and revenue affairs of the villages including reservation of sites for dwelling purposes. This Register contains only village and *Cheri* sites. Village sites are monopolised by caste Hindus and *Cheri* sites are occupied by yet another sub-caste of Hindu community styled as Adi Dravida or Untouchables.

Even from the beginning a sort of discriminative [*sic*] attitude was taken by the Revenue Department against the Muslims and the whole village sites allotted to the Hindu community variously disguised as superior Brahmins, Sudras, Untouchables, Adi Dravidas and a lot of other numerclatives [*sic*]. The number of groups of the Hindu community that the Government have on their list as Scheduled Class[es] and so on is really baffling. It is, therefore, no surprise that this favoured Hindu community has taken ample advantage offered to them by the classification of them into different backward classes. Thus we see the whole village sites and *Cheri* sites are occupied by only Hindu community. Muslims are shut out from acquiring rights in these village lands. Revenue Department is not any the less responsible for this state of affairs. This affair if left in this condition will ultimately deprive Muslims of any acquired or inherited right in the soil and at best they could only be alien purchasers who could be asked to clear out of the soil on payment of compensation or by forcible eviction.

The Hindu community as a whole with the favourable attitude of the Hindu village officials and the Hindu-dominated Revenue Department have been subtly working to oust the Muslims out of the soil.

We do not, in the least, envy the favoured position of the Hindu

community at the hands of the Government but only voice forth our own legitimate grievance to ameliorate the pathetic condition in order that we may receive equitable treatment.

The Muslims are a distinct community who have nothing in common with the Hindu in respect of their religious views, culture, legal system, habits and customs, etc. It is difficult to imagine if ever these two communities maintaining such divergent views could live side by side. Even in big cities like Madras, a Muslim is not allowed to be tenant in a Hindu house or even to stay in the same street. The efforts of several leaders who, for the past three decades, have tried to establish harmony between these two communities have failed. Quite recently, the two tried veteran leaders, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah and Gandhiji, have met and talked and achieved nothing. These are some of the universally known facts, and it is therefore obvious that separate Muslim sites in all the villages should be reserved in order that this community (Muslims) is not obliterated.

In spite of facts that Muslims are the only other major community apart from the Hindus, it surpasses the imagination how the community is so ignored by the benign Government. There is not a single mention of Muslim site in the whole of South India. Muslims actually live in graveyards and beneath the trees, under the hospitality of more fortunate of their co-religionists or anywhere where a chip of resting place could be found, all because they have no reservation of free grant of lands from the Government just as the favoured Hindu community has.

The Muslims cannot even acquire purchase rights as the Hindu community would not allow the Muslims even to live near them lest they should defile the [high] caste ones. Muslims are molested and driven out of the villages if perchance they try to acquire free grant rights in village sites. All their protests, all their applications and their complaints fall on deaf ears. The reason is not hard to guess. The disposers of all such applications are all Hindu petty officials who simply brush aside such protests etc.

Hence the Muslim community begs the Government to appoint Muslim Revenue Officers for the places where Muslims are in minority.

It is no wonder that Muslims thus crushed ceased to become rate payers, hence cannot have [a] voice in the local *panchayats*, bigger *taluka* boards, leave alone district boards and Legislative Assembly. They (Muslims) do not have their votes and their representatives. This certainly is the sure way to eliminate Muslims or send them bag and baggage to Pakistan of their cherished hopes or somewhere out of Indian soil. Indian Muslims are already called as foreigners. Please

refer *Indian Express* of 4 February 1945.

Nobody can dare deny that the community which passed August resolution of 1942 and "Quit India" resolution against all powerful British Raj could find it any more difficult to ask Muslims to quit the soil.

We, therefore, request the Government to reserve at least the lands and sites now available as Muslim sites to be specially granted to Muslims and to make mention of it in the Village Settlement Registers.[2]

A reply[3] in the matter before starting on the proposed tour will be much appreciated.

Thank you,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. GHOUSE

Governor of Madras, 1940-6.
[2]Three subsequent paras of repetitive nature omitted.
[3]V.S. Hajmadi, Secretary to the Govt. of Madras, replied that no Govt. land in villages was reserved for Hindus or for others. Muslims enjoyed the same advantages as other communities in obtaining land. No special mention of house-sites for Muslims was therefore necessary, and the appointments were made in conformity with the communal quota. See F. 906/32-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

400

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind IV/88

KARACHI,
10 February 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am grateful to you for your kindly sending me a letter[1] regarding my stand in the present crisis in the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party. I may assure you that I will honestly stand by your instructions and never desert Muslim League Assembly Party, and I will always stand by its decisions.

Only two days back I have issued a statement wherein I have stated that in response to our Quaid-i-Azam's appeal I declare that I will stand by the Muslim League and Sir Ghulam Hussain so long as he is in the League Party. All papers have reproduced that statement. I think Mr. G. M. Sayed knew about it before he left this place.

I am thankful to you for your advice in connection with the Sind

University Bill. I am trying my best to push it through in the forthcoming session. There have been so many hitches on the part of some interested persons but I hope I will overcome all those.

In the end I again assure you that I will stand by you and obey your orders.

Yours obediently,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH
Education Minister, Sind

No. 395.

401

F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/75

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

PAISA AKHBAR STREET,
LAHORE,
12 February 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

For several days I have been wishing to write to you and putting it off every time with the thought that I would speak personally when you come to the Punjab. The subject that was pressing heavily on my mind was Shaukat Hyat. You know I am not a party man but I am definitely of opinion that some day the gilt will have to be taken off this gingerbread, and it will be necessary to eliminate him from Punjab politics altogether.

Developments in the politics of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation have determined [*sic*] me to write to you now, as I believe you have a soft corner for this body in your heart, and a word from you can put brewing mischief to [an] end. You know the Federation became a menace to the Unionist Party last year, and the Zamindara League money began to be scattered around to create a parallel body, which I denounced editorially last October. The Unionists also realised that no such effort would succeed, that any appeal made to students in the name of a body opposed to the Muslim League would meet with fierce opposition. Thereupon they decided to change their tactics. Instead of making a frontal attack they resolved either to capture the federation or create disruption from inside. In this they very nearly succeeded last Thursday when the presidential

election took place. The affair continued for hours. Passions blazed fiercely (in which little Kirmani won laurels for his party by sustained oratory) but, thank God, no heads were broken. There were two candidates: Ziaul Islam, the retiring President, and one Mahbub Qureshi, who is described as Shaukat's man and also as Joint Secretary of the All India Muslim League. Mahbub's candidature had been described to me by one of his supporters as the beginning of an anti-Jinnah front in the Punjab, and I warned him editorially not to persist in this folly. But he persisted and a considerable rough element was introduced into Barkat Ali Hall where the election took place. There was much provocation—I too was abused there by name and fairly profusely though I managed to keep away—and it was sheer self-restraint by Zia's party that saved the day. Mahbub's party began to kick[up] the row when they realized that they did not have sufficient support and would surely lose. The election officer appointed by mutual agreement kept his head, collected the ballots and proxies, and dissolved the meeting saying that he would announce the results at 11.30 p.m., which he did, Zia receiving 222 votes and Mahbub only 17. The latter would have got more votes, say about twenty, but his partisans walked out in a huff and forgot to hand in their ballot papers. So far the election was quite proper and Ziaul Islam was declared elected. But Mahbub's men collected separately, voted no-confidence in the election officer, declared that the other party had walked out—they were still in the hall— declared their candidate to have been elected 'unanimously', though unanimity was just the thing absent from the place. [Subsequent ten lines omitted].[1]

This is the situation. So far as my humble judgement goes, Ziaul Islam was properly elected and has the support of the Muslim press (minus the Unionists' papers). The Zamindara League spent money liberally. Some of the men in Mahbub's party are in its pay—have been since last September. They wanted usurpation or capture. They have failed to capture the Federation but a rift has been created. So far as the number of membership is concerned the rift will not grow. I feel certain about it. But if the question of presidentship remains undecided, tension will grow, which is not good for the students or for the Federation either, and Mahbub's party will set up a rival body, and that was their original main purpose. Money flows and *goonda* element is astir. The Federation's attention will be diverted from its proper activities as a useful body, and if properly directed it can do no end of work in the way of nation-building. If the question of presidentship is authoritatively settled I feel confident that most of the boys who have been misled by the false glamour of Shaukat's name will return to the fold and repent

their folly. There are some of course who will never return because they are in the Zamindara League's employment, and majority of them are those who staged a walk-out last year and have remained out ever since.

I have written the letter at speed and I sincerely apologize for its length; but I hope I have explained the situation clearly. The Federation must be saved at all costs. We cannot afford to let it be captured by our enemies or be disrupted. Of course, you know best what to do under the circumstances. I can only suggest that the sooner the mischief is scratched the better. It is still in the bud; it should be nipped there.

At this point an idea occurs to me. If you send a note congratulating Dr. Ziaul Islam on his re-election as President of the PMSF, it will do the trick. But it is for you to decide.[2]

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

PS. Since writing the above, I have read a letter of Shaukat Hyat Khan to a common friend saying that he has nothing to do with Mahbub's venture for the presidentship of the PMSF.

[1]Those lines were of repetitive nature.

[2]Jinnah replied that without hearing from the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation he could not express any opinion and suggested that Dr Ziaul Islam should send him a full statement of facts. See *SHC*, Students II/76. Not printed.

402

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind IV/91

BOMBAY,
12 February 1945

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I have had a long talk with Mr. G. M. Sayed and have requested him to go to your house as the bearer of this letter and meet you personally, to which he has agreed in the same spirit, as you have repeatedly assured me that you are ready and willing to bury the hatchet and restore complete harmony, solidarity and unity amongst the ranks of the Muslim League inside the Sind Legislature and outside. The Muslim League can only function properly and serve the people and advance their welfare to the utmost by working within the Party discipline and through the machinery that is set up according to our constitution, rules and regulations. Apart from the provincial matter, you

know there lies a struggle in front of us of life and death and for the realization of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I once more urge upon you that for the sake of our cause, it is, at this critical juncture, most essential that there should be complete solidarity and unity throughout Muslim India. I, therefore, hope that you will receive Mr. Sayed with cordiality and complete sincerity, and I feel that he will reciprocate the same. There should be no reservations on either side. So I most earnestly trust that this meeting of you two will not fail and that you will not part without establishing a complete understanding.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

403

Niyaz Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/223

SANAWAD,
HOLKAR STATE,
12 February 1945

A public meeting of the Muslims of Sanawad, Holkar State, arranged on 12th February 1945 by the Nimar Muslim League and presided over by Mr. Niyaz Mohamed unanimously passed the following resolution.

NIYAZ MOHAMED
General Secretary,
Nimar Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 403

F. 830/224-5

12 February 1945

RESOLUTION

This public meeting of the Muslims of Sanawad, Holkar State, begs to draw the attention of the Holkar Government to the so-called Hindu Dharm Pracharak Mandal, Indore's periodical *Pracharak* which in its January 1945 publication has, by way of mischief, published an article most shamelessly attacking Islam, the holy Prophet of Islam [PBUH] and the holy *Qur'an* and thus deliberately and seriously wounding the hearts of the Muslim subjects of the State who find their Islamic self-respect cruelly put to an undeserved test. Besides expressing their heartfelt

grief and bitterness against this evil and anti-peace conduct of the author, printer and publisher of the above article, the Muslims at this meeting most earnestly request the Government of His Highness to immediately take serious notice of this mischief-mongering and anti-public safety attempt by proscribing the said periodical within the State limits and by bringing the mischief-mongers to book.

NIYAZ MOHAMED

404

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/1

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
13 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Let me first join in the chorus of felicitations on your birthday, which was celebrated a few days back, and wish you long life, health, happiness and prosperity.

I was much impressed by your statement[1] in regard to the situation in Sind. I may assure you that there have been no differences on my side with any one.

On the lines of your statement, I have also issued an appeal through the press, and I do hope your appeal and mine will have the desired effect. I enclose a copy of my appeal.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1992-93.

Enclosure to No. 404

SHC, Sind V/2

I wholeheartedly endorse the moving appeal made by our revered leader, the Quaid-i-Azam, to the leaders of the Muslim League in our province, and I devoutly hope that it will succeed in achieving unity and solidarity in our ranks which he impresses on all of us so strongly.

Speaking for my part, I may assure one and all that I have no differences either with the President of the Muslim League in Sind or with any of its leaders or members.

I, too, would make the same appeal as our esteemed leader, the Quaid-i-Azam, to the leaders and members of our Provincial League, and I have every hope that it will meet with a willing response from all.

I need scarcely stress that in our unity and harmony lies the only hope, not only for our community, but also for the progress and prosperity of our province and its people.

[GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH]

405

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/3

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
14 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In connection with our ensuing budget, I just wish to give you a brief idea of our financial position.

In the first place, we have paid off the Barrage[1] debt by capitalising the subvention, and have thus saved about 22 lakh by way of interest charges.

Then, in April 1946, our financial position will be as follows.

Free balance	5,75 lakh
Development fund	3,30 lakh
Equalisation fund	3,50 lakh
Total	Rs. 12,55 lakh

Next, as regards our programme for the future, we have the following projects:

1. Two new barrages, costing about 28 crore
2. Road programme, costing about 31 crore
   (43 lakh provided for next year)
3. Police buildings, costing about 2 crore
   (1 lakh provided for next year)
4. Removal of Tando Masti Falls to prevent waterlogging, and establishment of hydro-electric power station, costing about 2.5 crore.
5. Development programme, cost not yet estimated, but will be considerable.
6. Health board for Karachi, and also health boards for the rural areas.
7. Expenditure on education and other nation-building departments;

details mentioned in my budget speech.

You will thus see that we have reason for considerable satisfaction, both in regard to our financial position, as it will stand at the beginning of next year, and as regards our programme for the future.

Hoping you are both doing very well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]Sukkur Barrage on the Indus River.

406

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/22

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 February 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a cutting[1] of a leader from *Morning News*, Calcutta, 13 February 1945, on Assam firing. This is the second leader on the subject inviting prompt attention of the Action Committee of the All India Muslim League and the Bengal League.

2. The problem of land settlement in Assam is primarily economic and is the natural outcome of the population problem in East Bengal, but the Hindus are giving it a communal colour to oust Muslims.

3. The Muslim Assam is on fire. It is time the Bengal and All India League intervened for saving lakhs of Bengali peasants (90 per cent Muslims and 10 per cent *Nama Shudras*) from total extinction.

4. I suggest that special committees of two or three persons should be deputed to Assam to enquire into the situation on the spot.

5. It is also imperative that pamphlets should be published in English on the inequity and illegality of the Line System and the need of solving the population/land problem in East India Zone.

6. The Pakistan Day on March 23 is approaching. Some Leaguers here suggest that this time the day should be celebrated with greater plan and vigour. You may specially ask Muslim India to celebrate an All India Pakistan Flag Day on Friday, March 23rd 1945, with the following programme:[2]

i. Pakistan flag should be hoisted on all houses, shops, institutions and bonnets of motor cars.

ii. Pakistan flag should be hoisted in special Pakistan meetings in every town and village.
iii. Prayers should be offered for the freedom of India, Pakistan and Muslim peoples.
iv. Small pamphlets should be distributed explaining the meaning of Pakistan....
v. Resolutions affirming faith in Pakistan and demanding the liberation of Muslim peoples and lands should be passed.
vi. Demands should be made that in all international conferences and institutions, Muslim India should get separate independent representation as a separate independent nation, and that the official and Congressite bodies have no right to speak on behalf of 100-million Muslim nation of India in any international or Commonwealth conference.

7. The international situation is fast changing. Britain's one hope lies in the freedom, unity, solidarity and power of the solid line of Muslim States from Turkey to Malaya and from Morocco to Afghanistan.

8. The time is fast coming when the Muslims may refuse to take Pakistan and the British will force Pakistan on Muslims. The supreme need is to arrange for better propaganda in India, America and England.

9. We are holding a special Muslim League Camp at Cankinara in 24-Parganas, near Calcutta, for the industrial areas of greater Calcutta on 10 and 11 March. This is the heart of industrial Bengal and 90 per cent of Muslims of the area are Momin-Ansars who are solidly behind the League. Recently Mr. Qayum Ansari[3] came in this area and held a few meetings. Now the Ansars themselves are holding a big League Conference.

On the request of the Reception Committee I do beg you to send a message for this first League Conference specially meant for industrial areas and workers and labourers. In your message make special appeal to Momin-Ansar and other working classes to unite under League banner.

Please also ask Nawab Ismail Khan or Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali and Jamal Mian Sahib to attend this Conference. I hope when you next visit Bengal you will pay a visit to the industrial labour area of 24-Parganas.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal IV/23. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah advised that he refer the issues raised to the Committee of Action and the Secretary, AIML, since it was not possible for him to address all matters; as for the situation in Assam, he said the matter had been brought to the attention of both Saadulla and Abdul Matin Chaudhury. See *SHC*, Bengal IV/24. Not printed.
[3]A Momin leader of Bihar aligned with Congress.

407

Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Assam I/47

DHUBRI,
15 February 1945

Bengal immigrants in Assam inhumanly oppressed. Houses, mosques, even holy *Qur'an* burnt, property destroyed, women and children beaten mercilessly. Armed police fired on immigrants. Alarm prevails among immigrants. Immediate and necessary action solicited.[1]

ABDUL HAMID KHAN
President, Assam Provincial ML

[1]Jinnah asked the Premier of Assam to acquaint him with the real situation, hoping the latter would take such action as was needed. See *SHC*, Assam I/48. Not printed.

408

Secretary, Muslim Labour Union, Cannanore to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras I/99

CANNANORE,
15 February 1945

Sir,

We have the honour to communicate to you the following resolution unanimously adopted at the public meeting held in connection with the 2nd anniversary of the above Union held at Cannanore on the 10th February 1945, for your kind consideration and favourable disposal:

RESOLUTION

With a view to saving the Muslim workers from falling themselves [*sic*] as victims in their attempts to secure economic redemption by joining the trade unions worked by Communists and leading themselves [*sic*] to irreligion and godlessness, and deviating from the right path dictated by Islam, it is necessary that a separate organization be formed for them. Thanks to the efforts of the League workers of Malabar, who appreciated the need for a separate organization, a union has been started in the name of the Muslim Labour Union and it has today

branches all over Malabar, representative of the Muslim workers with a district committee at its head. We now stand in need of an all-India organization in this connection. We have apprised the Muslim League Committee of Action of this view of ours during their last visit to Malabar and they have promised to do their best in the matter. This meeting held in connection with the second anniversary of the Cannanore Muslim Labour Union, therefore, requests in the name of Islam and the Muslim community, the All India Muslim League and our revered leader Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib to organise an All India Muslim Labour Union on the lines suggested by us.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
The Muslim Labour Union

409

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/105

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
17 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your term of membership of the Aligarh Muslim University [Court] is expiring next month and your name has been proposed for re-election. Your association with the Court is a blessing to the University and an assurance that at critical moments the University will steer through with your sagacious advice and guidance.

Your consent has not been received so far. I request you to kindly signify your consent by signing the attached chit[1] which may kindly be sent to me at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]The chit bore the words "I am willing to serve as a member of the Court of the Aligarh Muslim University, if elected." See F. 199/106, *QAP*. Not printed

410

M. A. Jinnah to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh

SHC, Sind IV/89

BOMBAY,
19 February 1945

Dear Mr. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,

I am in receipt of your letter of February 10th,[1] and thank you very much for it. I was really very pleased indeed to note your views, and I read your statement, which you have referred to in your letter, after my letter was despatched, and I am glad that you are following the right line. Of course, I appreciate very much your kind assurances that you will stand by my instructions and never desert the Muslim League Assembly Party, and further I feel very much encouraged when you say that you will stand by me and obey my orders. This mark of confidence and trust that you have shown in me is a great encouragement to me and I am thankful to you for it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Mr. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh,
Education Minister,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 400.

411

M. A. Jinnah to Sibt-i-Hasan

F. 906/16

BOMBAY,
20 February 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and as requested by you, I am

enclosing herewith a message for the Urdu Conference to be held on February 23rd, 1945.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Sibt-i-Hasan, Esq.,
Secretary,
Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu,
Byculla, Bombay

Sibt-i-Hasan had requested a message. See F. 906/15, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 411

MESSAGE BY M. A. JINNAH

F. 906/17

I am very glad to know that the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Bombay, is holding an Urdu Conference in the next few days, which will take into consideration many important and urgent issues, in all their aspects, which the Urdu language and the lovers of Urdu are facing to-day.

Urdu is the only language out of the scores in India which rightly deserves to be the *lingua franca* of this vast sub-continent, by virtue of its simplicity and popularity in most parts of India, but it is very unfortunate that the attitude of some people has been antagonistic towards this language. The Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu has taken up the task of popularizing Urdu all over India, and the work which they have been doing for the last few years in this respect deserves the appreciation of all. I wish the Conference all success and hope that your efforts will bear fruit.

M. A. JINNAH

412

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

SHC, UP V/73

BOMBAY,
21 February 1945

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I have received your several letters, and I am sorry I could not attend to them earlier as I have not been quite well, but I am glad to

tell you that I am now much better except that I am ordered complete rest for a little time. I have noted all that you say. I have already asked my Secretary to send you the full text of my recent interview with the representative of the *News Chronicle,*[1] London and the matter has been taken in hand.

You must remember that we have now set up a certain machinery for handling various matters that may arise from time to time and developments that may take place. There is the Committee of Action and there is the Central Parliamentary Board. There are Provincial Leagues with their Working Committees and office-bearers, and it is up to these various bodies that they should now function according to our constitution, rules and regulations. After six or seven years of spadework and building up they ought to know now how to tackle various matters within the League discipline and through the machinery of our making and creation which has been set up by us according to our constitution. It is not now possible for me to attend to all matters personally, as the organization has grown vast.

I am glad that your Committee of Writers has undertaken the work of having a number of articles written and to give publicity to them after the Committee of Action have sanctioned the arrangements for their publication. I must say I was rather struck with the Pakistan Number of the *Aligarh Magazine,* and I wonder whether it is possible for me to get about 100 copies. Please make enquiries and let me know.

I am sorry I had to cancel my visit to Aligarh,[2] but I am ordered complete rest for at least a fortnight. There is nothing serious the matter with me except that I am overworked.

Thanking you for all the information that you have given me and for the good work that you are doing,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* IV, 62-6.
[2]Jinnah was due to inaugurate the session of All India Muslim Students' Federation at Aligarh on 1 March 1945. See ibid., 71.

413

A. M. Gulam Mohiyuddin to M. H. Saiyid

F. 1104/153-4

5 QAZI STREET,
BASA VANGUDI,
BANGALORE,
22 February 1945

Dear Sir,

To bring to the usual haunt of Mahasabha leaders, to enshrine in the citadel of Hindu hierarchy, the portrait of our most beloved leader had been one of the main objectives of our organisation. I am glad to inform you, Sir, that where our sister community failed to secure the same privilege for Mahadev Desai and Kasturba Gandhi, we have succeeded, in spite of bitter opposition, in prevailing [*sic*] the better counsel of the University authorities, and in extracting permission to instal a portrait of Quaid-i-Azam in the University Union, Bangalore.

This is to request you to oblige us with some excellent and latest photos of Quaid-i-Azam, so that we may get one of them enlarged at a studio here, and present the enlargement to the Union. It would be very kind of you if you sent more than one copy so that we may have the choice of the best. The action would be highly appreciated, and for it we shall remain for ever [*sic*].

Yours gratefully,
A. M. GULAM MOHIYUDDIN
Secretary,
All Mysore State MSF

414

Sayed Eqbal Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/37-8

20 LAW COLLEGE HOSTEL,
MAHENDRU,
PATNA,
22 February 1945

May it please you, Quaid-i-Azam,

Never before the hundred million Muslims of India were so solidly

united under one banner as they are today. The world does no more look upon them as a minority community, without any purpose or programme before them. Today they constitute a nation, an awakened and resolved nation of a hundred million Muslims with Pakistan as their goal. The demand for Pakistan is not a voice in the wilderness. It is, in fact, the cherished goal of a brave and united people. Nothing can stem their sacred urge to achieve it. They are ready today to fight for it, and if necessary, to die for it.

But, Quaid-i-Azam, the achievement of Pakistan is not at all going to be an easy affair. We have to face for it an adamantine Congress and snatch it from an unwilling Britain. The League, therefore, has to fight two formidable foes—the Congress and the British. And for this we have to enlivenly [*sic*] organise ourselves, and what is much more necessary, we have to place and consider ourselves on [terms] of equality with Britain.

Britain's attitude towards India is well-known. There is no possibility of their parting with power in near future. The Viceroy's last speech[1] at Calcutta at least makes it clear. But what is worse, Whitehall's attitude towards the League is more antagonistic than it is towards any other political party in India. She will probably never consent to a 'major operation' of the country. But we have to bend her this way.

Quaid-i-Azam, you saved the Muslims of India from getting drowned. They were lifeless, soulless, purposeless. You came to their rescue and showed them the right, almost the inevitable path. You raised them from the position of a meagre and degenerating minority to the position of a great and formidable nation. You are truly the father of the Muslim Indian nation. But your work has not finished there. We have yet to prepare ourselves for it. We have yet to hold the sword and get into the arena to achieve the final victory. In fact the time is ripe for it.

I am one of the masses and I assure you that the masses, specially the youth which I belong to, are solidly behind you and are prepared to move at your slightest bidding. But there are certain people in the League [on] whom we look with suspicion and distrust. They are mostly the *Bahadurs, Sahibs,* and other title-holders of the Government. They are in the League, in most cases, to serve their own selfish, their own sordid purposes. When the actual time of the struggle comes they are sure to step out of the organisation and, what is worse, they may even try to give a 'stab in our back. The League has, therefore, to be purged of them.

I have, therefore, to make one request to you, Quaid-i-Azam. Could not the League at its next annual session pass a resolution clearly and unequivocally to the effect that since the time for the struggle to

achieve Pakistan is now nearer than ever, Muslims of India must in every manner prepare themselves for any sacrifice that they may be called upon to make and as a first step towards it, all the Government title-holders—those who are members or office-bearers of the League—must surrender their titles to the Government immediately. It will be an acid test of such people. It will catharise [*sic*] the League.

A Muslim cannot serve two masters at a time. And when the Government selects one for awarding titles—titles which carry neither any meaning nor any sense—it is almost invariably with the intention of making him a tool to exploit the artless people, or to employ him as a weapon for exploding [*sic*] a popular cause. Nor is it all. The League can never place itself on [terms] of equality with Britain so long as our own people look up to the British benevolence for the recognition of their services.

I do not hold any office in the provincial executive of the Muslim League. Nor do I know as to who are the people whom the constitution of the League allows to move such resolutions at its open session. But if I could be permitted by you to move a resolution in the next session to this effect, I am sure with your blessings to make up [*sic*] a strong case. If not, I would earnestly request you, Quaid-i-Azam, to give your fullest consideration to the matter. Muslim India looks upon you as its Messiah. It is under your leadership (May *Allah* give you a long life) that it has to achieve its cherished goal of Pakistan.

I remain,

Obediently yours,

SAYED EQBAL AHMED

See Waheed Ahmed, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, note 2, 44.

415

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/7

KARACHI,
24 February 1945

Fifteen out of total twenty-eight members of Muslim League Assembly Party made an urgent written demand under their signatures last night that the present Ministry should be thrown out during current session and the effort to break it to begin from today. In pursuance of their decision they threw out supplementary demand under general

administration and supported one rupee cut motion. In division fourteen Muslim League members supported cut motion and eleven Muslim League members opposed.

G. M. SAYED

416

Sayed Muhammad Saadulla to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Assam I/49

SHILLONG,
24 February 1945

Your wire[1] received today. Circumstances unfortunate. Incident leading to police firing on immigrants at Barpeta are [*sic*] that seventy families forcibly occupied reserve set apart for professional graziers who pay tax per head of buffalo and cattle. Breach of peace apprehended. Local officers deputed Muslim Sub-Deputy Collector, Hindu police officer six armed constables to spot for preserving peace on second February. Three days after, brush occurred between graziers police one side immigrants other side when one constable received *lathi* blow on head. Three shots fired by police. Two immigrants received buckshot wounds below waist. Injured treated in hospital. Munawar Ali visited Barpeta next day. Abdul Matin Chowdhury visited locality on eleventh. All further alleged acts of violence, molestation exaggerated. Magisterial enquiry just completed. Both parties filed criminal cases. Matter now *sub judice*. Doing everything possible.

SAYED MUHAMMAD SAADULLA
Premier [*Assam*]

[1]See No. 407, note 1.

417

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Khuhro

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/6

BOMBAY,
24 February 1945

Khuhro, Special Jail, Sukkur
Your telegram.[1] Extremely sorry unable take up your brief.

Given up my professional practice now more than five years. Besides my public commitments and engagements and pressure of work of All India Muslim League as such make it impossible take any professional engagements. But I sincerely hope you will be honourably acquitted.

M. A. JINNAH

See *SHC*, Sind V/4-5. Not printed.

418

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/12

GOVERNMENT OF SIND,
KARACHI,
25 February 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have already acquainted yourself, through the press reports, about [*sic*] the unfortunate developments that have taken place in my province. I had also sent to you a telegram[1] apprising you of the defeat of the League Ministry. This drama of treachery when unfolded in its proper sequence makes very painful reading. It was by a stroke of great good luck, combined with your sagacious leadership and efforts, that our province could boast of a Muslim League Ministry. Our Muslim League Ministry stood like a rock against the machinations of the anti-Muslim League forces in Sind and kept Hindu intrigues at an arm's length. All this edifice, built up by us under your guidance, today stands in ruins thanks to the treachery of Mr. G. M. Sayed. Recently his ambitions in the political field have become inordinate. He looks upon himself as a dictator not only of Sind, but even a match for the combined League high command. Possessed with the selfish desire of installing himself in the Premier's chair, and goaded on by Hindu intrigues, with a view to break Muslim solidarity, he allowed his selfish ambition to outrun discretion.

On Friday, the 23rd, a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party was convened at 11 a.m. in the Committee Room of the Secretariat where 22 Muslim League MLAs were present, including Mr. Sayed and Mr. Gazdar. On the agenda of the meeting, circulated among the members, it was definitely stated that the Party was to consider the supplementary grants which were to be moved by the Muslim League

Ministry on the floor of the House on Saturday, the 24th instant. It was unanimously agreed, without any voice of dissent, that the entire Party must support the supplementary grants on the next day. However, the atmosphere in the lobbies was sur-charged [*sic*] with ominous shadow of intrigues. My colleagues and myself thought it best once again to call the emergent meeting of the party and put to them either to assure us of their support or to suggest another alternative with a view to maintain Muslim solidarity. Again at 5 p.m. on the same day I convened an emergent meeting of the Party, when 26 members of the Muslim League Assembly Party were present. My colleague Pir Ilahi Bakhsh even made a speech saying that all the three of us were prepared to resign if the Party so desired. The Party could nominate a new League Ministry in our place. It was expressed by the Party members that the Party had already expressed a vote of confidence in the Ministry at the time when the three members of the League high command were present in Karachi. Since then nothing had taken place for the Party to change its opinion. At 5.30 p.m. the Assembly session started. Nothing untoward happened on the floor of the House. We thought everything was alright and had a peaceful night. The next morning, on Saturday the 24th instant, the Assembly was to meet at 10:30 a.m. I moved the supplementary grants on the floor of the House. Mr. G. M. Sayed threw a bombshell by saying that he and his supporters had decided to throw out the present Ministry.

No parliamentarian with any sense of decency can restrain [himself] from condemning this sort of childish and treacherous behaviour on the part of a person of Mr. Sayed's standing. We were all puzzled. We did not know how to face the situation. We found the Hindus under Mr. Nihchaldas playing their traditional role of losing themselves in uncontrolled joy at the defeat of the Muslim League in Sind. We found Mr. Sayed and his group hobnobbing with Haji Moula Bakhsh and his group. This created an unthought-of situation in the province. For I could feel that the situation was getting out of our control and in all probability the Governor will call upon Haji Moula Bakhsh to form the Ministry. It seems that Mr. Sayed and his group have pledged benevolent neutrality Ministry [*sic*] in case it materialises.

Seeing no ray of light, I asked my colleague Mr. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to seek your advice and guidance on the telephone. He duly reported to me the conversation between you and him. I promptly called the meeting of the remaining 11 members of the Muslim League Assembly Party who had remained loyal to the Muslim League Ministry on the floor of the House and communicated to them what the Quaid-i-Azam had said on the telephone. In the light of this advice from the Quaid-i-Azam

the Party unanimously resolved to forthwith expel Mr. G. M. Sayed and Mr. M. H. Gazdar from the Muslim League Assembly Party. Copy of the resolution of the Party is herewith enclosed. The Party members expressed their strong belief that the Muslim League high command will take strong action and expel the ring leaders of this colossal betrayal of Muslim solidarity, both Mr. Sayed and Mr. Gazdar, from the Muslim League organisation.

Quaid-i-Azam, the role played by Mr. Sayed in Assembly politics is too well-known to you. This is the third time that he has allowed himself to be used as a tool of forces who are out to disrupt Muslim solidarity. He feels that by these anarchist moves he is leading the province to progress, and speaks in terms of progressive phraseology. In my humble opinion a seasoned and sagacious leader like you will condemn his move as leading the province to political chaos and confusion.

I have briefly explained the situation to you. The crime of Mr. Sayed and Mr. Gazdar in the eyes of the Muslim [League] Assembly Party is unpardonable; it has expelled them from the Party. The final remedy lies in your hands. It is therefore that I appeal to you to expel these two from the Muslim League organisation and thereby purge the province of those forces which have set up a political fascism, based on personal whims and caprices.

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind V/11. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 418

SHC, Sind V/14

RESOLUTION BY THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ASSEMBLY PARTY

This meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party deplores the unconstitutional action of Mr. G. M. Sayed and Mr. M. H. Gazdar who conspired to defeat the Muslim League Ministry by voting against the supplementary grant after the same had been unanimously approved by the Muslim League Assembly Party a day previously and that the Party by a resolution had resolved to vote for the supplementary grants in the House. This act of theirs is all the more deplorable in view of the fact that the Muslim League Assembly Party had twice passed a vote of confidence in the Ministry, once at the meeting in which the three League high command members were present and who had warned the Party members not to vote against the Ministry

in view of the vote of confidence passed by the Party.

The situation was explained to Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah on telephone by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Leader, through Pir Ilahi Bakhsh. Quaid-i-Azam advised the remaining members of the Party to take such action as it deemed fit against those members who had acted treacherously against the Muslim League Ministry. In obedience to Quaid-i-Azam's instructions, it is hereby resolved that Mr. G. M. Sayed and Mr. M. H. Gazdar are expelled from the Muslim League Party.

This meeting further resolve that Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Leader of the Party, should communicate this resolution of the Party to Quaid-i-Azam and the League high command for further action.

419

Mahmood Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/18

KARACHI,
26 February 1945

Sayed tried produce alternative Ministry coalescing with Moula Bakhsh [and] Nihchaldas but due his unreliability could not succeed inspire trust. He having failed and Sir Ghulam Hussain defeated, [Section] 93 imminent whereupon Sir Ghulam Hussain got Moula Bakhsh sworn today, thereby retrieving situation announcing themselves League Ministry and loyalty yourself. Confident within reasonable time succeed bringing Moula Bakhsh in League.

MAHMOOD HAROON

420

M. A. Jinnah to A. B. A. Haleem

SHC, Students I/60

EXPRESS

BOMBAY,
26 February 1945

My dear Mr. Haleem,

I am in receipt of your telegram,[1] and I am extremely sorry and

deeply disappointed that I am prevented from being with you to inaugurate the session of the All India Muslim Students' Federation, but it is physically impossible for me to reach Aligarh on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd March. I am, however, with the session of the Federation with all my heart and spirit, and I wish it every success from the bottom of my heart.

My message to the Federation is: hard work, sustained effort, perseverance, determination, faith, discipline and unity are the qualities of the first degree which should be developed in our young men, and then alone will they be qualified, and without faltering, unflinchingly exercise every nerve in order to achieve Pakistan. Failure would mean Muslim India and all that Islam stands for would perish. I look to the young men, who have already made a great contribution, to serve the Muslim nation sincerely and loyally and selflessly. If Muslim India stands united under the banner of Muslim League, believe me Pakistan is already within our grasp. I can only repeat what I have said above—maintain faith, discipline and unity.

M. A. JINNAH

Dated 25 February requesting a message. See *SHC*, Students I 59. Not printed.

421

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/23

KARACHI,
27 February 1945

Respectfully invite reference my telegram twenty-fourth[1] giving details. Ghulam Hussain published that you authorized my and Gazdar's expulsion. This caused deflection. Hindu Party still solid and true with me and Muslim League. After vote Moula Bakhsh pressed coalition which I could not agree and rejected. Subsequently Ghulam Hussain formed coalition Azad Muslim Party took Moula Bakhsh in Cabinet. Letter passed by Ghulam Hussain inviting Moula Bakhsh form coalition and promised take another Azad Party member also as Minister. Ghulam Hussain gaining time and spreading rumour that he getting sanction Parliamentary Board.

Kindly clarify League attitude immediately. Kindly talk phone number 17651 if necessary. Anxiously awaiting early instructions.[2]

G. M. SAYED

[1]No. 415.
[2]See No. 426.

422

M. A. H. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/78

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
27 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 16th instant[1] and am glad to learn that your indisposition does not call for anxiety.

Sind has turned out to be a festering sore of the Muslim League. The antics, the abuses, the statements and counter-statements and the washing of dirty linen in public have, I am sure, disgusted every Musalman. Many have held their peace, hoping that good sense would soon dawn on the parties. So far good sense has kept away from them and the knot, instead of being untied, is being fastened tighter. Today's newspapers, however, carry news which every Leaguer will consider to be absolutely the limit. Sir Ghulam Hussain, in his anxiety to slap Sayed or to keep his Ministry alive, has overstepped the mark. He has flouted one of the fundamentals of our creed—he has broken one of our irrelaxable laws—namely, of coalescing with another non-League Muslim individual and party—to get the majority necessary for keeping his Ministry in office.

The high command cannot but take notice of this serious breach of our fundamental laws. Sir Ghulam Hussain will have to pay for this act of treachery. The mischievous step taken by him puts the League in an uncomfortable position in view of its correct and legitimate stand against the Congress that the Muslim League is the sole political organisation of the Musalmans of India and that other Muslim mushroom parties have no *locus standi* amongst the Muslims and that

they are mere puppets and creations of the Congress and the Mahasabha to divide the Muslim ranks.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN ISPAHANI

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/77. Not printed.

423

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/19

SEAFIELD ROAD, KARACHI,
27 February 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already made my position very clear to you. The whole Muslim League Assembly Party, including Messrs Sayed and Gazdar, twice expressed confidence in me. What Messrs Sayed and Gazdar did after that is known to you already. Worse treachery than this cannot be imagined.

Mr. Sayed has only five or six followers. Overnight they gave in writing to Nawab Haji Amir Ali Lahori that he may nominate any gentleman, including a non-Leaguer, as the Premier, and as a return, they got from him five or six men.

This unsophisticated man fell into the trap. This is clear from his own statement in the press. I enclose a copy[1] of this for your perusal.

The next day, after the defeat of the Ministry, when the Nawab Sahib expressed to them that I should continue as the Premier, they refused him. He then realised that he had been duped. His idea then was that the fourth vacant place should go to a man of his choice.

As I have explained in my telegram,[2] there was no other alternative before me than to take Moula Bakhsh in my Cabinet. Mr. Sayed himself wanted to form a Coalition Ministry with Messrs Nihchaldas and Moula Bakhsh, but failed.

Nawab Lahori, on behalf of his group of four, and 11 or 12 of my other League Party men agreed that Moula Bakhsh should be taken up as an independent. I did so simply to avert the crisis of Section 93.[3] In fact, I have done less than what Mr. Sayed wanted to do, as he wanted

to appoint Moula Bakhsh as Premier, whereas I have appointed him only as an ordinary Minister.

I am hopeful of bringing round Moula Bakhsh into the League. The Ministers have all gone out to various parts of Sind for meeting their own Assembly members, as Mr. Sayed and his group are still doing their best to throw out our Ministry once again. The meeting of the Assembly has been fixed for the 12th March. Therefore, I could not send Moula Bakhsh to you till the Assembly is over.

I may assure you once again that I have taken the present course simply because there was no other alternative before me if the crisis of Section 93 was to be averted. But this course does not in the least detract from the loyalty of myself, my two colleagues and my party to you and the League. We are still staunch and faithful to you and the League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind V/20. Not printed.
[2]See *SHC*, Sind V/16. Not printed.
[3]Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 empowered the Governor of a province to assume, through a Proclamation, the powers vested in or exercisable by any provincial body or authority.

424

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/26

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
28 February 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks very much for your kind letter of 19th instant.[1] You are in possession of all the facts that have taken place in our province; I have also spoken to you twice on the phone and you were kind enough to give your instructions which I have tried to carry out as far as possible and to the best of my ability.

2. You must have also received our telegram[2] showing our loyalty

to Muslim League and yourself, also some resolutions that were passed by the Party expelling Messrs Sayed and Gazdar. You also know that in spite of your definite instructions K. B. Moula Bakhsh has been brought in as a non-League Minister as we had no choice. It is regrettable that we have lost our pure League Ministry mainly owing to the rash actions of the Head of the Sind Provincial Muslim League in Sind. In spite of my requests and warnings to him he would not desist from his mischief and brought about this crisis the result of which is known to all. He has fallen into the hands of Nihchaldas and other Hindus and also he had his personal grudge against Mir Ghulam Ali Khan and Sir Ghulam Hussain due to the recent by-election at Tando Muhammad Khan. The result has been disastrous for the entire Muslim community and the League as well.

3. I am trying my level best to see that we should form a full-fledged Muslim League Ministry, though I know it will take some time and there is every possibility of success. Our disappointed friends who have deserted us have also begun to realise their folly and are now wanting to patch up the wrong they have done. On my part I am anxious to see some way out of this. This is my programme which I have given you in a nut-shell and await your further detailed instructions in the matter, for my guidance. Mir Ghulam Ali will also stand by us as I have spoken to him and he will remain loyal to the Muslim League.

4. It is really painful that Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and his colleagues should have treated this matter so lightly and gone away from Sind in spite of my request to him to stay and settle the matter as the mischief was sure to be played against us, but they did not listen to me and have been in a way responsible for this disaster.

5. I shall let you know more in person at Lahore at the time of the forthcoming session of the All India Muslim League. Meanwhile further developments will be awaited here as the Sind Assembly sessions will commence on the 12th of March 1945 for the budget.

With regards,

PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

[1]No. 410.
[2]See No. 423, note 2.

425

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/17

28 February 1945

Sir Ghulam Hussain, Premier, Karachi

Your telegram twenty-sixth.[1] Thank you for affirming your loyalty to League. Unable approve inclusion Moula Bakhsh League Ministry unless he joins League. Cannot sacrifice vital principle policy Muslim League under threat [Section] ninety-three. Awaiting promised details.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, Sind V/16. Not printed.

426

M. A. Jinnah to G. M. Sayed

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/24

28 February 1945

Your telegrams twenty-fourth,[1] twenty-seventh.[2] Regret say on your own admission you have adopted unconstitutional methods have lent yourself to unworthy intrigues playing in hands of enemies have let down your leader and Party to which you belonged thereby already damaged our cause prestige Muslim League. You have precipitated crisis, broken Party discipline, caused split, shaken solidarity Sind Muslims notwithstanding your assurance to me at conclusion our Bombay talks and against my advice. You have ignored Committee of Action, Central Parliamentary Board, League machinery, constitution, rules and regulations through and by means of which you could have secured full redress of any just grievance, but instead you have wrongly resorted to methods which are calculated to undermine basic structure League organization, its aims and objects. This course of action on your part is highly improper, detrimental Muslim interests, Muslim League. Futile give advice, instructions any more.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 415
[2]No. 421.

427

S. Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab I/51

AMRITSAR,
28 February 1945

Mr. Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of enclosing my letter dated 16th November, 1943[1] and also to remind you that amongst the Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly I was the first to resign from the Unionist Party. In order to further provide you with my *bona fides* which my life conduct has already proved, I will resign from the Legislative Assembly whenever you order. However, I am definitely of the opinion that split amongst Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly is bound to injure Muslim interests in the Punjab and especially our great cause of Pakistan, for I am afraid this ideal and goal will recede further as Muslim members of government party in their own interest will claim they are non-communal and eventually become anti-Pakistan. If it had been a matter concerning provincial politics, I would have made a serious and persistent effort to get it settled but as it is an all-India question, I appeal to you as our great leader to find out a way to settle it. No Muslim League government can ever be formed in the Punjab unless we have some Hindus and Sikhs with us and I am sure Congress people will never join Muslim League ministry but on the other hand, amongst the Muslims there will always be some traitors who, under various cloaks, will be self-seekers. I may inform you that our number in the Punjab Legislative Assembly is twenty-five, same as before. On the other hand there are over fifty Muslim members with the Premier and most of them, who are self-interested, will remain with him only so long as he has got the strong support of the Governor, but if tomorrow His Excellency dismisses him and appoints someone in his place, very large number amongst them will accept Governor's choice and bow to the rising sun. The gulf between us and Muslim members of ministerial party is getting wider every day and requires to be bridged.

Yours sincerely,
S. SADIQ HASAN
MLA
Barrister-at-Law

[1]Not traceable.

428

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/25

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 March 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The first Muslim League [Labour] Conference of the Calcutta and Industrial Areas (comprising the Districts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas) will be held at Kankinara on 10th and 11th March 1945, under the presidency of Afzalul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Maulana Mobarek Karim. This area is the heart of industrial Bengal and about 70 per cent of its labour population is Muslim who are predominantly Momin Ansars.

The Conference will discuss the social uplift, educational regeneration and economic welfare of the Muslim working classes.

Kindly send your inspiring message[1] to this first League Labour Conference. They hope you will visit this labour area in [the] future. Gandhi and Ali Brothers visited this area several times.

As directed by you, I have sent my suggestions for Pakistan Flag Day to the members of the Committee of Action.

I am enclosing a cutting from the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta of 28-2-45,[2] and invite your attention to the evidence of a great Hindu Pandit, Dr. Ananta Prasad Banerjee, Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, who averred before the Hindu Code Committee that like Europe, India is not a country but a continent of many countries and that on that ground even the idea of unification of the heterogeneous mass of caste rules under the title of Hindu Law is neither practicable nor desirable. As a matter of fact there is no uniformity of law or custom among the Hindus of different provinces and regions. Neither their gods and goddesses are one, nor laws and customs, festivals and *Pujas* are one. Yet they insist that India should be politically one. You will realize that on purely political grounds the Hindus are now frantically trying to unify the different caste laws of the different castes and regions, although it is against their time-worn *Shastras*.

Another point conclusively borne out by the perusal of this instructive discussion of Hindu lawyers is the superiority of the Islamic *Shari'at* in all such matters which are still debatable for the Hindus and which the orthodox *Shastris* are opposing in the name of *Shastras*. What a

contrast? While Islam recognizes the full and equal individuality of women in matters of property, marriage, divorce, maintenance, guardianship, etc., the Hindus are trying to confer these rights by legislation.

This conclusively shows that Islam and Islam alone is a perfect polity which is grounded on cardinal rational principles and which is always capable of internal development and modernity, and further that Islam and Islam alone can solve all the political and economic, social and spiritual problems of India and secure complete emancipation for all Indian men and women, castes and classes.

I am enclosing[3] the presidential speech of Lt. Colonel Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, ex-Advisor to the Secretary of State for India, delivered at Mohammad Ali Park, Calcutta, on Sunday the 18th February 1945, on the Line System[4] in Assam. It gives an account of the Assam situation from a broad economic point of view.

Yours sincerely and obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Jinnah wished the Conference success and urged the Muslim labour to remain united, organised and disciplined. He also expressed confidence that Pakistan would be achieved. See *SHC*, Bengal IV/31. Not printed.

[2&3]See *SHC*, Bengal IV/26 & 28. Not printed.

[4]Under the Line System entry of Bengali Muslims was prohibited by the Assam Govt. beyond a certain arbitrary line. The M. L. had recommended abolition of the Line System as early as 1938. See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 280.

429

M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Iqbal Club, Vijapur

SHC, Bombay I/34

2 March 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter[1] and thank you for it. I am sorry to note that you are asking me the question which has been repeatedly answered by me over and over again, that the Pakistan demand means the division of India and the establishment of a Muslim dominant government in the north-west and north-east zones, which are our historical homelands and where we are in a majority. This demand is confined to British India only, and is not intended to interfere with the constitutional position of the Indian States.

As regards your questions Nos. 2 and 3, I would advise you to get some literature from the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi, if you are really interested, and study it, especially

the recent correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and myself, which was broadcast in the press, but you can get a booklet containing the correspondence and the various relevant documents also from the Central Office as mentioned above.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Iqbal Club,
Vijapur, North Gujarat

·Not traceable.

430

G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/31

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
2 March 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of February 28,[1] which I had already read in the press.

In the telegram, as far as I can see, there are two main points around which revolve the rest of its contents:

i. The step I took against the Ministry on February 24 was unconstitutional.
ii. It had recoiled on the prestige of the Muslim League.

My humble submission as to the first point is [that] according to your interpretation of the League rules and conventions, pertaining to ministries, it is the Assembly Party which has to decide matters regarding the ministries. Now, within the terms of that interpretation, 15 out of 28 Assembly Party members gave me a requisition in writing that Sir Ghulam Hussain must be defeated on the 24th, as unless that was done, it would be impossible to reorganise the League Ministry. I had, therefore, to abide by the verdict of the majority of the Assembly Party.

Nor had I lagged behind in any way in my efforts to impress upon your goodself, the Central Parliamentary Board, and the various other bodies that you have been pleased to refer to, the urgency of setting the things right here and of doing justice to the Sind masses who had been bleeding under the corrupt and tyrannical rule of the Ministry.

On more occasions than can be recounted, I made personal appeals to you both verbally and in writing. I made similar complaints before the Working Committee, the Council of Action, and to the members of the Central Parliamentary Board. Even lately, when Nawab Ismail Khan and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman were here, all the relevant facts were placed before them. If during all these two years, these bodies could not take any decisive step to correct the things or give redress to the people of Sind or choose between the Muslim masses of this province and a corrupt coterie of exploiters, I can hardly be held responsible. These efforts to seek the intervention of the Centre were made not only by me individually, but even the Provincial League and the Provincial Working Committee have been, throughout these two years, making fervent appeals both to the Ministry and to the Central League authorities to re-examine the conditions created in the province. Can it, under the circumstances, be contended that the step we had been compelled to take, after over two years of fruitless pleading and appealing, was inspired by a sudden impulse, or by any love of intrigue?

In this connection I might even respectfully remind you of my talks with you recently in Bombay. I had pointed out to you the fact that in Sind the conditions had become so intolerable that I had only three alternatives left with me:

i. support the present corrupt combination;
ii. fight the League high command, if it took the side of this combination; or
iii. retire from active politics.

I had expressed my inability to follow the first two courses and the third one you forbade me to take. Did it not, Sir, show how intensely I felt about the conditions in Sind? Have I taken this step by keeping you or the League Centre in dark? Had I not exhausted all possible methods of putting forth Sind's point of view before you and the Centre as a whole?

That disposes of the first point, as also the charge that I had not sought redress through the League machinery.

As to the second point, the point of League prestige, I feel I have perhaps so far failed in making my viewpoint adequately intelligible. I have throughout believed, and this belief is shared by an overwhelming majority of the Leaguers, that the prestige of the League can be enhanced only by observing high moral principles in the administration of the country, by sacrificing temporary and artificial means of solace and satisfaction for the sake of the general welfare of the people, by repudiating and opposing an evil, whatever immediate gains one's association therewith may promise, and by placing the good of the

Muslim masses before every kind of expediency. At any rate, I never believe and I do not still believe that the prestige of the League could be enhanced by ruining the public life of the Musalmans or by throwing the interests of the provincial Muslim masses to the winds, for that alone can be the meaning of retaining in office a ministry such as that of Sir Ghulam Hussain. League prestige can go up only in proportion to its popularity and reputation among the people. Retention in office of Sir Ghulam Hussain is, in this province, positively ruinous both for the League reputation and for its popularity among the masses. And yet I wonder how these very factors are going to enhance its prestige?

If we proceed on the assumption that prestige is but a consequence of popularity and reputation and that one cannot build up a prestige by losing the other two things or by patronising or fathering an evil, the only issue that would remain to be looked into is:

a. whether Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry is an evil or not;
b. whether by owning its vices the League is gaining in popularity and reputation; and
c. whether by supporting this type of ministry, the League is building up its own future in this province—let alone hopes as to, and considerations of, the intrinsic good of the masses.

Even if the League were to ignore the reactions of Muslim masses as to the working of a particular ministry, and even if it were to refuse looking at a ministry strictly from the standpoint of the good of the people, the considerations of retaining its own future in the province alone should dictate to the League the only course of action which I have taken. That Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry is an unmitigated evil, an insufferable calamity for the people of the province, is an established fact. If anybody should contest this finding I would invite a public enquiry by the League itself. It is unfortunate that the League high command visitors and peace-makers to this province have never gone into the province and studied the people's own feelings about the ministry; their activities were confined to the city of Karachi as also their sphere of observation. To give you but a few glimpses of what it is: it is corrupt to the core; even Mr. Yusuf Haroon (than whom a greater friend it may not be possible for the Premier to have), in the course of his statement before Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman, had made disclosures which are as revealing as they were startling. He obviously maintained that for everything that he had to get done through the Premier, he had to pay the latter some price. It is not only the top that is corrupt, but its example is being faithfully followed almost by everyone associated with the provincial administration, and the result is that lakhs of rupees

are annually sunk by our people to grease the itching palms of the various members of this grand organisation. The other evils which proceed out of this instinct can better be imagined than described; in the villages there is no security, no fair dealing, no justice, and no question of the mass contentment being ensured. I should even say that people in the districts, particularly Musalmans, who have no means of self-defence left with them, are almost passing through a nightmare. Establishment of grain syndicates and grain purchasing agencies, with their attendant evils, have sent the entire agriculturist population into a state of gross discontent, which had already been bleeding under the stress of iniquitous assessment policy. The League's constructive programme, on the basis of which we, at one time, had made promises with, and given solemn undertakings to, the masses of Sind, has come to be honoured in its breach and we are being ridiculed and frowned upon by the people with whom we had failed to keep our word. As a result of the weak-kneed policy of the ministry where Government officials are concerned, the latter have almost run amuck; the people feel that they are living under the rule of some un-enlightened 18th century despot, rather than under a responsible Government.

To cut the matter short, this ministry has done everything which should put its supporters in an unenviable situation and which should render the organisation, which had lent it its colours, grossly unpopular among the masses.

I repeat, if anybody were to dispute the accuracy of my statements I should insist on a public inquiry being made for purposes of verification.

Before I conclude I wish to refer to a few more points which deserve consideration, although they do not directly arise from your telegram.

It is, to my mind, a great tragedy that while I should be stigmatized as a person guilty of having outraged League interests, Sir Ghulam Hussain should be acclaimed as its greatest saviour. While I had been trying to move the League machinery to do justice to Sind and at the same time to consolidate its strength by fighting by-elections on its behalf, Sir Ghulam Hussain had been doing everything in his power to achieve a two-fold object, namely—

i. to discredit the League by his actions as Premier; and
ii. to intrigue with the enemies to weaken the League.

I have already briefly discussed his conduct as Premier. As to his intrigues against the League, it should suffice to point out the following most outstanding features of his behaviour:

a. After the League did not give his son its ticket for the Shikarpur constituency, he first declined to have anything to do with the election, then inspired his subordinate officials and his nephews

to work for Moula Bakhsh, and, finally, when out of sheer expediency and with a view to assuaging his wrath we gave ticket to his relative Nizamuddin, he made the latter withdraw in favour of Moula Bakhsh whom he had called to Karachi and garlanded. As if that was not sufficient he caused false and highly provocative statements to be published in the names of Nizamuddin and Yusuf Haroon.

b. He has throughout defied and maligned the Provincial Muslim League, through systematic press propaganda.
c. He has taken up Moula Bakhsh as a non-Leaguer and has coalesced with him in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Muslim League. If the League had adopted a dubious policy about it so far it does not in any way serve as a mitigating factor.
d. He had issued an internment order against the President of the Provincial League.
e. In Sind, he had done nothing to strengthen the League or to enhance its credit or reputation.

My step of February 24 did not in any way militate against the League interests in that my purpose in taking it was not one of depriving the League of its ministry in this province but of providing it with a better one. If I do not succeed in it, it would be mainly due to certain causes which are beyond my control—for example:

i. your alleged pre-emptory direction to Sir Ghulam Hussain and Pir Illahi Bakhsh to expel me from the Party;
ii. withdrawal of your sympathy;
iii. Centre's peculiar attitude in the matter of coalition by League ministry with K. B. Moula Bakhsh, the head of the so-called Azad Party.

Lastly, Sir, I have looked at this problem from all angles of vision and I am convinced that by dislodging this ministry I was rather enhancing the prestige, popularity and reputation of my organisation and not injuring them.

However, should the organisation lay down, as a definite rule, that whether a ministry is good or bad for people it is no concern of the League and that so long as it sails under the League colours it must be kept in office, I may kindly be so informed.

I am not referring to the other observations contained in the telegram as they are more in the nature of comments than anything else. However, I am pained to find that I have been accused of intrigues, etc., without any enquiry having been held and without my side having been at all heard.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. SAYED

No. 426.

431

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Sind V/33

KARACHI,
2 March 1945

Your telegram twenty eighth.[1] Appreciate your advice. Am working best interest of League. Ministers out will consult them and party on return and inform you. Am confident you appreciate difficult position created by enemies of League.

GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]No. 425.

432

M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

SHC, Sind V/35

BOMBAY,
3 March 1945

Dear Sir Ghulam Hussain,

I have already replied [on 3 March 1945] to your telegram dated March 2nd[1] to-day, which runs as follows:

> Your telegram second March. Serious mistake having included Moula Bakhsh in League Ministry without his joining League. Impossible accept this position. Only course rectify this violation breaking our fundamental principle which [is] so well-known to you that Moula Bakhsh must join League immediately or else he must stand out. League honour and principles cannot be bartered away because threat [Section] ninety-three or any other consequences. Am most reluctant exercise my extraordinary powers. Hoping you will loyally stand by me as you have so far done and carry out my advice immediately. Wire reply.

And I have received a copy of your letter dated February 27th,[2] which was handed to me by Mr. Mahmood Haroon, the original of which has not yet reached me. I have noted your account of the various developments that have taken place, but I cannot agree with you, and it is impossible to approve of your action in having taken Moula Bakhsh into the League Ministry without his joining the League. This action of yours is opposed to the very

fundamental and basic principle of the Muslim League, and I regret to say that you have done it notwithstanding the fact that it was made very clear to you at our Delhi meeting, when an agreed statement was issued by me on December 5th, 1944,[3] and further, in spite of my express instructions which I gave to Pir Ilahi Bakhsh on the trunk call immediately after the defeat of your Ministry, warning you not to include Moula Bakhsh in the League Ministry unless he had first joined the League. Your only justification for having adopted this course, I gather from your letter under reply, is, to use your own words, "there was no other alternative before me if the crisis of Section 93 was to be averted." Surely we cannot barter away our fundamental principles merely to avoid 93. The honour, prestige and status of the All India Muslim League are involved in this course, as it destroys the very basic principle which we have maintained at all costs, that the Muslim League is the only authoritative, representative organization of the Musalmans of India, and we cannot recognize any Muslim individual or a Muslim group who take up and follow a different political policy and programme from that of the All India Muslim League, or who are opposed to our policy and programme. Once you recognize any individual or a group belonging to a different school of political thought, the Muslim League, by its action and admission, cannot claim to be the only representative and authoritative body of Muslim India. You will thus see that that is the principle which we cannot sacrifice under threat of 93 or whatever other consequences that may follow, and we must unflinchingly and determinedly maintain that principle. It is far more honourable for us to have no Muslim League Ministry at all, if you have not got the majority of the Muslim Leaguers with you, as it then follows that you have not got the confidence of the majority of the House. In those circumstances it is far better to sit on the opposition benches, and if 93 is going to be enforced, however much we may regret it, that is for the Governor to determine and finally decide, and we ought to be prepared to face it.

I have written this somewhat lengthy letter once more to make you understand that there can be no compromise on this question at any cost, but the crux of the whole matter is that I cannot approve of your having included Moula Bakhsh in your Ministry without his first joining the League, and the only course open to you is to finally and definitely ask him to join the League if he wishes to continue as a Minister or else he must stand out of the Ministry.

I appreciate very much indeed your repeated affirmation of loyalty to the League and to me as the President of the All India Muslim League, and I feel that you will stand by the honour, prestige and principles of the League in the light of what I have said above, and I

sincerely hope that you will carry out my advice immediately. You know I am most reluctant to use my extraordinary powers unless I am absolutely compelled to intervene and do so when a grave principle is involved, as in this case, and I trust that you will not force me to do so. After all what is there in keeping a Ministry with dishonour, and we need not be afraid of 93, because that is the business and responsibility of His Excellency the Governor.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No. 431.
[2]No. 423.
[3]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 1965-6.

433

Kotu Ram Gulati to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/105-6

BANNU, NWFP,
4 March 1945

Respected Sir,

Please accept compliments from a humble admirer of yours. I am undoubtedly a humble worker of the Congress, but one who has tried to study and understand the League movement for Pakistan under your worthy leadership. Nothing has worried me more than that the Indian progress towards its destined goal has been grievously held up by the so-called communal question. The Britishers must of course use the situation to their own advantage. Who is to blame, I will not say, for the debacle. How long we are to continue under slavery, not a pleasant situation, I cannot say. But as one suffering from the pangs of slavery and being impatient for Indian independence, I have, though being a little unknown person, tried to seek the way out of the present impasse.

I have, in my own humble way, tried to approach the Hindu-Muslim problem from the point of view of a realist. I have frankly and openly pleaded for Pakistan for one and one reason only, as no less than I have pleaded for *Akhand* Hindustan in the alternative. For that one

reason I have confronted the Hindus with Pakistan at all costs and under all circumstances, even justifying your position [in] making the demand a condition precedent to a settlement with the British Government, or to the establishment of national government in India. For that one reason and one reason alone, the demand for Pakistan and conceding it without demur, I have told the Hindus, is the most gentle-like [*sic*] and peaceful solution of the Hindu-Muslim question of India. If you will confront the Hindu world of India with the demand of Pakistan for that one and one reason alone openly and frankly, and at the same time call on the ten crores of Musalmans of India to work for and secure the independence of India without delay, you will perform a wonder. If that one reason ceases to exist, India must then be one, whole, undivided, grand and prosperous India, commanding world homage and leadership on the side of humanity and progress.

In the course of this letter I might have criticised you. But even that too, I have every hope, if understood and taken in the right spirit, there being no malice on my part, you will greatly appreciate.

But may I hope again that after you have read the letter, I will be equally obliged if you will tell me that it is all rubbish and nonsense.

I am,

Sincerely and brotherly yours,
KOTU RAM GULATI
B.A., LL.B.
A Congress Worker

434

M. A. Jinnah to A. M. Thariani

SHC, P&P II/103

5 March 1945

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I am sorry I was not able to see you before leaving for Delhi, but I note the change you have made in the title of the *Vatan*. It is still not clear, and while I wish your paper all success, I would request you to make it quite clear that neither the Muslim League nor I have anything to do with the management, control, and conduct of the paper. I also note on your letter-paper "Press Telegram: League Press." This is likely to convey the impression that your press belongs to the Muslim League. I have no objection to your using anywhere by itself separately

"Founder: Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah," but beyond that you must not directly or indirectly convey to the public that the *Vatan* belongs to the Muslim League or that the League or myself has any control of it directly or indirectly.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

A. M. Thariani, Esq.,
Editor,
The *Vatan*,
Ismail Building,
Fort, Bombay

435

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/29

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
6 March 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

There was some criticism of Sir G. H. Hidayatullah in the League press in Bengal. But now Leaguers are realizing that your statement[1] on Mr. Sayed's blunder was a right corrective. Bengal Leaguers have a very soft corner for Mr. Sayed, but they realize that his impatience and impetuosity have landed the League in Sind in a false position. But still we do hope that no drastic action should [*sic* for would] be taken against Mr. Sayed nor a non-League Muslim should [*sic*] be allowed to be member of a League Ministry.

It is most unfortunate that at a juncture when fate of nations is in the balance, and when even the age-old jealousies and feuds of Arabs are being sunk for national solidarity, Sind after the Punjab should have shown this crack in the Muslim India front. It was mainly this thought of national solidarity for national freedom that we in Bengal sank our differences and embraced each other in the November session.

The Russian victories and Yalta Conference have almost changed the situation in the Muslim world. The Anglo-Saxon powers, now realizing the importance of Muslim States, are going at their doors for alliance and help. Mutuality of interests has forced the Muslim States to declare war and align themselves on the side of the Allies.

Now that Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan,

Iraq and Iran have abandoned neutrality and joined the Allies, what should be the policy of Muslim India as a nation bigger than Turkey and Arabia combined?

You are the best judge to decide national policy and we believe you will do the right thing at the right moment to capitalize [on] the new situation and further national status. But as a humble worker, may I venture to offer you some suggestions for whatever [*sic* for what] they may be worth?

The League, in my view, may try to derive the greatest advantage from the new opportunity. It should be guided by nothing else but enlightened self-interest. It is futile to hope for any settlement with Gandhi, Congress or Hindu India, which is bound to disintegrate as natural course of social evolution. It is time the League may [*sic*] settle with the British and abandon neutrality on the following conditions:

i. Muslim India must be recognized as an independent nation, entitled to separate representation as a member of the United Nations on international conferences through its representative national organization, the Muslim League. Muslim India must get representation on the Peace Conference.
ii. The principle of Pakistan as an independent Muslim homeland [and] state in north-west and east India should be recognized and announced at once.
iii. Adequate areas, resources and assistance should be given to Muslims for expansion and for moral and material, economic and educational, development of the Muslim zones and reparation for great wrongs done specially to Muslims in the past.
iv. The Muslim nation should get representation on the central and provincial Govts. through the League Party immediately and general elections in Muslim Provinces should be held as soon as possible.
v. The Govt. should guarantee minimum mandatory safeguards for Muslims and other minorities in Hindu Provinces and undertake to help the League Party in the enactment and enforcement of at least the following measures through the Central Legislature as immediate relief measures for rehabilitation of the Muslim nation:
   a. *Bait al-Maal* in all provinces for the collection of *Zakat, Sadaqat,* etc., for the benefit of Muslims.
   b. Properties of Muslims dying intestate should be properties of the *Bait al-Maal* for the Muslim *millat.*
   c. *Waqf* Boards should be established in all provinces to protect Muslim community lands, properties, graveyards, mosques, *madrassas, khanqahs, dargahs* and other communal

properties for the benefit of the Muslim *millat*.

d. Muslim *Kazi* courts for the administration of Muslim personal laws, particularly of matrimony, etc.
e. The printing and publishing of the *Qur'an* and *Hadis* should be reserved for the Muslim *millat* and that should be made the monopoly of the All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh, with the condition that all profits should be earmarked for the progress and betterment of Islamic education in India, particularly in the zones where Muslims are in minority.
f. The education budget should be separated for Muslims at the centre and in the provinces and Muslim education should be managed by a Director of Muslim Education.
g. A statutory supreme Muslim council should be instituted in every province to supervise and improve (i) Muslim education, (ii) administration of Muslim personal laws and *Kazi* and *Mujtahid* courts, (iii) protection of Muslim *Waqfs*, communal properties and foundations, *Bait al-Maal*, Muslim historical monuments and holy places, (iv) social welfare and progress.

If these are accepted, you may offer the fullest support to the British in this war and an alliance on basis of equality, freedom and reciprocity. You may impress upon the British clearly that Muslims would be most reliable allies, the toughest fighters, the bravest seamen on the side of Britain in all future eventualities. In a conflict with Communist powers Muslims are in the natural position of checkmating the onslaught of communism. Muslims and Muslims alone can meet this danger on equal terms because they are the middle nation (*Ummat-i-Wusta*) not only geographically but also ideologically as they are a buffer between the orient and the occident and between communism and capitalism. Hence, now is the time for Britain to choose and decide and for you to utilize this natural position of the Muslim nation for its betterment.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

Not traceable. However, see No. 425.

436

Abdul Hamid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Assam I/51

PAKISTAN ROAD,
BARPETA, (KAMRUP),
6 March 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Through the press something of the plight of the Muslim immigrants in the Koimari Reserve of the Barpeta Sub-Division must have reached you. I am addressing you today, with the express purpose of informing you in detail about the tragic state of affairs in which the Muslims of this sub-division in particular, and of the province in general, have to exist. I hope you will give this problem due thought and consideration and guide us, poor Muslims in this province, with your ever unfailing knowledge and wisdom.

As regards the recent shooting incident which took place in the Koimari Reserve on the sixth of February 1945, I may be permitted to say a few words about the Reserve itself. This Reserve is situated at a distance of about twelve miles from Barpeta town and has an area of about 18,000 *bighas*. There are only about 2,300 cattle heads there and, calculating at the rate fixed by the Government, these cattle require an area of about 8,000 *bighas*. The local officers who were empowered by the Government to proceed with settlement, by an order passed about the middle of February 1944, had found about 10,000 *bighas* which could be thrown open for settlement. Lured by the prospect of getting land and driven by [soil] erosion, some landless immigrants (754 families) came to this particular Reserve about four months back and started cultivation there. They erected some huts also. The graziers, being Hindus, sent a telegram to the Deputy Commissioner, it appears, about the end of January 1945, holding out fears that an immediate breach of peace was likely to occur. The Deputy Commissioner instructed the Sub-Deputy Collector to proceed to the Reserve. He went there on February 3 and was accompanied by the officer in charge, Barpeta Police Station. Some huts were being constructed when the S.D.C. reached the spot. He got six or seven huts demolished and told the immigrants that there was no possibility of any land being granted to them there. Some of the immigrants, partly through fear and partly

due to a feeling of resigning to the will of God, gave him an assurance that they would vacate the Reserve within seven days. This undertaking was in writing. A section of armed police, consisting of six constables and one Havildar, was left there on the spot. Only three days had elapsed since this incident when the police constables asked one Darogh Ali to vacate his house immediately. He was telling the constables that seven days time had been allowed to them and that they would clear off during that period. Then one constable rushed inside that hut and dragged the wife of Darogh Ali. Darogh Ali naturally raised an alarm and called for help. His cousin Cheeku came to his rescue and became very much excited to see a constable dragging his brother's wife. A scuffle followed, in which a constable got a minor injury. The police got enraged and opened fire upon these two innocent people. They suffered grievous injuries and were removed to hospital. The police also retired to the police station on the same day. Both sides lodged complaints and on the 8th a magistrate proceeded to the spot to hold a judicial inquiry. The officer in charge of the Barpeta Police Station also accompanied him. Unable to collect the frightened people, the magistrate played a trick. It was given out that the magistrate had come to apportion land to the landless. Thus duped, the innocent, unsophisticated people came round near the magistrate. He had nothing but abuse for the now gathered people. The order came from the police officer to tie as many as 63 persons with ropes used in tying buffaloes. Thus posted and huddled together at a *Khuti* (yard for cattle) these 63 persons were indiscriminately beaten with *lathis,* pasted [*sic*] with boots and treated to blows at the hands of the police, while the magistrate was playing the traditional Nero. They were then given to understand that they had been put under arrest, were taken to the police station, and later released on bail. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the absence of the male members at the spot, the Hindu graziers took the law into their own hands, set fire to some houses, demolished some, looted the property inside the houses, burnt several copies of the holy *Qur'an* and maltreated the children and womenfolk causing injuries to several. A veritable reign of anarchy prevailed in the locality.

The graziers now became so bold that they ventured to take the assistance of hirelings and burnt to ashes 26 out of 32 residential huts in the adjoining settled village of Fingua and, as in Koimari, belaboured the people, grievously wounded one man and three children, looted the property, destroyed standing crops and left burning at least three

copies of the holy *Qur'an*. It was on the 10th, after which both Fingua and Koimari became almost desolate. It may be mentioned [that] while all this happened the Muslims kept absolutely non-violent.

Responsible Muslim Leaguers personally visited the locality and submitted reports to the Government officer.

What and who may be responsible for the whole matter? To my mind the reply as it appears is this: the ever vacillating land policy of the Government of Assam at whose helm sits a Muslim League Premier, and the Government officials, most of whom are biased and unsympathetic towards the immigrant Muslims coming from Bengal.

Whom shall we appeal to? The Assembly, the Premier, the Cabinet are deaf to our agonies. In the absence of a fresh election the people of the province are impotent. We look up to you, Quaid-i-Azam, for championing the cause of the fallen, the [down-]trodden followers of Islam in Assam.[1]

I hope you have fully recovered from your recent indisposition.

Yours in Islam,
ABDUL HAMID KHAN
President,
Assam Provincial Muslim League

[1]See No. 445.

437

Hamilton F. Armstrong to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/28

58 EAST, 68 STREET,
NEW YORK 21,
6 March 1945

My dear Sir,

You may remember that four or five years ago we invited you to prepare an article for *Foreign Affairs* setting forth the Muslim view of how India might best attain her aspirations. You wrote me encouragingly in reply, but we have not heard from you since then. I still feel that an authoritative statement, such as one which you could make, would be most helpful to American public opinion, and this letter is to tell you that it would still be welcome in *Foreign Affairs*. We have printed

articles in the past from Pandit Nehru, and our forthcoming issue dated April 1945, will carry an article by Dr. Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia under the title *Reconciliation in India*. We obviously need an article from you in order to round out our presentation of Indian points of view, and especially to give your position regarding both religious and political problems of India as they affect current proposals for federal union and the other schemes for settling the future of India by peaceful means. I can assure you that your views would be read with the greatest interest in this country, and that your message[1] would carry far.

Yours very sincerely,
HAMILTON F. ARMSTRONG
Editor, Foreign Affairs

[1]See No. 476.

438

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras II/88

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
7 March 1945

My dear leader,

I wish to have a doubt cleared by you in regard to our attitude towards industrial development in our country. To what extent should we approve of the policy of the Government in undertaking the promotion and management of key industries in this country? There is likely to be a difference of opinion even amongst Muslim merchants and industrialists. I personally believe that till the political question is settled satisfactorily, the state should own and manage such key industries. Otherwise, with the economic disparity between Hindus and Muslims in the country, there is every possibility of the Muslims going without any hand in the industrial development of the country. In any case, I shall be much obliged if you will kindly enlighten me on the above point for my guidance.[1]

Looking forward to meeting you at Delhi and Lahore during the League session and with kindest regards,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA
President,
Muslim Chamber of Commerce

[1]Jinnah advised that he elicit the view of the Planning Committee of the All India Muslim League, which was supposed to address issues such as the one raised. See *SHC*, Madras II/89. Not printed.

439

Ardesir Hormusji Dinshaw & Co. to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/142-43

VERY URGENT

113 ESPLANADE ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
7 March 1945

RE: SEA GREEN—MARINE DRIVE

Sir,

We are instructed by the tenants of twelve of the flats in the above property, namely Messrs P.P. Sidhwa, F.S. Contractor, K.B. Talookdar, M.J. Antia, M.N. Sidhwa, J. Blum, B. Schwarz, E.A. Lomniz, Drissen, Misses N.D. Contractor, Dinoo Dubash and F.B. Jeejeebhoy, to enclose a copy of their letter of the 1st instant,[1] to the Collector of Bombay, in reply to his notices that the above property is likely to be requisitioned under the Defence of India Act, with effect from the 1st instant. We are instructed that three hundred other flats are also going to be requisitioned so that it would affect large numbers of the public. We are also instructed that the matter has been taken up strongly by newspapers of all shades of opinion like the *Times of India*, the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, the *Bombay Vartman* and the *Blitz*. Not only are the civil population barred from renting other flats, as pointed out in the said letter, but houses have been prevented from being constructed for the civil population under executive orders, restraining them from acquiring

building materials for the purpose.

Our clients trust that you will also be pleased to take immediate measures to protect the interests of the public.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,
ARDESIR HORMUSJI DINSHAW & CO.
Solicitors & Notaries Public

See F. 1104/144-7, *QAP*. Not printed.

440

S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/107

THE LION PRESS,
HOSPITAL ROAD, LAHORE,
10 March 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is for the first time that we have the honour of addressing you this letter. The occasion for this arose out of our earnest desire to present to you personally, at the All India Muslim League session, the book[1] we have prepared on your great mission and achievements.

We own we are rather late in coming ahead with publishing Islamic literature, but we may assure you it has been due not to any lack of enthusiasm on our part but just to circumstances. We, however, wish to make up for our past failure and we have begun with giving the Muslims and other public a record of your work for Indian Musalmans. Why have we chosen this theme? The reason for our choice lies in our recognition of the grave situation that the Musalmans find themselves in. It is your work, Sir, that has given Musalmans unity. But we are not yet out of the woods. Indeed, by our reorganization, we have only made our opponents more keen and more alert. Therefore, it is by our concerted efforts, by suppressing our private ambitions and interests, that we can go ahead and pass through the crisis. And that united front, we believe, can only be born out of our complete obedience to your

commands. But such complete obedience to your commands is impossible without knowing in full the nature and depth of your mission. It is for this reason that we have chosen to present to the public a record that we regard our publication as the best contribution we can make to the Muslim cause.

The book is entitled *My Leader* and is written by your most devoted and capable follower, Mr. Z. A. Suleri. His passionate admiration for you can be hardly equalled by any.[2]

Yours faithfully,
S.A. LATIF
Managing Proprietor

Jinnah showed interest in getting some copies of the book. See *SHC*, P&P I, 108. Not printed. Also see No. 475.
[2]Extract from the book omitted.

441

Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (413)

NAGPUR,
15 March 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The information published in the newspapers about your persisting illness is causing all of us very great anxiety. We all pray most fervently to *Allah* to give you perfect health and physical fitness to guide the destinies of three hundred million Musalmans in India.

You are aware that we are holding the sixth annual session of the All India States Muslim League simultaneously with the session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore. You can well realize that the most tragic and lamented death of the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang has caused such a void in our ranks that can never be filled up. His personality and the personal magnetism along with his oratorial gifts were the great elements to which the success of our gathering mostly depended. I am doing my best to make the conference a real success and am very grateful to the Reception Committee of the All India

Muslim League session which has extended its helping hand to us and has given us every facility. But I feel that we still need a little more active demonstration in this institution by you. I, therefore, respectfully request you to kindly condescend to grace the gathering with your inspiring personality and inaugurate the session. This will give the session a great stimulus and enhance its prestige. This is an humble request that I am making on behalf of all the Musalmans in the Indian States, who regard you, notwithstanding the constitutional difference in their way, as their sole accredited leader. I shall be very much grateful to you for a reply at your earliest convenience, so that I may be able to give the news of your consenting to inaugurate the session, and authorise publicity.

With most respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
MAHMUDUL HASAN SIDDIQI
Secretary,
All India States Muslim League

442

Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/52

4 JAMAICA STREET,
EDINBURGH,
SCOTLAND,
23 March 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have not received a reply to my letter dated 28 January 1945.[1]

The Urdu literature has not been received so far. I have just come back from my first tour. Four more district branches have been established at (i) Workington & Carlisle, (ii) Nottingham, (iii) Cardiff, and (iv) Newport.

I have been to Glasgow, Birmingham and Coventry. I have to go there once again, and I hope *Allah* will help me in establishing the branches there as well. Besides these, I will try to establish branches all

over England, Wales, and Scotland, wherever Indian Muslims are living.

All the branches asked me to supply them with Urdu and English literature. They asked for Bengali literature too. Would you kindly let me know some address of a bookshop which can supply me with the necessary literature and oblige.

I have written a pamphlet which has been published. Its copy is sent to you herewith.[2] I had to undergo a considerable difficulty in getting it printed. Wherever I went for the purpose, they told me that they had no paper to print it. A printer, however, has printed it and I had to pay £ 48 for two thousand copies. Could you help me in getting permission to buy paper for the purpose for further pamphlets? I am making an application for it but I am told by an experienced man that the reply will be a 'no'. I needed four thousand copies of the pamphlet right away but it is not possible because of the paper control. The application is being made to Paper Controller, Great Western Hotel, Reading.

Is it possible to import paper from India for the purpose? I am thankful to you for the constitution etc. which was received a few days after I had posted my last letter.

I do not understand a few things of the constitution. Would you kindly tell me:

i. What name shall be given to this branch? Shall it be called Provincial Muslim League, Great Britain, or what?
ii. So far, five District Leagues, in this country have raised their funds. The future ones will do the same. Shall these funds remain in the possession of these District Leagues or shall they be possessed by the Council? It is not clear in article (f) under Section 24.
iii. Provincial League shall pay to the All India Muslim League every year ten per cent of its annual income other than donations. Shall the income of all the District Leagues be considered an income of the Provincial League?
iv. A membership form[3] is sent herewith for your kind perusal. The members fill and sign these forms. Shall these forms be sent to you for affiliation? Would you please direct me in detail about this matter. Besides that, there is another point. Shall I wait till all the branches have been established or, after the addition of only a few more, they should elect the Council, and that should elect the president etc. and then apply for the affiliation right away?

The later additions may be affiliated afterwards.

v. Would you please send me fifteen copies of the constitution in Urdu and fifteen copies in English and oblige.

vi. Would you please send me 25 copies of your each address in Urdu and 25 copies in English, i.e. the addresses of 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, etc. Bill of their costs may please be forwarded with them so that it may be paid immediately.

The India League, the Mazdoor Sabha, the Mazdoor Majlis, etc., are publishing their pamphlets very often but I am handicapped to do so because of the paper control.

Hoping to hear from you very soon,[3]

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

[1]See *SHC*, FC I/49. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See *SHC*, FC I/53. Not printed.
[4]See No. 477.

443

M. Ziaud Din to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/37

EDWARDES GATE,
PESHAWAR,
25 March 1945

Sir,

I have to report a serious case of breach of discipline and unfortunate events, caused by some mischief-mongers at our Provincial Muslim League Council meeting, which took place today.

A meeting of our Provincial Muslim League Council was called for today under the direction of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa Khan, and the agenda consisted of two items, namely to elect delegates for the coming League session, and to make arrangements for election of Primary Leagues throughout the province. K. B. Saadullah Khan, who has recently broken away from the League Assembly Party, somehow got the impression that disciplinary action would probably be taken against him, and he brought a number of his relatives, servants, friends and some hooligans to disturb

the meeting. They occupied seats in the hall where the meeting was to be held, about an hour before its time. When the members of the Provincial League began to arrive they found the place quite crowded.

At the appointed hour, the Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, who was to preside on account of the President's illness, and I appealed to the non-members to leave the hall. They refused to do so and began to shout and create a disturbance. K. B. Saadullah Khan was also requested to ask his henchmen to get out so that the meeting could be held peacefully, but all our appeals proved of no avail. The result was that the Chairman announced the adjournment of the meeting. On this, nine-tenth of the members present walked out. Thereupon some of the hooligans suddenly rushed at the President's table and seized the registers and other papers which were lying there.

As I also left the place, I did not witness the subsequent happenings, but I understand that K. B. Saadullah Khan installed one of his men in the chair and started a so-called meeting of his own partisans. I have heard that they have elected their own President and Secretary and will probably approach you for recognition.

You will notice that by their action they have not only disturbed the meeting but have given our enemies material for propaganda and amusement. They have ignored the Constitution of the Provincial League altogether. They have also violated the recent directions of the Council [*sic* for Committee] of Action according to which all elections in the NWFP are to be held under the personal supervision of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, and the present office bearers shall continue until these elections are finished. On top of it all, they have forcibly taken away the registers and other papers of the Provincial League.

I am sending you this report which is a brief outline of the shameful happenings so that you may take such action as you think fit.

Yours sincerely,
M. ZIAUD DIN
Secretary,
Frontier Provincial Muslim League

444

M. A. Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

SHC, Punjab III/8

25 March 1945

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am sorry I was laid up and could not see you when you came to Delhi. I am much better now but it will not be possible for me to stand the strain of the All India Muslim League sessions. You know I have had several breakdowns in the course of this year, but this one is a very serious warning and it cannot be ignored. My doctor's orders are strictly to have complete rest for some time to come. You do not know how sorry I feel, how deeply disappointed I am, that I have been unfortunately struck down.

There are one or two matters with regard to the house that I have bought in Lahore. As some time ago the Punjab Government have requisitioned it, I am very anxious to contact a lawyer. I wonder whether you can make arrangements for Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin to come to Delhi any day that will be convenient to him so that I can give him instructions to proceed in the matter and also one or two matters concerning the land that was bought by me. I hope that you will acknowledge this letter without delay and although you don't reply as a rule, I do hope you will make an exception in this case and oblige me because the matter is very urgent and important.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Ifttikhar Husain Khan Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore

445

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hamid Khan

SHC, Assam I/54

25 March 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 6th[1] and it is a very painful

account to read of the situation. What advice can I give you? I have been impressing upon the Musalmans for the last six years, day in and day out, that the only remedy of most of their troubles lies in their own hands. If the Muslims are organized, consolidated and stand unitedly, I have no doubt that not only such things will not happen, but we will realize all our aspirations. In the absence of the fresh elections the people of your province are impotent, then what can your Quaid-i-Azam do with people who are still impotent after six years of hammering. With all my heart and soul, I sympathize with you and you are quite right that in Assam Muslims were dead. Immediately I heard of the tragedy described by you, I wired to Sir Mohammad Saadulla and Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhari.[2] In their reply[3] they gave me their report and the assurance that the matter will be immediately attended to. But while I have said all this, I do not want you to despair or become desperate. Our cause is honest and righteous. We may have to go through the sufferings and sacrifices and so organize ourselves. Out of ashes, the true followers of Islam in Assam will rise with the noble spirit of Islam that will sweep away the traitors, hirelings and quislings amongst us. Face your opponents with power and organisation which will be irresistible.

Thank you for your enquiries about my health. I am much better, and much to my sorrow, the doctors have advised me strictly to have complete rest for some time to come. I have had similar breakdowns, but this one was far too serious to ignore. God willing, as soon as I am restored to my normal health, I shall play my part acting in the service of Muslim India and Islam.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hamid Khan, Esq.,
President,
Assam Provincial Muslim League,
Barpeta (Kamrup),
Assam

No. 436
[2]See *SHC*, Assam I/48. Not printed.
[3]See ibid., 49-50. Not printed

446

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/81

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
27 March 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My brother returned to Calcutta yesterday. He went to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Business and Industrial Delegation that is shortly proceeding to England and the USA. During his brief stay in Delhi, he telephoned to enquire how you were and was glad to hear you say that you were making satisfactory progress. I presume you are still not fit to receive friends[1] or else you would have asked him to see you for a few minutes.

Politics in India seem to be on the move again, and I am one of the many million Muslims who are anxious about the fate that is being hammered out behind closed doors in this country and in England for Muslim India. Our demands are clear-cut and have the sanction and backing of one hundred million Musalmans. We have the righteousness of our cause to back us and have to rely on our inherent strength to attain our goal.

At this critical juncture it is unfortunate that in some places, Leaguers are dissipating their strength and energy in carrying on internecine feuds instead of pulling together.

No date has yet been announced for the holding of the annual session at Lahore.

The Assembly here is sitting from day to day and so far, the Opposition have not met with any success in challenging the strength of the Government. As is their established practice, they create scenes daily, use dreadful language, and level the vilest and most irresponsible charges against the Government, protecting themselves with the shield of privilege. I do not think any legislature in India has sunk half as low as ours.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

For Jinnah's reply, see No. 454.

447

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah[1]

SHC, Bengal III/5

8 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
31 March 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope by the grace of God you are keeping better and having complete rest. I have not disturbed you during the crisis as there was no issue involved. The papers must have given you some idea of what has happened here. The corrupt elements amongst MLAs were all bought over in a couple of nights and locked up in a house and taken to the Assembly to register their votes. They were paid very large sums of money, provided mainly by the Marwaris and Hindu Mahasabha. Our action against the hoarders and profiteers of cloth brought them out in the open, and they thought that, if by spending money they could have their nominees in the Cabinet, they will have an easy time. An investment of a few lakh was nothing to born speculators where the prospect of return was ten-fold. In spite of this we had a very small majority, but the Speaker's ruling, which is unprecedented and against all principles of constitutional law, has forced Section 93, and it looks as if, for the present, the Governor intends to administer the province under Section 93.

I do not like to put down anything in this letter about the likelihood of possible combination with the Hindu groups, but if any development takes place I will keep you informed.

I may mention that we have not resigned; we are *functus officio* and we maintain that we should be put back in the position we were when the technical difficulties are over, or I should be commissioned to form another ministry.

We are all praying to God for your speedy and complete recovery.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

PS. I am sending copies of this letter to Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.
I am glad to learn from Miss Jinnah's letter that you are better. Please give her my *salaam*.

K. N.

See No. 450.

448

M. Azizul Haque to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/142

PERSONAL

5 MANSINGH ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
6 April 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I made an immediate enquiry into the case of Al-Meezan, and I am sending you a copy of a letter which was issued by the Controller of Capital Issues on the 28th March[1] to Al-Meezan Industrial and Commercial Corporation Ltd., 9 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi. I also called for the connected papers, and I find that these questions have arisen out of the proposals of the promoters themselves, for I find from the papers that it was stated by the promoters that the business of the Corporation will be "war supplies and war contracts in particular and promotion of industry, commerce and agriculture in general," and they proposed to spend twelve lakh rupees for the purpose of "amalgamating, financing and reorganizing the small industries in the Punjab, more particularly small mechanical workshops." They further stated that their main purpose in starting this concern was "to reorganize the production of small industrial concerns in order to increase their output by efficient planning and careful guidance which would help war effort." They also stated that they "expected contracts from the Supply Department and in such cases, they said, "Government would supply materials at controlled rates and would grant all possible facilities." Arising out of these, enquiries have been made by the Controller of Capital Issues as to what industries are proposed to be amalgamated and financed, whether the promoters have any contractual relations with the Supply Department or any other Government Department, whether the present proprietors of the small industries to be amalgamated will retain in future their ownership, or whether raw materials will be supplied, or their markets will be arranged, or whether they will be only financed by advancing money. Further, particulars of the actual existing concerns that are proposed to be dealt with were also asked for. This, as far as I understand, is the present position, but as you may probably be aware, this control of Capital Issues is a concern of the Finance Department, and I have not been able to know anything more than what I have stated above.

This is the first time that I myself have seen the objects of the Corporation and the business they propose. I wish they had shown me the memorandum before they sent it, especially in view of certain suggestions which I gave to Mr. Laik Ali myself. In any case, that is how the matter stands at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. AZIZUL HAQUE
Member, Commerce, Industries & Civil Supplies,
Viceroy's Executive Council

[1]See *SHC*, Bengal III/144. Not printed.

449

S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P I/109

THE LION PRESS,
HOSPITAL ROAD,
LAHORE,
7 April 1945

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We cannot adequately thank you for the kind and encouraging letter you wrote to us.[1] While indeed extremely disappointed in learning that you will not be able to come to Lahore due to your weak state of health, we are sure the interests of the nation demand that the utmost care be taken of your precious health. We, therefore, earnestly pray for your complete and speedy recovery of health.

The book is nearing completion. We propose to send to you five copies to your address.

We shall also get in touch with Syed Shamsul Hassan as instructed by you. We can supply you more copies if you require them personally.

We also make bold to request you kindly to give your opinion[2] about the book.[3] Our earnest desire is that the book should reach every thinking young Muslim so that he knows where he stands and what his duty is to Islam and you today. Your valuable opinion shall help us

much in concentrating the Muslim attention on this all-important point. Hence this request.

Again praying for your health and thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
S.A. LATIF

[1]See *SHC*, P&P I/108. Not printed.
[2]See No. 475.
[3]Z. A. Suleri, *My Leader*, Lahore, 1945.

450

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

SHC, Bengal III/7

8 April 1945

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st March.[1] I am glad to say that I am much better now, but I have had more than one breakdown during the course of the last year and this one was a very serious one. There is nothing wrong with me and it is only due to the fact that I am overworked by the enormous pressure of work. I have been strictly ordered by the doctors, and I myself feel that they are right, that I should take complete rest for the next couple of months at least and take no more risks. Accordingly I am going to follow their advice and for the moment I am out of the active role as one of the soldiers of the All India Muslim League and the Muslim nation.

I have noted all that you have said regarding the recent developments that Bengal has seen. Of course the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan are there and, if necessary and if the matter is such that it requires my advice, you can always get in touch with me. I am leaving Delhi on the 11th for Bombay and from there I hope to go to a small hill place called Matheran and hope to stay there till about the middle of June.

Hope you are quite well.

Wishing you the best of luck,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Nazimuddin, KCIE,
8 Theatre Road,
Calcutta

[1]No 447.

451

M. A. Jinnah to Evelyn Wrench

SHC, P&P III/27

8 April 1945

Dear Sir Evelyn,

Many thanks for your letter of 15th February.[1] I am sorry I was not able to attend to it earlier as I was not well.

I have received your typescript enclosed and I am glad that slowly but surely the British public opinion is coming round to the Muslim League point of view, that the only peaceful and lasting solution of India's problem lies in dividing India and establishing Pakistan and Hindustan.

I am looking forward to read your book[2] which you say will come out in May, and I do hope that you will send me a copy.

With good wishes and kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me to both of you.

Hoping you are both well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Evelyn Wrench,
The *Spectator*,
99 Gower Street,
London

[1]*See SHC*, P&P III/26. Not printed.

[2]Published later under the title *Immortal Years*. It described Jinnah as a master Muslim and agreed with his views. See Anis Khurshid, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah-An Annotated Bibliography*, Vol. 1, Karachi, 1978, 396. Also see ibid., III/30.

452

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/8

8 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
14 April 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very glad to learn that, by the grace of God, you are much better now. It is absolutely essential that you must have complete rest until you are fully recovered. Your life is too precious for us and we always pray to God to preserve you.

In my last letter[1] I told you that I will let you know any development that is likely to take place. The stage has now reached when I will have to approach the Central Parliamentary Board and the Committee of Action for their advice, but as one aspect of the question may have some repercussion on the all-India policy of the Muslim League, I feel that you ought to be informed so that if you think it necessary you may advise us. It is only on later consideration that I am troubling you with a letter and also because in your letter[2] you suggested that I should get in touch with you if the matter required your advice.

The present position in Bengal is as follows:

His Excellency the Governor is, I think, anxious to keep Section 93 until the next general election. I have a very good case for asking H.E. to either restore me where I was before Section 93 was enforced or to commission me to form another ministry. I am enclosing a cutting from the *Statesman*[3] in support of my previous contention.

His Excellency has himself, to a certain extent, recognised this position by not asking us to resign before the promulgation of Section 93. But so far I have not pressed very strongly my claims. I have at present a majority of 8, which means that throughout the passing of the budget, cent per cent attendance will be necessary, and this is almost impossible. On the present alignment of parties, whichever side is asked to form a ministry, they will have to rely for their majority on the unreliable and corrupt element consisting of about 20 MLAs. One of the ways in which I can form a stable ministry is by getting one of the Hindu groups in the Assembly to join with us. If we try to get all the three Hindu groups, in my opinion, it will be impracticable, as it will be very difficult to reconcile the differences of the three groups amongst themselves and then with the Muslim League Party and the Scheduled Castes; but, coalition with one Hindu group is possible and, from the stability point of view, ideal. I leave out Dr. Shyama Prasad's Mahasabha group as their members are only 13 and they are really neither disciplined nor bound together by any allegiance to the Party—they consist of Rajas and Maharajas and vested capitalist interests, and most of them are candidates for ministership and, if disappointed, likely to go over to the opposition. The Bose group will find it difficult to come by themselves as they are afraid of propaganda against them by both the official Congress and Hindu Mahasabha. This leaves the official Congress group who can come by themselves and who are also, it appears, inclined to accept office if they get permission from their high command. I have so far not approached the Leader of the official Congress Parliamentary Party, but some negotiations are being carried on through intermediaries. I

realize that before I commit myself I will have to obtain the consent of the Central Parliamentary Board and perhaps the Committee of Action. I am forwarding copies of this letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, and as soon as I find that the Congress is willing to come in or is prepared to discuss terms, then I will refer to the Central Parliamentary Board for advice. The position is that as far as stable Government is concerned, the only solution is coalition with the official Congress, but if this is not possible and my hands are forced, I will have to try and get back to the corrupt elements. This has to be done with the utmost reluctance and is most repugnant to me. I feel that the real issue is not the ministry for the time being but preparation [for] and success at the next general election. From the Muslim League point of view, I feel that, at all cost, we must secure, by the grace of God, 99% of Muslim seats in the legislature, and all our efforts from now onward should be directed towards that. If at the time of general election there is Section 93 in the province, we have a fair chance, *Insha Allah*, of winning 99% of the seats; if we are in office at the time of general election, it will almost be,. *Insha Allah*, a certainty. If, God forbid, Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Party are in office, then there is every danger of our losing a number of seats at the time of general election. Therefore, our future action as regards ministry will have to be decided taking into consideration what is likely to happen at the general election.

I think this is a fair summary of the present position. I see no light. I am between two alternatives: either try to run the ministry with the help of the corrupt element or get a Hindu group to coalesce. The former is undesirable and the latter is not easily possible.

I hope to be excused for this long letter. We are praying for your complete recovery.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

[1]No. 447.
[2]See No. 450.
[3]Not traceable.

453

M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/11

CENTRAL OFFICE,
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
14 April 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Committee of Action have now spent almost the entire amount placed at their disposal. A number of provinces, e.g. Assam, Bengal, Bihar, C.P. and Bombay, have yet to be toured and the Committee propose to undertake this tour immediately. The amount of ten thousand rupees is also to be contributed to the Central Office of All India Muslim League.

Could you very kindly send me a cheque[1] to enable the Committee to proceed with their work.

I hope you are feeling quite well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
Committee of Action

[1]See No. 458.

454

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/83

15 April 1945

My dear Hassan,

This is just to inform you that I feel much better now, and I am leaving Bombay for Matheran, which is a nearby hill station, in a couple of days, and shall remain there till about the first week of June. My address will be Readymoney House, Matheran, and of course as usual you will keep me informed of any developments that may take place in Bengal. Although I am not on the active list for the moment, yet I cannot remain completely indifferent to anything of importance

that may happen.

Have you been sleeping over the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, and is it merely to remain a paper scheme? I am very much disappointed indeed that so much delay has been caused in holding even your first meeting. We are losing a very valuable time and a golden opportunity. Every week that passes is now not only creating a sense of frustration and despair amongst those who have worked and are willing and ready to work, but in the rapid developments that are taking place, Muslim India will unfortunately find itself, as usual, with the motto "Too late". I spoke to Ahmad, and I was assured that everything was ready, and this was as far back as November last. It seems to me that your Secretary in Delhi is incompetent, and unless you wake up and ginger up things, the business and commercial Muslim India will suffer very seriously.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street, Calcutta

455

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Rehman Riya

SHC, NWFP I/40

15 April 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 3rd, 1945.[1] You probably know that I have not been well, and I have already issued a statement[2] to the press that I cannot attend to League affairs actively for a couple of months. Hence I suggest that you should get in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, 8 B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, but I can only say one thing, that the salvation of Musalmans in the Frontier Province lies in properly and thoroughly organizing the Muslim League of that Province, and not by starting any separate committees of different individuals or different groups, but through and by the authority of your Provincial Muslim League, you can take up every matter which will advance the welfare of the Musalmans, in which case it will have the sanction and support and the strength of a powerfully organized Provincial Muslim

League, and you are far more likely to achieve complete and definite results.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdur Rehman Riya, Esq.,
Editor,
The weekly *Mazloom Dunya,*
Peshawar

[1]See *SHC*, NWFP I/39. Not printed.
[2]See Yusufi, *Statements*, III, 1999-2001.

456

Saiyid Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/166

SEWAITH,
ALLAHABAD,
19 April 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In every aspect of life, whether political or industrial, social or cultural, scientific or artistic, the Shia community is the brain of the Muslim nation. But even then I find that the percentage of Shia candidates nominated by the Muslim League for election to the various legislatures is extremely poor. In fact, representation, even by way of their population, has not been given. It is, therefore, inferred that nominations have not been made primarily on merit.

I am totally in favour of a separate Muslim India and pledge my life for the attainment of our cherished goal of Pakistan. But this point haunts me day and night and has given rise to a suspicion as to the sincerity of the Muslim League towards the Shia community. When such is the case today, far worse may be expected tomorrow.

Will you kindly explain the policy pursued by the Muslim League in the nomination of candidates for election to the various legislatures.

Reply at an early date will oblige.

Yours obediently,
SAIYID AHMAD

457

Home Secretary, Govt. of Bombay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/170-1

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),
BOMBAY CASTLE,
23 April 1945

Sir,

I am directed to state that the Reorganisation Committee (India) which, as you are probably aware, has been set up by the Government of India to determine the size and composition of the post-war army in India, has already visited certain provincial capitals and interviewed some non-officials. The Government of India is, however, anxious to ensure that every shade of political opinion has the opportunity of expressing to the Reorganisation Committee its views on the future of the Defence Services. As desired by that Government, therefore, I am to enclose a copy of a questionnaire which has been framed by the Committee and to request you to send to this Government in writing no later than the 20th May 1945, any comments you may wish to make on it. If you wish to supplement your written statement by verbal explanations, the Government of India states it will be possible to arrange for this in Delhi probably some time in July.

Your obedient servant,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

Enclosure to No. 457
Questionnaire for Members of Legislatures

F. 1104/172-3

a. Do you think it is desirable to accept as a principle, the mixing of all classes of Indians from all parts of India within the same armoured corps, or artillery regiment, or battalion of infantry, etc., regardless of caste, creed or language?
b. If this is not desirable or possible, what are your views on mixing classes which come from the same province or zone?

2. Do you think army units should be called by the name of the class of men enlisted in them, as in some cases at present, or should they be called after the names of Indian cities or provinces in which they are

raised ? e.g. Punjab Regiment, Madras Regiment, Bombay Regiment, Amritsar Regiment.

3. What are your views on the retention of:

a. Gurkha troops in the Indian Army?

b. British troops in India for duties in aid to the civil power?

4. Did you consider the strength of the pre-war Indian Army excessive? In view of what has happened in this war, what are your views on the size of the post-war India Army?

5. a. It has been suggested that the Auxiliary Force (India) as it exists today should be abolished and the Indian Territorial Force should be reorganised to include:

i. Officer-producing units.

ii. Efficient units for general service in time of war, as, for example, field and anti-aircraft artillery regiments, signal units, infantry battalions, workshop companies, IEME, general purpose transport companies [and] medical units.

Personnel of these units would be required to carry out periodical training in peace and would be incorporated on the outbreak of war into the regular army.

What are your views on the proposal?

b. Would you like the Indian Territorial Force renamed Indian Territorial Army?

If this new title is not acceptable, what other title would you recommend?

6. It has been suggested by a number of witnesses, official and non-official, who have, appeared before this Committee, that service in University Officers Training Corps should be made compulsory for at least two years in all universities. Do you consider that this is possible or desirable?

7. a. There is great difficulty in obtaining suitable young Indians in adequate numbers to meet the officers' requirements of the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force. This difficulty is delaying Indianization of the officers corps. To what do you attribute this difficulty? What remedies do you suggest?

b. There are today about 42,000 officers (other than medical) in the Indian Army, of which:

i. Approximately 19,000 are British-Service attached

ii. 16,500 are British officers of the Indian Army, regular and E.C.O. [Emergency Commissioned Officers]

iii. 7,500 are Indian officers, regular and E.C.O.

What steps do you think should be taken in peace to ensure that a much larger number of suitable Indians are available to meet the demands of expansion in the next emergency, say in another fifteen or twenty years after this war is over?

Would expansion or improvement of the University Officers' Training Corps help? See also para 5(a) (i).

8. What are your views on the employment of certain technical troops of the Indian Army on public works in peace time, for example:

a. Engineer units to construct roads, public buildings, wells, canals, etc.?
b. Labour units to provide labour for (a) above?
c. Medical units to do anti-malaria work, inoculation, vaccination, etc., and help the civil authorities when epidemic break out?

9. What are your views on employing the women of India in the armed forces of India after the war as:

a. Clerks
b. Teachers
c. Doctors, in troops' families hospitals
d. Nurses
e. Welfare workers
f. Signal operators and cipher personnel

10. In order to obtain an increased measure of understanding and co-operation between the civil and the military and also to hold suitable civil officers, no matter how small the number may be, as potential army officers in time of war, would you approve of all civil officers, of the various civil services in India doing a period of one year's compulsory military training before taking up their respective civil appointments? This year would be reckoned towards their service for promotion and pension.

458

M. A. Jinnah to M. Ismail Khan

SHC, UP IV/13

MATHERAN,
23 April 1945

My dear Nawab Ismail Khan,

I have received your letter of 14th April[1] here, and I am enclosing herewith a cheque for ten thousand rupees as desired by you, to be

utilized by the Committee of Action in such manner as they think proper for the purposes for which the Committee was appointed.

As regards your remarks about the amount of ten thousand rupees to be contributed to the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, I don't know exactly what this means. I would like to know by whom and when it was decided that this contribution should be made to the Central Office as, for the moment, I do not remember what decision, if any, was taken and by whom. In this connection, you might ask Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All India Muslim League, and ask him to get in touch with me with reference to this matter.

May I request you to send[2] me the account of the previous advances made to the Committee of Action through you as the Chairman, in order that my record should be kept in order.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Mustafa Castle,
Meerut (UP)

[1]No. 453.
[2]See Nos. 464 & 472.

459

A. Niwaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/102

88 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 April 1945

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I was extremely happy to hear that your health is improving. May God give you long life to help and guide us along our difficult path to our sacred goal, Pakistan.

We are making a serious attempt to organise the National Guards in our province. For this purpose we are bringing out a special number of the weekly *Saadat* to impress upon the minds of the Musalmans the

necessity and importance of the Muslim League National Guards organisation.

We would be highly honoured if you kindly send us a message[1] to be published in that number, which would, more than anything we could do, inspire the Musalmans to join and strengthen our Provincial National Guards.

Praying for your health and long life,

Your loyal follower,
A. NIWAZ KHAN
Nazim-i-A'la,
Punjab Muslim League National Guards

[1]See No. 468.

460

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/85

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 April 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I left for Delhi on the 17th instant with the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce delegation which was headed by Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. We reached Delhi very late on the 18th night, and after a conference that lasted till well past 1 a.m., we turned out at the Y.M.C.A Hall at 10:30 a.m. to attend the first annual meeting[1] of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The meeting was not spectacular because no outsider was invited, but was nevertheless a grand success. Every province, barring the Central Provinces Chamber, was represented, and the Baluchistan Chamber telegraphed wishing the Federation unqualified success and regretting their inability to participate this time. We sat down to business straightaway and with a break of two and a half hours for luncheon, went on till well past 8 p.m. Next day our meeting commenced at 10 a.m. and went on till luncheon time. Everyone was most businesslike. Superfluous speeches and unnecessary arguments and discussions were cut out. We worked with great speed. The Memorandum and Articles of Association were gone through, clause by clause, and amended where necessary. Then the whole of the constitution was

put to the body and carried unanimously. Some resolutions of importance were also passed. The speeches were brief, effective and to the point. The first President is, as you must know by now, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. The list of other office-bearers was also released to the press at a press conference held two hours after the termination of our first meeting.

We are still smarting under one great disability, and that is, lack of accommodation to house the office of the Federation. Money has been found and efforts have not been lacking for the last twenty months. Unfortunately, nothing has come out of all these. No door has been left untapped and no person of influence has been left untouched. We have had to labour under many difficulties and shortcomings right through the start. God has been most merciful to us. With His help we have surmounted all these difficulties and we pray that before long He will help us out of this last one. Nurur Rahman has been told to go full speed ahead. I have no doubt that he will do so.

The first meeting was delayed due to Sir Adamjee's inability to leave Calcutta earlier as his son was away in Australia. I saw Liaquat Ali and he assured that representation of the Federation in the Central Committee will come as a matter of course now that the Government of India know that it has passed the organising stage and has a constitution and office-bearers to conduct its affairs.

I hope the report given above will give you satisfaction and you will not feel that we have been idling or sleeping. Believe me, I have put in a devil of lot of work for the Federation and every member of the Committee is now determined to see that the Federation goes from strength to strength. Before I left Delhi, I made it clear to Nurur Rahman that work must proceed with clock-work regularity and with the speed of lightning. He gave me a solemn undertaking that he was now in a position to carry out the command of the Committee and that he could not make any progress so long as the first meeting was not held, because he had no status whatsoever in official eyes as an Organising Secretary—the Secretary of a body that was to come into existence at an unknown and future date.

I now come to Bengal. I have committed many mistakes of judgment in my life but the biggest blunder of all was that contained in my letter written to you on the 27th of March[2] an hour before the unexpected snap division was called in the Legislative Assembly. The fact is that I was lulled into a position of absolute security by the reports that I received from the Whips and prominent members of the Party from time to time. The Party was caught

napping. They were divided very cleverly by the opposition. The Government expected, as usual, a very strong opposition to the demand for Civil Supplies and also to the Home and Police demand. The opposition showed weakness in their voting strength. They decided to muster their full strength when Government least suspected the attack, namely at the fag-end of the budget session, and they selected Agriculture, a demand to which Government did not expect any opposition from any quarter. The opposition also calculated that in view of the approaching Easter holidays some MLAs, particularly the Europeans, would go away a couple of days before the Easter holidays commenced, to enjoy a slightly longer holiday. Some of our own Muslim members also went away. The stage was in the meantime prepared and ready. Money had passed from the Marwaris to certain purchasable commodities through the medium of the leaders of the opposition groups. It was only at 2:30 in the afternoon of the snap division that Government Whips and Ministers realised that eighteen persons, headed by the Nawab of Dacca, were going to betray the Government party. Of course, the cursed Speaker, as usual, did his worst against the Muslim League. He even usurped the power of the Governor and actually dictated to him his duties. Had he been impartial and given Government a reasonable opportunity to carry on the debate until it could marshal its full strength within an hour or so, I am sure the division figures would not have shown a defeat for the Government that very day. However, Section 93 rules the Province and I shall not be surprised in the least if it holds the field for some more months. I have not seen Nazimuddin for some time.

I am glad to read that you are feeling better and I hope your rest in Matheran will do you a world of good. I shall certainly keep you informed of the important developments that may take place in Bengal.

I am afraid I am not too fit again. My old complaint is showing signs of return. I will have to go off hard work for six or seven months. This is what my doctors are advising once again.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Also see F. 1118/22-31, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]No. 446.

461

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

SHC, Bengal III/9

MATHERAN,
25 April 1945

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of 14th April[1] and I thank you for it. I am glad to inform you that I am very much better and hope to be quite all right very soon. All I need is complete rest as far as possible, for a little while.

I have noted all the information of the situation in Bengal which you have given, and having read this summary of the situation presented by you, I would not, under any circumstances, have anything to do with the corrupt element, and as regards coalition with the Hindu group, yes, but on honourable terms. I would rather be in opposition with honour than run a precarious ministry. If you are determined and pursue a strong course, I feel confident that no ministry can be formed without the Muslim League in Bengal, which would be stable, or can continue for long, and I would certainly not be afraid, if I were in your place, of [Section] 93. Let it be so. Anyhow, I shall be always interested to hear from you from time to time, and I have already replied to your letter of the 31st of March[2] on the 8th April 1945,[3] and I hope you have received that letter.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Nazimuddin, KCIE,
8 Theatre Road,
Calcutta

[1]No. 452
[2]No. 447.
[3]No. 450.

462

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind V/58

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
26 April 1945

Dear Sir,

The political situation which has taken place in the Frontier has made me so wild and angry that I have found courage to write to my leader. It seems that the Musalmans of India are losing their fighting and martial spirits.

Musalmans should realize that the Hindus can never and will never unite with us; they are the deadliest enemies of our *Qur'an* and our Prophet [PBUH]. We should realize that you are our leader. You, Sir, have brought us under one platform and one flag, and the cry of every Musalman should be bound to Pakistan. Our destiny is Pakistan, our aim is Pakistan. We have a capable leader in you, and nobody can stop us. We are a nation by ourselves and India is a sub-continent. Therefore, we must have our [illegible].

How can Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and others such as Dr. Khan Sahib call themselves Musalmans when they fall victim to the Congress policy. It breaks my heart when I read their stupid speeches against the League. Are they really so ignorant or is it their idea of patriotism?

It will take a million such Abdullahs in trying to convince us that our aim is wrong, but even then they will not succeed, because they do not realize that you have inspired us and we are proud of you.

Being still in school I am unable to help in the establishment of our sacred land. But the time will come when I will even sacrifice my life for Pakistan. I belong to the province of Sind; undoubtedly, Sind is another province which is causing trouble but *Insha Allah* the day will dawn when Sind will turn for the better and play a vital part in our Pakistan.

Sir, I fully realize that you are a very busy person and you might not even have the time to read this letter of a school boy, leave alone replying to it.

If you think that I am being very foolish, then please forgive me but I simply had to write to you after reading those ignorant speeches of unpractical men.

I am,

Your follower,
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

463

M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC, NWFP I/43

MATHERAN,
2 May 1945

Dear Mr. Nishtar,

I have not heard anything from you for a long time. May I request you to give me some idea as to what is happening in the North-West Frontier Province. Although I am not well, I would like to keep myself in touch with the correct information. The press, especially the Congress press, is giving publicity to various developments and events which are taking place in the province. May I know what the League is doing and what you people propose to do? After the defeat of the League Ministry, I have not heard anything from any one of the four Muslim Ministers. Anyhow, I would like to have your independent report of the situation.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, MLA,
Advocate,
Peshawar City

464

M. Ismail Khan to M.A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/14

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
3 May 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Pray forgive me for the delay in acknowledging your kind letter of April the 23rd,[1] enclosing a cheque for Rs. 10,000 to meet the expenses of the Committee of Action. It must have reached here during my

absence, because I received it only day before yesterday on my return from Lucknow. While I was there, I had an attack of cardiac asthma. The doctors have ordered me to take complete rest for a fortnight.

I am asking Syed Shamsul Hassan, who keeps the accounts of the Committee of Action, to prepare a statement showing how the amounts received from you have been spent. They will be forwarded to you as soon as I receive them from him.[2]

With regard to your query about the contribution of Rs. 10,000 to the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, I may refer you to the resolution of the Committee of Action passed at its first meeting at Lahore, sanctioning the budget of the Committee of Action, a copy of which I believe was sent to you.

Later on, the Committee decided that instead of maintaining a separate staff and office, it will be more satisfactory to have a joint office and make a contribution towards enhanced expenses of the Central Office. This decision was taken in the expectation that the Central Office would have a good deal of work of its own, but now I find that most of the work done at the Central Office is that of the Committee of Action. I, therefore, propose, in consultation with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, to reduce substantially our contribution to the funds of the Central Office. I shall let you have a note on this matter when I have talked over matters with Nawabzada.

I do hope you are feeling well and regaining your strength.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

[1]No. 458.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 472.

465

M. Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/71

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 May 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I must apologize to you, in the first instance, for the long delay that has occurred in acknowledging your kind note dated the 6th of April 1945,[1]

sent to me by hand of Mian Bashir Ahmad. I do not know whether you are aware of the severe afflictions that befell me; (i) the death of my elder brother on the 24th of January 1945, and (ii) the death of my wife on the 25th of March 1945. These two calamities considerably upset me, and I have not yet been able to regain my peace of mind.

When Mian Bashir Ahmad saw me I at once supplied him with the Defence of India Rules on the subject of requisitioning of property as contained in Rule 75-A and told him that there were no separate provincial rules in this connection....[2]

With all good wishes and praying that you may enjoy perfect rest and the best of health,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

Not traceable.
[2]The omitted portion was not of much significance.

466

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/86

MATHERAN,
6 May 1945

Dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of 24 April[1] and read the account of the successful meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. I hope that you people realize the urgency and importance of Muslim India making every effort to make up the leeway. What we now want is selfless workers and deeds and not mere words and thoughts and speeches.

I read the account of the meeting in the press, but I regret that it was not properly managed for some reason or other; it did not go to the press as it ought to have, having regard to its importance. Anyhow, I am glad that now that the matter is up on a proper and constitutional basis, I hope the Secretary, Nur-ur-Rehman, will wake up and be as active as it is possible to do so [*sic*]. I know it is difficult to get in Delhi any accommodation, but let me tell you that lots of people have secured accommodation long after your Secretary was hunting for it, and quite good accommodation too.

As regards the Bengal situation and your summary of the Assembly and the Ministry, I have noted all that you have to say. Corruption is a

curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia, unfortunately. It is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims, it is rampant. All this is due to the demoralized and the degenerated state to which we are reduced and for want of character. However, it is a phase that we have to face and make every effort to eradicate it and purify our society.

I am really sorry to hear that you are not keeping well. I do hope and pray that you will soon be all right. As regards myself, I am glad to tell you that I am almost all right and I shall be quite well very soon. But this breakdown has left me weak and, therefore, I shall have to continue to have complete rest for some time to come. That does not mean that, in case of emergency, I shall not be ready to do my little bit. Please do keep me informed about the important developments that may take place in Bengal.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 460.

467

Suraiya Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/141

AHMED MAHAL,
STATION ROAD,
DHORAJI,
7 May 1945

Most esteemed Quaid-i-Azam,

It is my pleasant duty to inform your honour that a conference of all the Muslim students of Kathiawar will be held on the 2nd and 3rd of the ensuing month of June at Dhoraji. It adds a new chapter to the history of educational activity of the Musalmans of Kathiawar who are Leaguers to the backbone and who have boundless trust in your leadership.

On this occasion, I take an opportunity to request your honour to be

pleased to send a message[1] to the conference and oblige.

Your message will create a new spirit among the Muslim youth and it will enable them to proceed to the weary [*sic*] way of our cherished goal.

Soliciting early reply,

Yours most obediently,
SURAIYA HAROON
Hon. Gen. Secretary,
Kathiawar Muslim Students' Conference

[1]See No. 481.

468

Message by M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/103-4

[MATHERAN,]
7 May 1945

I have learnt[1] that the weekly *Saadat* is bringing out a special number under the supervision of the *Nazim-i-A'la,* Muslim National Guards, Punjab, which will be dedicated to the Muslim National Guards organization in the Province.

Muslim India should know by now, more than anybody else, that Pakistan can be achieved only by our own inherent strength—the strength of our unity, organization, discipline and character. No nation can ever be free, or maintain its free existence, so long as its organization is corrupt, when its discipline is weak and when the people are demoralized. It is the attainment and development of these qualities which make a nation healthy and strong. Without perseverance, fortitude and readiness for sacrifice we cannot even dream of coming out of this struggle of life and death with success. Without strong organization and discipline our defences are liable to give way— and if that happens, God forbidding, there is no hope for the hundred million Musalmans in this vast sub-continent. But I am glad that the Musalmans now realize this grave reality and I am confident that victory will be ours and *Insha Allah* we shall have Pakistan. But, as I see, our opponents are moving heaven and earth to deprive us of the very birth-right of self-determination and our independent existence. I would, therefore, once more caution the Musalmans to beware and get ready for any eventuality that may arise. Our past history, our

glorious tradition and the very spirit of Islam revolt against the idea of our being slaves to Caste-Hindu Ram *Raj* or foreign domination, and our freedom truly lies in the establishment of Pakistan alone. Freedom means a great responsibility and it is this heavy burden of responsibility which I call upon the Muslim youth of India particularly to come forward and take up with courage and confidence and fully qualify themselves for it.

The Muslim National Guards organization is already working all over India, but it needs to be further strengthened and consolidated for the defence of our honour, our homes and hearths, our life and property, and for the service of mankind, with which essential aim it was originally formed.

I am confident that the Muslim youth, and especially the Muslim young men of the Punjab—the sword-arm of Pakistan—will rally round the banner of the National Guards organization in greater numbers. With service to humanity and for the defence of our place under the sun, where we can live with honour and peace, let your motto be "Unity, Faith and Discipline".

I wish all success to the special number of the *Saadat* and the efforts of the Muslim National Guards organisers in the Punjab, and I am confident that we shall successfully march to our cherished goal of Pakistan and before long achieve and establish it.

[1]See No. 459.

469

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/88

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
10 May 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Committee of Action arrived here yesterday and are meeting the Provincial Working Committee today.

I was surprised to learn from Liaquat this morning that a Gujrati newspaper of Bombay— some *Janmabhumi* [*Matrubhumi*] had published a letter reported to have been written by you from Srinagar to Mr. Amery,[1] in which you are reported to have stated that you are meeting Gandhi

merely to see what traps he was laying for the Musalmans and that you had no intention, whatsoever, of coming to terms with the Congress, and that Mr. Amery should not worry himself unduly. In your letter you acknowledged his letter written twenty-two days or so before. Also, the telegram sent by you to Mr. Amery is quoted. I feel that this is a step to blackmail the Musalmans and an attempt to show that Mr. Gandhi had done everything possible in his power to come to terms with the Muslim League but that your mind, on the other hand, was absolutely made up before you met him. It appears to me that such false publications will be a source of danger if left unchallenged. All that I can say is that the enemy will go to any length to down us.[2]

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 817-8. Also see No. 470.
[2]Jinnah denounced the entire episode as pure fabrication. See ibid., 86-7.

470

J. M. Deb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 771/13

THE UNITED PRESS OF INDIA LIMITED,
HORNBY ROAD,
BOMBAY,
10 May 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I must offer an apology to you for encroaching upon your valued rest in the present condition of your health by writing this letter. Had it not been a very important matter I would have certainly avoided troubling you at a time when you require absolute rest in the interest of your health and in the interest of the great cause you have at heart.

The *Matrubhumi*, a Gujarati daily of Bombay, published a letter which you are supposed to have written to Mr. Amery from Srinagar on July 24th, [1944,] in which, among others, the following remarks have been attributed to you:

> My code of political etiquette is very strict and in ordinary course of things should have refused to meet Mr. Gandhi for talking about any settlement while our correspondence is still in progress in the same direction. But you will appreciate that refusal on my part would be

exploited by the Congress Hindu press not only to blacken my name with perverse logic, but also to the detriment of the Muslim cause. Another reason which prompted me to accept Mr. Gandhi's offer is to find out what game he wants to play with me this time. I can visualize, even as I dictate this letter, Mr. Gandhi devoutly devising a trap for me. I shall be keeping you informed of any unexpected development during the course of our talks.

These remarks have rightly or wrongly caused a stir here and elsewhere. We have been receiving enquiries from various quarters about the authenticity of this letter. I should be grateful to you if you will very kindly give me your reaction at your earliest convenience. Your Secretary has got the bearing authority for the United Press, and the same may be utilized in wiring out to the United Press, Bombay, whatever you would like to say in this connection.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and assuring you of our best services,

Yours sincerely,
J. M. DEB
Editor

471

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Barkat Ali

SHC, Punjab III/72

MATHERAN,
11 May 1945

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of 4th May,[1] and thank you for it. I was extremely sorry indeed to hear of the death of your elder brother and also of your wife. Please accept my sincerest sympathies in your bereavement. I can quite understand the effect of such terrible blows on you, that you must bear up with fortitude and courage.

I quite understand your not being able to reply to my note earlier, and I have received from Mian Bashir Ahmad the Defence of India Rules. You will observe from the letter I have written to Moulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, that an arbitrator was appointed and there are some local rules according to which the arbitrator is entitled to proceed. I have given, in my letter to Moulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, a summary

of what has taken place up to the present moment, and I have asked him to see you and talk the matter over with you and let me know what should be done by us now.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Barkat Ali, MLA,
Advocate,
19 Temple Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 465.

472

M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/16

DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
13 May 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Herewith I am enclosing a statement of accounts. I hope you will find it in order.[1] The amount spent on T.A. is rather heavy but it included the amount spent in Madras zone as well as the amount spent on the reorganization of League in the N. W. F. Province. With reference to our contribution to the fund of the A. I. Muslim League, I shall send you a note after consultation with Nawabzada [Liaquat Ali Khan] who is at present on tour in Bengal and Assam.

I do hope you are making steady progress towards complete recovery.

With kindest regards and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman,
Committee of Action, AIML

PS. I am still unwell.

[1]See No. 487 for Jinnah's reply.

Enclosure to No. 472
Statement of Account of the Committee of Action, AIML, from January 1944 to 10 May 1945

SHC, UP IV/17

INCOME

Item			Amount
Deposited by the President, AIML in the Imperial Bank of India to the credit of the Chairman of the Committee of Action on			
	March 26, 1944	Rs.	5,000-0-0
" " do " "	April 29, 1944	Rs.	5,000-0-0
" " do " "	September 22, 1944	Rs.	5,000-0-0
" " do " "	May 6, 1945	Rs.	10,000-0-0
	Total	Rs.	25,000-0-0
	Expenditure	Rs.	14,030-12-6
	Balance	Rs.	10,969-03-6

EXPENDITURE

Item		Amount
T. A. to the members of the Committee of Action	Rs.	10,762-12-6
Advance to Syed Zakir Ali	Rs.	100-00-0
Dr. Afzal Husain Qadri a/c Education Committee	Rs.	1,400-00-0
Contribution towards the Fund of AIML	Rs.	200-00-0
Professor Jamilud Din a/c Writers' Committee	Rs.	249-00-0
Honorarium	Rs.	1,319-00-0
Total	Rs.	14,030-12-6

Checked and found correct.

S. SHAMSUL HASAN
Officer in charge

M. ISMAIL KHAN
Chairman, Committee of Action

473

A. A. Omer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 771/6

PHIROZE COTTAGE,
MAHABALESHWAR,
13 May 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Although I have had the pleasure of meeting you more than once, I

wonder whether you would recognize me by my name. I am sure a brief introduction here would not be out of place. I am the Secretary of the Poona Cant. Muslim League, and during Mr. Gandhi's stay at Poona, I did a little work for the Orient Press of India as their representative. Now that Mr. Gandhi is up here, I very often go to his residence with my friend of the Associated Press. It was Mr. C. Rajgopalachari who first showed me the fabricated correspondence between you and Mr. Amery. Hence my telegram.

After reading your denial[1] yesterday, C. R. was satisfied. He said "Mr. Jinnah may have many weaknesses, but he is certainly not dishonest". However, the former Editor of the *National Herald* of Lucknow (Jawaharlal's paper) grinding his teeth said : "I wish this correspondence is true. Then we shall show Mr. Jinnah".

The Gandhi camp has private information that the *Matrubhumi* editor has fourteen such letters in facsimile. One such facsimile has already appeared in its yesterday's issue which arrived at the Morarji Castle today. Mr. Gandhi doubts its genuineness on account of two misprints in the letter. He said that there could not be any misprints in Mr. Amery's letters.

That's all for the present.

Yours sincerely,
A. A. OMER

[1]See No. 469, note 2.

474

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

SHC, Bengal III/89

MATHERAN,
14 May 1945

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of 10 May 1945,[1] and regarding the publication of the alleged letters, I have already issued my statement to the press,[2] which you must have seen by now. It is nothing but a tissue of falsehood and there is no foundation whatsoever for it.

I hope you are better. I have received a very encouraging letter from Sir Adamjee, assuring me that he will do his very best to translate the policy of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, which is [yet] on paper, in practice, and he will do all he can to work in every

way it is possible for him to do so. I hope you people will all get together and be up and doing.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M.A. Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 469.
[2]See ibid., note 2.

475

M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Latif

SHC, P&P I/111

MATHERAN,
14 May 1945

Dear Sir,

Now that I have read the book, *My Leader*, by Mr. Suleri,[1] I think that it will serve a very useful purpose indeed to distribute copies of this in India to responsible and influential people as well as abroad. I think you should also send it to the various publishers and booksellers to enable them to sell this book on your behalf on usual terms. You can also send a few hundred copies to the All India Muslim League office on terms as your agency, to effect sales of this publication, as we have been selling great deal of literature. Please, therefore, get in touch with Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi, and as far as I am concerned, I shall feel extremely obliged if you will send me at least one hundred copies and I am quite willing to pay for it any reasonable price that you will fix, allowing me substantial discount.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Latif, Esq.,
Managing Proprietor,
The Lion Press,
Lahore

[1]See Nos. 440 & 449.

476

M. A. Jinnah to Hamilton F. Armstrong

SHC, P&P III/29

MATHERAN,
14 May 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 6th, 1945,[1] and I regret that I was not able to attend to it earlier owing to my indisposition. Although I am much better, I am at present advised to have complete rest for at least a couple of months, and, therefore, I have to attend only to very urgent matters that arise from time to time. Besides, normally it is not possible for me really to undertake to write an article for the *Foreign Affairs,* much as I would like to, as I am very much pressed for time, and I have to attend to my duties as the President of the All India Muslim League and the fast moving events and developments that are taking place in India and abroad. I think our point of view has been more than once made clear, and there is a lot of literature already in existence on the subject. But I quite appreciate your suggestion and I would have availed myself of it once more to put our point of view through an influential journal like the *Foreign Affairs* but for the reasons I have given above.

I am sending you, under separate cover, the publication as a result of my meeting with Mr. Gandhi last September, and the correspondence which took place between him and me, and my speeches delivered at the last two sessions of the All India Muslim League at Delhi and Karachi, which will give you a fairly good idea of the issues involved in the solution of India's problem of her future constitution.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Esq.,
Editor, *Foreign Affairs,*
58 East 68 Street,
New York, 21

[1]No. 437.

477

M. A. Jinnah to Ali M. Khan

SHC, FC I/54

MATHERAN,
17 May 1945

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd March 1945,[1] and I am very sorry that I was not able to attend to it earlier as, in the first place, I was not well. It was a very serious breakdown, and even now I am strictly ordered to have complete rest. Therefore, for the time being, normally I have had to cease to be an active worker of the All India Muslim League. May I, therefore, request you, for some time to come, that you should get in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who is the Secretary of the All India Muslim League and also the Convener of the Committee of Action, whose primary duty it is to organise the All India Muslim League. His address is 8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi. The Committee of Action is vested with all the powers that are necessary for the purpose.

Under the constitution, the Provincial Leagues are defined, as you will find on a careful perusal of the constitution, and are confined to British India. See rule 3, under the heading of the Composition of the All India Muslim League. But we can have branches of the A I. Muslim League, if any, outside India. See rule 3, sub-rule 6, and hence you can call yourself, Muslim League Branch, Great Britain.

The funds that you may collect should remain with the sub-branches, preferably, and shall be possessed by and under the control of the main and the head branch where it is located.

I should say that rule 40 should apply to your branch, as far as your contribution of ten per cent of your annual income, other than donations [is concerned]; it should be paid to the All India Muslim League.

As to the form, I should suggest an amendment and it should be, "I hereby declare that I accept the creed of the All India Muslim League as embodied in the constitution and shall abide by the object, constitution and the rules of the All India Muslim League."

It is not necessary for you to send the forms for the purpose of affiliation. You must, in your application, give full particulars, particularly of the number of the sub-branches and the membership, and adopt the model constitution, which has been adopted by the Provincial Leagues, a copy of which I shall try to get from the Secretary of the All India

Muslim League and send it on to you, or else you can get it directly from him. I don't think that there is any need for you to wait till all the branches have been established, and I think the model constitution will guide you in this matter.

The literature that you require, described in your letter under reply, I have directed the Assistant Secretary of the A. I. Muslim League to supply you with it if it is available immediately. As regards the paper control and arrangements to send you from here, it is almost impossible as it is not enough for us to get for our daily requirements and there is a control over it by the Government. Even the sending of literature to you requires a permission of the control here.

I hope I have given you all the information and I wish you all success. Go ahead with it and I hope you will excuse me for not having attended to it earlier.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. JINNAH

Ali M. Khan, Esq.,
4 Jamaica Street,
Edinburgh 3,
(Scotland)

No 442

478

S. A. Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/121

MASULIPATAM,
17 May 1945

We, the members of the Masulipatam Muslim Students' Federation, are doing the necessary arrangements for a district conference to be held in the last week of this month. This conference is the first of its kind in this district. On this memorable and auspicious occasion we humbly request you to send us a message. Your words will infuse in us fresh spirit and courage to accomplish things of a very great magnitude.

We are united in our efforts to safeguard our legitimate interests and for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan.

We are doing our best to uplift the down-trodden Musalmans of our parts, politically, economically and socially.

On an occasion like this your inspiring words will strengthen our

bonds of unity. We shall be highly obliged to you if you will send us your message[1] before the actual commencement of the conference.

Yours loyally,
S. A. HUSSAIN
Secretary,
Reception Committee, District MSF

[1]See No 483

479

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/90

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
18 May 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad you lost no time in nailing the lie. The *Matrubhumi* has issued an apology[1] but not a line of regret has been written by the *Amrita Bazar* [*Patrika*], the *Hindustan Standard* and the *Nationalist* that lifted the letter from the *Matrubhumi* and gave it plenty of publicity. These rascals even wrote editorials on the letter and did not wait for confirmation or denial by you. Politics is a very dirty game in this country. With such awful bitterness and dirtiness all round, how is it possible for the two major nations to work together as one in a spirit of amity and concord?

Altaf Hussain is joining the *Dawn*. He is an able writer and will certainly be an acquisition. Have you decided to register the *Dawn* as a company? You expressed this intention to me fifteen months ago. The *Dawn* must be doing very well. In my opinion, this is the time to save in order to build. I feel that the prosperity enjoyed by newspapers will not last very much longer. Government patronage, particularly in advertisement relating to recruitments etc. which is today getting a large income, will gradually diminish.

With kind regards,

Your very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS. Since writing this letter I have received your letter of the 14th instant[2] for which please accept my thanks. I cannot say I am better, but I do not feel any worse. I too assure you that everything will be

done by me to see that the promise made by us to you in regard to the Muslim Federation is fully carried out.

The first meeting of the committee of the Muslim Federation will be held in Calcutta on the 31st instant.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 827-8.
[2]No. 474.

480

Mohammad Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/45

ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
PESHAWAR,
20 May 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

May God bless you with enduring health and long life. Perhaps you remember that I met you last at Lahore in July of the last year. You came to visit the training camp of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, and I had the unique privilege of presenting[1] you an address as the *Nazim-i-A'la* or the Principal of the camp. I need not remind you that two or three years before that I had worked as Secretary of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and was one of those humble workers who arranged the Pakistan Students' Conference at Lahore in March 1941, and later on set up the Rural Propaganda Committee to propagate the League ideal among the rural masses of the Punjab. Nobody knows more than you how we carried on the struggle in the face of immense difficulties and hardships. In 1942, I took up a job here and even in my capacity as a lecturer I have not forgotten the League and its ideal.

Today I approach you with a request which is rather personal. I am thinking of going to England after the war to join the M.Ed. course at the University of Leeds or London. It will be impossible for me to venture on this course unless I get financial support from some quarter. You enjoy a great influence and I think it would be an easy affair for you to persuade any of the *waqf* committees in India to help me in foreign studies for two or three years. There might be some other resources at your disposal as well.

I hope you will do your best for me in this matter and oblige me with an early reply.[2] Let me assure you at the end that I do not seek this help from you as a reward for my national services. Nothing is

more remote from my mind than this and I would be the last person to approach you in that spirit. I would not mind it at all if I find that you are unable to help me in this matter.

Praying for your long life,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SADIQ
Lecturer

PS. I shall be writing to you shortly about Frontier politics under a separate cover.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, III, 555
[2]See No. 489.

481

Message by M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/140

MATHERAN,
21 May 1945

I am very glad to learn that a conference of all the Muslim students of Kathiawar is going to be held at Dhoraji, on the 2nd and 3rd of June 1945,[1] and I congratulate you for having organized this conference, which I have no doubt will bring all the students closer to each other and give further impetus to the organization of the Muslim students in Kathiawar.

My message to you is —qualify yourselves for the great future that lies ahead of you and make yourself fit for the struggle that you may have to face when you enter the real struggle of life. You can, without neglecting your studies — which no doubt is your primary duty — do a lot for the economic, social, educational and political uplift of the Muslims in Kathiawar. Although your problems in Kathiawar vary in different States and from British India, yet it is of vital importance to you not only to study the problems of India, but also of the world, and keep yourself abreast of various developments that are taking place in India and abroad.

I have very vivid recollections of my visit to Kathiawar, and I shall never forget the cordial and affectionate reception which was accorded to me throughout my tour by all classes and especially the youth. This

clearly shows that Islam knows no territorial barriers and you may rest assured that the Muslim League and Muslim India is keenly interested in your welfare and progress in every department of life and I am sure also that we have your reciprocal feelings and sympathies for our struggle which we are carrying on in British India for the purpose of establishing our goal of Pakistan. Pakistan means not only freedom for us Musalmans but all sections of the people inhabiting this vast sub-continent. For us, it is a matter of life and death and the only way to throw off the shackles of foreign imperialistic domination and avoid the clutches and yoke of Hindu *Raj*. Pakistan means a national home and state where we can live in peace and with honour according to Islamic culture and life.

Develop true steel-like character to serve your people and Islam, for Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people and by his nation.

[1]See No. 467.

482

M. A. Jinnah to Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

SHC, NWFP I/44

MATHERAN,
23 May 1945

Dear Mr. Nishtar,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th May 1945,[1] and all the information you have so placed before me and the picture of the position of the Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province. I have no doubt in my mind that if you and few others will summon up your courage and boldly give the lead to our people in the North-West Frontier Province, you will find 99 per cent of the Musalmans behind you, provided that the Muslim League organization will adhere solemnly to its policy and programme, that its leaders are selfless, sincere and servants of the nation, and that you put forward a definite, well-considered parliamentary programme in the form of a manifesto, such as was done in the Punjab. I have heard from Mr. Isa that he is going to the Frontier Province very soon, and in co-operation with him you can organise the League on a sound, healthy and thorough basis in no time. No individual can be placed above our principles, creed, policy and programme, which has been laid down by the All India Muslim

League. Of course, it is open to amendments, alteration and revision, but by and through honourable use of our own constitutional machinery. I don't wish to say more but I shall await the result of your efforts, in co-operation with Mr. Isa, full of hope.

I am glad to say that I am almost all right and will be quite well soon, but I need rest for some time to come. Please do not hesitate to write to me and keep me in touch with the various developments in your province. I shall always welcome any suggestion or expression of views coming from you.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Not traceable.

483

Message by M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/122

MATHERAN,
23 May 1945

I am glad to know[1] that the first conference of the Muslim students of Masulipatam District is being held shortly and I congratulate the Masulipatam Muslim Students' Federation for having organised this conference and I do hope that their efforts will be crowned with success.

I have always held that Muslim students can, without neglecting their studies, do a lot in their own way towards the social, political, educational and economic uplift of our people. It is high time that Muslim young men and students realised that now all our efforts should be directed towards preparing ourselves for the struggle for freedom—freedom for all through Pakistan—which lies ahead of us. Freedom is priceless and it cannot be measured in terms of value, and no sacrifice is too great to achieve it. It is this reality which you should bear in mind and train yourselves so as to face the struggle of life boldly and manfully with confidence and courage when the responsibility falls upon your shoulders. March on with your motto: Unity, Faith and Discipline; and *Insha Allah* we shall attain Pakistan.

[1]See No. 478.

484

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/36

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 May 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was relieved to learn that you are improving in health at Matheran. I was very very anxious to know about your health but refrained from writing because I did not want to disturb you.

I am trying my level best to unite and consolidate our ranks in Bengal before we go to the country. We are determined to sacrifice everything for the cause of unity and cent per cent success in the general elections on the issues of (1) Pakistan and (2) *Fikr-i-Islami* (Islamic ideology), as opposed to the Communist ideology of materialism and materialistic interpretation of history and the Congress ideology of geographical and ethnological nationality, propounded by Mr. Gandhi.

I am enclosing a programme of 14 points[1] for winning Pakistan and galvanizing League organisation with a new spirit, for your kind consideration.

I urge and pray earnestly that you should adopt *Fikr-i-Islami* as our ideology and Pakistan as our goal for appealing to the country. This will capture the imagination of the Muslims and go to the very core of their heart and make our appeal comprehensive and irresistible.

I am enclosing a copy of the membership pledge[2] of the Bengal Muslim League containing pledge of Pakistan and *Fikr-i-Islami* for your consideration.

Electoral rolls are being prepared in Bengal. By June 30th, 1945, preliminary rolls would be ready for revision according to an announcement of Electoral Roll Officer.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman are coming on the 29th May 1945, from Assam. We are trying our best to unite as a solid bloc of Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy and Mr. Abul Hashim.

The reason why I have adopted *Fikr-i-Islami* (Islamic ideology) as a pledge for membership is that by this alone we can checkmate and defeat the Communist threat to our Islamic solidarity and integrity.

Communism is now the greatest danger to Islam and the Islamic world.

I do request you that when you re-enter active politics you will start your work with your appeal to the *Millat* to rally round the standard of the goal of Pakistan and the ideology of *Fikr-i-Islami* as the two planks of our appeal to the electorate.

Yours most sincerely and obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN

PS. My friend Dr. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan informs me that he is ready to work as an ordinary lieutenant and worker of the Quaid-i-Azam. He may be entrusted with the work of propaganda in foreign countries and with work regarding Planning Committee.
Mr. Muhammad Amin, I.C.S., has resigned his post of District Magistrate, Singhbhum (Tatanagar), to devote himself entirely for Islamic national service. I am anxious to obtain his services for the League.
I have prepared the draft of the manifesto of the Bengal League, on their request, in modification of the draft of Mr. A. Hashim which was rejected. I will send you my draft when it is fully typed.

RAGHIB AHSAN

[&2]Not traceable.

485

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/38

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
30 May 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The recent statement which appeared in the press from the so-called representatives of Shias is indeed despicable inasmuch as these interested parties are trying to break the solidarity and unity of Muslims at a very critical juncture in Indian politics. It is imperative, in the interest of Muslims that such a move should be immediately squashed, as otherwise it will give a handle to the Congress to bargain,

should Lord Wavell bring back anything concrete in the shape of reforms.

I can quite understand that in your position as President of the League, it is not possible for you to participate in contradicting such statements from irresponsible persons, but I do feel that some joint move should now be made to deny this and such action should come from responsible leaders of Muslims who are Shias and who are in the League.

I was very sorry to read in the papers that neither Ahmad Ispahani nor Sir Syed Maratab Ali have proceeded to England as yet on grounds of ill-health. I have already written to Ahmad hoping that he will be able to proceed immediately in the interests of Muslim industrialization. In view of the statements that are being made from time to time by Mr. Birla and others, it is very necessary that responsible Muslim businessmen should be there to counteract the effect of statements made by those who are in England at present.

I presume that Mir Laik Ali's position in this matter is awkward as he belongs to an Indian State. I have, therefore, to request you kindly to write to Ahmad to proceed to England as soon as his health permits and if he is unable to do so for some time, I feel that Sir Azizul Haque should be requested to nominate on the industrial mission, some additional persons who could be trusted to do what is necessary in Muslim interests.

I do hope the progress in your health is maintained.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

486

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Aziz

SHC, Sind V/54

MATHERAN,
30 May 1945

Dear Mr. Abdul Aziz,

I am in receipt of your letter of 27th May,[1] and as you know the matter of organising, supervising and controlling the Muslim League organisation all over India, including Sind and its Provincial League and its parliamentary activities, rests with the Committee of Action

and with the Central Parliamentary Board. I have so often made it clear that it is for them to attend to this matter. Therefore, the best course for you is to get in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Convener of the Committee of Action, whose address is 8B Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi. But I might say that really it is for the local leaders, who believe in service before self and the cause for which we stand, to work selflessly and serve the people in all earnestness and the spirit of service. The Muslim League constitution and rules are most democratic and it is for the people really to manage by creating a healthy, sound and well-organized public opinion and developing the character of the people and a sense of rectitude and training them up to stand by the principles and policies of the All India Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Advocate,
Wadhumal Udharam Road,
Karachi

Not traceable.

487

M. A. Jinnah to M. Ismail Khan

SHC, UP IV/18

MATHERAN,
30 May 1945

My dear Nawab Ismail Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th May[1] along with the statement of the income and expenditure of the Committee of Action, from January 1944 to 10 May 1945. But I find that this method of accounting is not quite satisfactory and the same method should be followed as was adopted by Central Defence Committee, because these items convey nothing. May I therefore request you, if you can manage to follow the previous method of accounting, as that will form a record of fairly understandable information and reasonable way of accounting. I hope you will take up this matter at your early convenience and do the needful.

I am really sorry to hear that you are not well and I do hope and pray that you will soon be all right.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan,
Mustafa Castle,
Meerut

[1]No. 472.

488

M. A. Jinnah to the Manager, Khoja Shia Isna 'Ashari Jama'at

F. 906/35

MATHERAN,
31 May 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your postcard dated 24th May 1945,[1] and I gather that my name has been put on the consulting committee. I was neither asked, nor have I given my consent to be on any committee that may have been appointed, and I regret to say that it is not possible for me, having regard to the pressure of other work, to serve on any such committee, in order to discharge my duties and responsibilities of the membership to my satisfaction. Please, therefore, remove my name from the committee and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
Khoja Shia Isna 'Ashari Jama'at,
Palagali Samuel Street,
Bombay

[1]Not traceable.

489

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sadiq

F. 1356/59

MATHERAN,
31 May 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 20th May 1945,[1] and I thank you for it, and I am sorry that I cannot help you with any financial support, as suggested by you. You don't seem to quite appreciate that I cannot undertake to find out some source which I can influence and give financial support to various Muslim young men who constantly write to me or approach me for the purpose. If I were to undertake this task, I shall have to actually open a department for this and examine the pros and cons of each application and then plead before somebody to help the deserving candidates, which is neither a practicable proposition nor can I, having regard to the pressure of my work with regard to the bigger issues which face us, undertake this work. These are matters for local people to manage, for they will be in a far better position to deal with deserving cases, and it is up to the Muslim leaders and those philanthropists who really wish to help the cause of the nation to arrange and manage these things. I shall certainly look forward to your promised letter about the Frontier.

Wishing you success,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Sadiq, Esq.,
Islamia College,
Peshawar

[1]No. 480.

490

Mian Mumtaz Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/33

3 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
31 May 1945

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

All of us in the Punjab have been waiting with deepest solicitude and mounting spirits, your progress towards complete recovery. Latest reports have completely reassured us and all over the Punjab thanks have been offered to the Almighty for His graciousness.

In the Punjab we have worked as never before. Unfortunately, the *Dawn* is somewhat stepmotherly in its treatment of us, but the *Manshoor* has faithfully followed all our movements. At a meeting of our Provincial Council, which was held on the 20th of May, I presented a report of the activities of the Provincial League during the past year, and since the report is scrupulously accurate and gives a fair assessment of successes and failures, I am venturing to send a copy[1] of it to you for your judgement. The report is in Urdu but I hope to be able to send you an English translation at an early date.

We are all very anxious to know if any decision has been arrived at respecting the dates of the All India Session.[2] We feel that the first of November would, in all respects, be most suitable.

The first thought of every Musalman in the Punjab is for your health. It is our greatest, most valued, most indispensable national treasure. With you to command and direct us we cannot fail to conquer our objective.

With the sincerest prayers for your health and respectful regards to Miss Jinnah from Almas and myself,

Yours most obediently,

MUMTAZ

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 501.

491

Mohamed Shafi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/107

LAHORE,
31 May 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am deeply gratified to learn from the press reports that you are now completely recovered. Almost every line of your statement on Palestine[1] was reflective of your vigorous mental and physical health.

Here is a matter which I want to bring to your notice if it has not been already. I understand from authoritative sources that the Associated Press of India, which is at present incorporated with the Reuters, is being acquired by the Indian newspapers. I need hardly pause here to explain the implications of such a move materializing. It is evident that this would mean the greatest blow to non-Congress politics in India.

The second matter is less of a public than personal nature as far as I am concerned. The *Civil & Military Gazette*, with which I have been associated for the last several years as a reporter, has now become, or will become shortly, an Anglo-Sikh concern with a dominant share of Messrs Baldev Singh and Natha Singh. If you are interested, I shall let you know all relevant details in this connection.

Although I cannot afford to go out of employment, it is clear I cannot toe the Akali line. I shall stay here as long as I can work as an independent and upright reporter or else will prefer to resign rather be kicked out. In anticipation of the likely event of the latter eventuality taking place, may I have the benefit of your advice[2] about my future. The alternative before me is to take up Government service.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED SHAFI
Chief Reporter,
Civil & Military Gazette

[1]See Waheed Ahmad *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 92-4.
[2]See *SHC*, P&P III/108. Not printed.

492

M. A. Jinnah to N. C. Mehta

SHC, Non-Muslims I/97

MATHERAN,
31 May 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without any date[1] and beg to inform you, as you yourself say that you are a layman in politics, that you should buy the Muslim League literature and study it, and let me tell you that there is plenty of it. You can get in touch with the Central Office and the Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi. There is a recent publication, which you can get from Lion's Publications, Lahore, called *My Leader*, written by Mr. Z. A. Suleri. The price is only Rs. 3-12-0. Besides, I think Mr. Gandhi and the Hindu leaders know perfectly well what the Muslim League demand is, and you can get in touch with them.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nautamlal Chhotalal Mehta,
543 Kalbadevi Road,
Bombay 2

Annex.

Annex to No. 492
N. C. Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/96

543 KALBADEVI ROAD,
BOMBAY 2,
[*Undated*] *May 1945*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much indeed for the interview you were kind enough to give me, on the 26th April, at Matheran. I shall be very grateful if you will enlighten me further on the point of separate

nationalities of the Muslims and the Hindus.

I, along with many others, am not convinced about the fundamental difference between the Hindus and the Muslims, such as should make it necessary for the Muslims to have Pakistan. I quite agree with you that there are differences between the two communities, but there are also many similarities. There are differences between two brothers born of the same parents, as also between yourself of 1924 and of 1945.

I stayed for twenty years in Egypt, where there are a few Hindus and many Indian Muslims, and I found that the Indian Muslims were more at home with the Hindus than with their co-religionists of Egypt. Further, I have found that in foreign countries, the Indians are respected or insulted as Indians, whether they be Muslims or Hindus. If the Egyptian Government would prohibit immigration to the Indians, the law would apply to the Hindus as well as the Muslims.

Same blood runs in the nerves of Hindus and Muslims, as separate blood runs in Mongols, Slavs, Negroes, etc.

Further, you must be aware that the British are silent about the matter of Pakistan, they neither support it nor oppose it. About this I would like to give you my opinion.

After the last Round Table Conference, I had the honour to meet the late Sir Mohamed Iqbal at Cairo, where he stayed for a few days, as I was in constant touch with him during that time, and had a long talk with him about Pakistan and he told me why he favoured the scheme.

The principal point, and the one of which the Indian public is almost ignorant, was that "Unless something is done, India would be a Bolshevik State with the help of Russia". It should be noted that during that time a very strong propaganda was going on in all the countries against Russia and its anti-religious attitude. Mr. Churchill had spoken during that period that "If Mr. Gandhi were wearing trousers, Russian roubles could be found in his pockets". Because of this the Muslims were frightened about the future of their religion, especially as the Hindus were thought to be somewhat pro-Russian. Hence some of the Muslim leaders thought of Pakistan as the first step, and the pan-Islamism as the next step, for the creation of a kind of buffer state or states between the Hindu India and Russia as well as between the whole of Africa and Russia. At the time of conceiving the idea of Pakistan, the Muslim leaders were not afraid of the Congress *Raj*, as of Bolshevism and its anti-religious policy. And this scheme of Pakistan had secret support from certain British die-hards. Now the same die-hards intend to keep it as a weapon, in cases of need, against the Hindus as

well as the Bolsheviks.

Recently there was held the pan-Arab Conference in the Middle East countries. The British tried at first to name it as pan-Islamic Conference, and the Egyptian King Faruk was suggested as a future *khalifa*. He even started to grow a beard for the purpose. But the Muslims of the Middle East were too unorthodox for pan-Islamism, and Turkey refused to fall in with the plan. Then the conference was named pan-Arab Conference. This also is a scheme of creating a.sort of buffer state against Russian influence, since Russia, at present, is asking for M.E. [Middle East] as its sphere of influence.

Further, I understood from many of my Egyptian friends, who are high officials or leaders, that they have been receiving many pamphlets from the Indian Muslim League, by way of propaganda for Pakistan. The Muslims of Egypt however are against this separation, not only from any national motive, but even from the religious point of view. They understand that in India, Islamism is spreading, owing to the conservativeness and orthodoxy of the Hindus, but if Pakistan is materialized [*sic*], the Hindu India will resist the spread of Islam tooth and nail, and Islam will have no scope to spread in Hindu India. I myself do not know to what point this notion is true, but you must be knowing better, and would kindly enlighten me on the matter.

Lately I had occasion to meet some Pakistani Muslims, who while discussing this matter, could give no reason for separation except the Congress policy during their Ministries in the provinces. This is only a lame and shallow excuse for Pakistan. The policy of the Congress may not be a perfect one, nor that of the Unionist Party of Punjab, nor that of the League Ministry of Bengal.

As a distinguished lawyer, you must have known many worst cases of injustice between brother and brother, father and sons, and even among Muslims and Muslims themselves. At present the need is not only for one united India but all the subjugated races of the world should unite together, to make a common front against the imperialism as well as Bolshevism. Now the key to unite India is in your hands, and by using this key, you will not only be considered the saviour of Islam, but of India as well.

I am a lay man in politics, and there are many like me, who have no clear idea of your scheme to save India and Islam by Pakistan. Further, I had no occasion or opportunity to see you again at Matheran, and hence this lengthy letter, and I sincerely trust that you will kindly

show me the light as you see about clearing the political atmosphere of India.

Looking forward to hear[ing] soon from your goodself,

I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

N. C. MEHTA

493

Mohammad Sadiq to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP II/87

PESHAWAR,

31 May 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you must have received my first letter[1] by now. Muslim League politics here is not stagnant as it might seem to the outside world. The appointment of Mehr Chand Khanna as the deputy leader of the province by Dr. Khan Sahib is being severely criticized and condemned by the Muslim intelligentsia of the province. Educated Pathans have perfectly understood that the present day Congress of the province is being entirely dominated by the Hindus and serving their interests to the detriment of Musalmans. *Moulvis* are mostly against the provincial Congress on account of its anti-religious policy. But they have not yet raised an organised voice against it.

I don't know how the provincial Muslim League is being organised but I know definitely that the Muslim students are seriously thinking of giving a befitting reply to the Congress manoeuvres on the 6th and 7th of June. Big meetings are being organised by some Muslim young men. Muslim League leaders from the Punjab have already promised to participate. After this, the provincial Muslim Students' Federation will be reorganized. There is a definite move among the students to go in batches to the villages during the vacations for the political education of the masses. Within a year or so, they intend to invite you to the province to preside over a Pakistan students conference. Young men are tired of their elders who, they think, are mainly responsible for a bad name to the Frontier League. Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan, Bakht Jamal Khan, and Abdur Rab Nishtar are the exceptions who enjoy some popularity even among the younger

folk. In my opinion K. B. Sadullah Khan is the only person under the present circumstances who can organise the Muslim League in the face of the Congress opposition. He is both respected and feared by the Khan Brothers. If he comes into the field selflessly there is no reason why he should not be able to raise the status of the League once again. College students are ninety per cent for the League and Pakistan but they lack organisation. There are signs that they will take up Congress challenges in the near future. College professors mostly stand for Pakistan, and generally there are discussions among them about the political future of India. Some of them, however, still think that independence should be achieved first through a Hindu-Muslim front. They agree that Hindus can be forced to concede Pakistan in an independent India. The Islamia College Principal, an I. C. S. Englishman, is reported to have supported Pakistan in his private communication to the members of staff. He thinks that Pakistan should be at once conceded, if sixty six per cent of the Muslim are found to be in favour of it.

Congressmen of the Frontier do not particularly disfavour Pakistan. Khan Abdul Ghaffar is inclined towards it but he does not speak out his mind with courage. Khan Abdul Qaiyum of the Central Assembly does not care to hide his anti-Hindu feelings in private talk. All these people, however, think that the League is pro-British. Many of them are afraid of losing financial aid from the Congress in case they openly support Pakistan. Money seems to be the deciding factor in the Frontier Province. This is the great weakness of the Pathans. Many of their activities are inspired by financial gains. This weakness is, however, confined to their leaders. The masses are sound and self-sacrificing. If they are approached by sincere Muslim Leaguers they are sure to flock around the Muslim flag. It is my firm opinion that the League ideal can inspire them more than [that of] the Congress. The Congress is being presented to them as protector of Islam and *Qur'an*. The illiterate Pathans can be easily misled by these slogans.

Praying for your long life,

Yours sincerely,
A PAKISTANI[2]

[1]No. 480.
[2]For Jinnah's reply see No. 499.

494

M. A. Jinnah to Raghib Ahsan

F. 1363/10

MATHERAN,
2 June 1945

Dear Mr. Raghib Ahsan,

I am in receipt of your letter of 24th May 1945,[1] and I have noted the various suggestions that you have made therein, but, as you know, I am for the moment disabled from playing my full part in the activities of the Muslim League organization, and primarily, the matters referred to in your letter, are the concern of the Committee of Action, who are at present, I believe, in Bengal and have been there and also went to 'Assam. There are some matters, mentioned by you, which are very important but they must be placed before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, before final decision is taken, but I suppose you and others must have discussed this matter with the Committee of Action, and I would like to know their reaction to it; anyhow, I have noted your points.

I shall certainly await the receipt of the draft of the manifesto of the Bengal League, which, I understand, you are preparing and will send it to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Raghib Ahsan, Esq.,
8 Zakaria Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 484.

495

Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/184

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
4 June 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

It seems desirable that the Muslim League may include the following

in the creed:

In all institutions maintained wholly or partly by public funds, seats shall be reserved for the Musalmans in proportion to their representation in the legislature.

In the interest of the safeguard of Muslim education this provision is very important and if the Government is not prepared to reserve places for the Musalmans then they ought to pay the entire cost of the maintenance of the institutions for the Muslims alone.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

496

M. A. Jinnah to Habib I. Rahimtoola

SHC, Bombay I/39

MATHERAN,
4 June 1945

Dear Mr. Habib Rahimtoola,

I have received your letter of 30th May,[1] and don't you think that the matters referred to by you in your letter should really be handled by you people? You have now got the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, its office-bearers, its executive, and it is really their business now to attend to what is their legitimate function, and work in a team as a disciplined organization.

As regards the statement regarding the Shias, here again you have got the Provincial Muslim League, and it is that body that ought to really expose the hollowness of the agitation, if you consider it worth their while to do so. I think the time has now come when spoon-feeding must cease. Besides, I cannot apply my mind to all these details and regulate and conduct them from here, specially, as you know, I am though almost all right, I still need rest for some time to come.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Habib I. Rahimtoola Esq.,
Ismail Building,
Hornby Road, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No. 485.

497

Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/30

PRIVATE

THE *SPECTATOR*,
99 GOWER STREET,
LONDON,
5 June 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for yours of April 8th.[1] I was glad to read what you said. I am more than ever convinced that there will be no lasting solution of India's problem unless the Muslim point of view is fully recognized, and I have said as much in my book, *Immortal Years*, which will not be ready till next month. As I said, I will send you a copy.

With kind regards from my wife and myself to you and Miss Jinnah, and with all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH

[1] No. 451.

498

Inayat Kibriya to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Students II/54

EGERTON ROAD,
PESHAWAR,
6 June 1945

Respected Sir,

We are very much humiliated to feel within ourselves that our province has behaved very badly towards the cause of Muslim League. We also realise that we have been a source of great pain to you. But if we have to follow [in] the footsteps of a great realist like your goodself, we will put a direct question upon ourselves and say, what is the remedy for the wrongs done?

Students' Federation is very much alive to the fact that the recent

happenings are a direct insult to our national pride and we assure you that we will never pocket this astounding insolence. Blow for blow will be dealt and the opponents will be forced to realise that the Muslim League is a hard nut to crack.

We are holding our annual session meeting [*sic*] on 16th, 17th and 18th of June 1945. It is going to be a well-planned first onslaught on the opposing forces. *Insha Allah,* you will hear the news in a very short time.

Nawab Sahib of Mamdot, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Mr. Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani of Rawalpindi, Mr. Hamid Nizami of the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt,* Mr Abdul Sattar Niazi, *et al.,* are expected to take part in our session.

We hope to reap a good harvest through the instrumentality of this meeting.

i. We will be able to counteract the insidious propaganda put forward by the Congress and the whole of the Hindu capitalist regime.
ii. It will invigorate the Pakistan-loving element in our province.
iii. We will be able to establish a direct contact and pacify the discontented flood of masses.
iv. We will strengthen and enhance the prestige of the Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation.
v. We will make an effective and emphatic effort to neutralize the disintegrating forces of the various sections of the Muslim League.
vi. And finally, it will be our effort to create new and healthy leadership from below, present and other quarters [*sic*].

This in a nutshell is our present programme and after our annual session we will organise rural sub-committees and of out [*sic*] in the villages.

In future we will always have the honour to transmit to you the political situation of our province and receive instructions from you and chalk out our strategy according to your decisions.

For the present we request you to very kindly send us your message[1] for our annual session at your earliest convenience and oblige.

Lastly, we pray for you, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, that you should live long, and live triumphantly in the annals of the world history [*sic*].
Aameen

Obediently and lovingly yours,
INAYAT KIBRIYA
for Sarhad Muslim Students' Federation

See F. 1020/6-7, *QAP*. Not printed.

499

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Sadiq

SHC (475)

MATHERAN,
7 June 1945

Dear Mr. Mohammad Sadiq,

I am in receipt of your letter of 31st May,[1] and the account of the various developments that are taking place in the Frontier, and thank you very much for it. I read your report of the situation with very great interest and I am glad that the bulk of the Muslims of the Frontier are sound in heart and head, and stand by our cherished goal of Pakistan, and you must all work and organise the Muslim League in your province.

I have already replied[2] to your previous letter and hope you have received it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Sadiq, Esq.,
Islamia College, Peshawar

[1]No. 493.

[2]See No. 489.

500

M. A. Jinnah to Shafa'at Ahmad Khan

SHC, UP VI/45

MATHERAN,
7 June 1945

Dear Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th May,[1] which reached me here. I am very glad to inform you that I am almost all right and hope to be quite well soon, but my doctors have advised me, and I agree with them, that I should take complete rest for some time. And

therefore, I cannot revert to my normal activities, except [for] such matters as are absolutely necessary and require my attention, or if any emergency arises, for the next two or three months.

I hope to return to Bombay by the middle of June, and thereafter I am advised to avoid the Bombay monsoon, and will very soon leave Bombay. I have not yet decided where I shall go, and that depends upon further consideration of the choice of place.

I shall certainly be very glad to see you when I am quite fit and discuss with you the various matters referred to in your letter. But the consideration of the various points mentioned by you can wait for some time to come, as I don't think of any real immediate urgency.

Thanking you for your personal references to me and your appreciation of such services as I may have rendered to our nation—Muslim India. If the Musalmans stand united and determined, I have no doubt in my mind that we shall win and, *Insha Allah*, Pakistan will be established sooner than many people think. Therein lies our salvation. More when we meet.

While I was in Delhi, it was very good of you to call to enquire about my health, and my sister told me the talk you had with her and your deep concern about my indisposition.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan,
Clarendon Cottage,
Simla

[1]See *SHC*, UP VI/44. Not printed.

501

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

SHC, Punjab III/34

MATHERAN,
7 June 1945

My dear Mumtaz,

Many thanks for your letter of the 31st May, 1945,[1] along with the

Urdu copies ot the report of the activities of the Provincial League and its leaders. Of course I shall try to go through it, but, as you say you are sending me the English translation at an early date, I would welcome it, not only for my sake but I think you know that it is also necessary that our literature should be printed in English because both for abroad and in India, and particularly the official world and the Government can be more easily attracted to the English language. With all our professions for Urdu and its development, we should not be overwhelmed with prejudices and sentiments, but utilize every channel that is available to us, for our purpose.

As regards the fixing of the date of the next session of the All India Muslim League, I have not heard anything yet from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, but I understand from various quarters that first week of November will be most suitable, and so far as I am personally concerned, I shall naturally meet the wishes and convenience of the Muslims of the Punjab, who have so cordially and kindly invited the sessions of the All India Muslim League to their province.

As regards my health, I am glad to inform you that I am almost all right. In fact there was nothing serious the matter with me constitutionally, except a complete breakdown due to pressure of work, anxiety and over-work for the last seven or eight years without a holiday. It was more or less a matter of exhaustion, and the will carried the body. I had many small warnings during the last few months but this last one was a very serious one. Anyhow, I have made remarkable progress and I want my reserves back before I can really play my full part, and there is no other remedy for it except rest and I am ordered to continue to have complete rest for another two or three months. I hope to get away from Bombay monsoon and am making arrangements to go to some suitable place.

I hope to reach Bombay by the middle of June and within a few days I may leave Bombay. I have not yet decided the place where I shall go. Please do keep me in touch with what is happening in the Punjab and wherever I am I shall not fail in case of emergency or when necessity requires my attention to any question or issue that may face us.

As regards your kind references to me personally, I really don't know how to adequately thank you. It is very great encouragement indeed coming from you as it does the expression of deep affection and loyalty and faith in me. I hope I shall not fail and shall make

myself worthy of your expectations of me. I am confident we shall not fail to win and achieve Pakistan, provided Muslim India stands united, determined and undaunted.

Thanking you again for your great concern about my health and kind enquiries, and with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me,

M. A. JINNAH

No. 490.

502

M. A. Jinnah to Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem

SHC, Hyderabad I/54

MATHERAN,
9 June 1945

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated 7th June[1] and the matters referred to in your letter are present in my mind and have been so for some time, and some steps have already been taken for the purpose that you have in your mind. I would request you to carefully read the constitution of the All India Muslim League and examine it, and if you have any concrete suggestions to make by way of modification or amendment, it will certainly receive my very careful attention. I appreciate your spirit and anxiety for organizing the Muslim nation. The League is doing its utmost and working in that direction, having regard to the prevailing conditions of the Muslims. It is not an easy task, because only a few years ago the Musalmans were only a crowd, scattered and fallen, and by the grace of God we have already succeeded in welding them together, and today the voice of the League is heard not only all over India but throughout the world. To remould a hundred million of people and to organize them, as we are trying to do, is a stupendous task and I am confident that we shall succeed, as I find that Muslim India is now awake. But of course there are many things to be done. We have only touched the fringe of it and your letter is only one

indication of how keenly the intelligent and thinking Muslim is now interested in organizing our nation.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Bahauddin Mhamood Saleem, Esq.,
Usmanshahi,
Hyderabad, Deccan

·See *SHC*, Hyderabad I/53. Not printed.

503

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (480)

DEAN'S HOTEL,
PESHAWAR,
13 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I came here on the 10th, and received your very kind letter of the 23rd May which was chasing me for a long time. I was in Delhi on the 8th for a day when I met Nawabzada Sahib, from whom I learnt that you would be reaching Bombay on the 10th. I am so very glad and thankful to God to know that you are feeling much better and that the stay at Matheran helped you a lot.

While in Quetta, I met H. H. of Kalat and fixed up with him all about your intended visit to Quetta. We have arranged three stations for your stay—Quetta, Mastung (the place where you had tea with Political Agent, Kalat, last time on the way from Kalat to Quetta), and Kalat. I personally think that, to start with, you should stay at Mastung where there would be no one to worry you. It is thirty miles from Quetta and sixty miles from Kalat.

It pained me very much to read in your letter that you did not wish to trouble me—so you wrote to H.H. Is your stay with us on your coming to our province any trouble to me? It is not only my duty but my pleasure as well to do all that I can to see you and make you comfortable. During your illness it was I who had suggested to Miss Jinnah that you must come to Quetta. I even told her that if I had to go out of Quetta for League work, H. H. Kalat would be there to look

after your comfort.

I know this time you would be coming unofficially to Baluchistan—but still Baluchistan is within your jurisdiction and hence there cannot be a total unofficial visit. I am your representative there and it is my duty to know all your programmes and plans. A king within his kingdom can never say that he is on an unofficial visit; he must inform his provincial governors all about his plans!

It took me a bit longer to reach here. Owing to my father-in-law's death. [word illegible] could not come to Quetta. So I went there to settle some important matters, chief among them being the forthcoming Quetta municipal elections, where [*sic* for which] we have decided to contest under protest because they have given us joint electorate.

After the fall of the League Ministry in NWFP, I reported to Nawabzada that we should not proceed with the League election for the next two months—we should allow the wave of excitement to die down. Having come back after that period, I find that in a very short time the Congress has once again dug its grave. A wave of indignation against them is sweeping the province. The administration has deteriorated, corruption is on the increase, and a great dissatisfaction is all around—and the present Govt. cannot cope with it. If we had the right type of man at the helm of affairs here, he could have worked systematically for the final blow, but we are moving slowly and our democratic machinery prevents us from taking drastic steps. I wish we could do that in the case of NWFP—and this is the only way which will be acceptable here. You must give a new leader to the Assembly Party even if you have to impose one—otherwise no use. Even the organisation work cannot be done under the present position. Sir, if you let the Assembly Party take the initiative themselves, then we will have to wait till eternity. The people expect a decision from you, and you alone. I cannot say anything more –I am sure you know the best.

I have appointed *ad hoc* district committees to carry out day-to-day League work and to take charge of the League election work. Election charts have been completed and printed and I expect the elections to be over within a month. I know I have taken upon myself a very thankless job because I am pushing on with my work on the right party lines, not caring whom does it please or displease. I expect no praise from the old group, and God help me with the new enthusiasts! We are going to hold elections on a very large scale—not done so far in any [Muslim] majority province—and introducing the democratic machinery, which very few know how to work. With your trust

and confidence in me, I know I have the courage to go ahead, and that is the only thing which keeps us going here. The masses have faith in the League and confidence in you but are fed up with the local leaders for their petty differences, which has brought about the downfall of the League. On the eve of the commencement of elections please send me a message that all must truly and loyally work with me in the forthcoming election, at the same time ordering me to see that the right type of people should come forward and that the people should support the right type of leaders—there must be a spirit of party allegiance and not allegiance to an individual. *Insha Allah*, we will get in very healthy young element in the Provincial League here after the elections.

I would not be a bit surprised if you called a meeting of the Working Committee. The local Muslim Students' Federation is holding their conference on the 16th and 17th.

Nishtar's help and advice I find very valuable. I told him that he should assert himself a little more in order to give to the people the required lead. As regards many others, they are following the lines of those whom God wishes to destroy and makes them blind first.

Please do let me know when you expect to leave for Quetta. Why not call a Working Committee meeting at Quetta? Necessary arrangements shall be made for all there.

My very best and kind regards to Miss Jinnah. I have got her white Alsatian dog with me.

Yours sincerely,
ISA

Not traceable

504

Shafa'at Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP VI/46

CLARENDON COTTAGE,
KAITHU,
SIMLA,
14 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I am most grateful for your letter,[1] and am relieved to hear that you have made such good progress. It is the earnest prayer of Muslims all

over India that God in His infinite mercy grant you perfect health and happiness.

I received my inspiration from you in May 1924, when I attended the meeting of All India Muslim League at Lahore in that year. From that date till 1940, I did not miss a single meeting of the League. You have trained two generations of Muslim intelligentsia and Muslim India owes you a debt of gratitude for what you have done for the League.

I do not know if any Muslim in India has done more for Muslims during the last one hundred years than yourself, and it is a source of great pleasure to all of us that you have rebuilt the foundations of the community in this critical period.

I am very glad to read in the papers that you have decided to stay at Quetta and I hope and pray that the Quetta climate will prove salutary.

When you return from Quetta and are completely recovered in health, I would like to pay my respects to you and tell you something about French imperialism in Algeria, Tunis and Syria. In the meantime, if there is any occasion in which my services are needed, I shall deem it a privilege and a pleasure to do my bit.

With kind regards,

Most sincerely yours,
SHAFA'AT AHMAD

[1]No. 500

505

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 810/166

NEW DELHI,
14 June 1945

You may have heard my broadcast[1] this evening. The text and that of the Secretary of State's simultaneous announcement[2] in Parliament will appear in newspapers tomorrow. I hope you will agree to attend the conference which I have proposed. I have suggested 11 a.m. on [illegible] fifth June at Viceregal Lodge Simla for the first meeting. If you accept my invitation I should welcome a discussion with you before the opening of the conference and suggest, subject to your convenience,

5 p.m. on the twenty fourth June at Viceregal Lodge Simla. I have had accommodation reserved for you at the Cecil Hotel in the hope that you will accept.

ARCHIBALD WAVELL
Viceroy

[&2]Annexes I & II.

Annex I to No. 505
Broadcast Speech by Archibald Wavell

F. 132/40-2

NEW DELHI,
14 June 1945

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders, both of Central and Provincial politics, to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an

Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover, Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government; or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress

Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on 25th June at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the

new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present, thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

Annex II to No. 505
Statement by Leopold Amery

F. 132/43-5

[LONDON,]
14 June 1945

1. During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.

2. Members will be aware that since the offer by[1] His Majesty's Government to India in March 1942, there has been no further progress towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.

3. As was then stated, the working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian peoples themselves.

4. While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be a contradiction in terms to speak

of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. Such a thing is not possible, nor could we accept the responsibility for enforcing such institutions at the very time when we were, by its purpose, withdrawing from all control of British Indian affairs.

5. The main constitutional position remains therefore as it was. The offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety without change or qualification. His Majesty's Government still hope that the political leaders in India may be able to come to an agreement as to the procedure whereby India's permanent future form of government can be determined.

6. His Majesty's Government are, however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political deadlock in India. While that deadlock lasts, not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.

7. The Indian administration, over-burdened with the great tasks laid upon it by the war against Japan and by the planning for the post-war period, is further strained by the political tension that exists.

8. All that is so urgently required to be done for agricultural and industrial development and for the peasants and workers of India cannot be carried through unless the whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people is forthcoming.

9. His Majesty's Government have therefore considered whether there is something which they could suggest in this interim period, under the existing constitution, pending the formulation by Indians of their future constitutional arrangements, which would enable the main communities and parties to co-operate more closely together and with the British to the benefit of the people of India as a whole.

10. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities. But they are willing to make possible some step forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

11. To this end they would be prepared to see important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive. This is possible without making any change in the existing statute law except for one amendment to the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935. That Schedule contains a provision that not less than three members of the Executive must have had at least 10 years service under the Crown in India. If the proposals I am about to lay before the House meet with acceptance in India, that

clause would have to be amended to dispense with that requirement.

12. It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and Caste Hindus.

13. In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are the heads of the most important parties or who have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of Provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above stated and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would recommend for appointment by His Majesty to the Viceroy's Council, although the responsibility for the recommendations must of course continue to rest with him and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.

14. The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would whole-heartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion.

15. The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.

16. Nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States through the Viceroy as Crown Representative.

17. The Viceroy has been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place this proposal before the Indian leaders. His Majesty's Government trust that the leaders of the Indian communities will respond. For the success of such a plan must depend upon its acceptance in India and the degree to which responsible Indian politicians are prepared to co-operate with the object of making it a workable interim arrangement. In the absence of such general acceptance, existing arrangements must necessarily continue.

18. If such co-operation can be achieved at the Centre it will no doubt be reflected in the Provinces and so enable responsible Governments to be set up once again in those provinces where, owing to the

withdrawal of the majority party from participation, it became necessary to put into force the powers of the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. It is to be hoped that in all the provinces these Governments would be based on the participation of the main parties, thus smoothing out communal differences and allowing Ministers to concentrate upon their very heavy administrative tasks.

19. There is one further change which, if these proposals are accepted, His Majesty's Government suggest should follow.

20. That is, that External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

21. By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements.

22. His Majesty's Government consider, after the most careful study of the question, that the plan now suggested gives the utmost progress practicable within the present constitution. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.

23. His Majesty's Government feel certain that given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self-government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence, of India in the counsels of the nations.

[1]See Appendix II. 1, Vol. I, Part II, 21-2.

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, F. 810/166

BOMBAY,
15 June 1945

Your invitation fourteenth.[1] Shall be glad meet you twenty fourth for discussion but as regards your proposals particularly conference

require clarification which I hope will be available our meeting twenty fourth. This will enable me consult my Working Committee in the light of such clarifications and decide upon our course of action. May I request you therefore postpone date conference for a fortnight as the time fixed is too short for meeting Working Committee Members all over India. I reciprocate your appeal for co-operation and goodwill and hope that Muslim League will make its contribution to any just and reasonable interim provisional settlement. Please reply.[2]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 505.
[2]See Annex to No. 510.

507

A. Krishnaswami to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/99

MADRAS,
15 June 1945

Dear Sir,

I trust that you have recovered from your recent illness. Most of us here in Madras felt that the attacks on you by the *Matrubhumi*[1] and a section of the press associated with it were not only unfortunate but also reprehensible. We are all looking forward to you to give a lead, not only to Muslim India but also to the entire people who do not owe allegiance to the Congress. In any case I would request you to remember the claim of the non-Brahmins of south India for the formation of the independent state of Dravidasthan, notwithstanding the failures of some of our leaders.[2]

I hope that the *Liberator* is reaching you regularly.

With regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

A. KRISHNASWAMI
Doctor

[1]See Nos. 469, 470, 474 & 479.
[2]Jinnah replied that he had noted the contents of his letter and that he was seized of the situation. See *SHC*, Non-Muslims I/100. Not printed.

508

Mian Mumtaz Daultana to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab III/35

RAM MUNSHI BAGH,
SRINAGAR,
15 June 1945

My most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank you very much indeed for your generous and kind letter which I received yesterday.[1] I wish I could adequately express the very deepest relief and the nearest, most personal joy which I have felt at the miraculous improvement in your health, which is a sign and an encouragement to our nation from God. Yesterday I also heard over the radio that you had reached Bombay. It elates and enthuses us all to know that our captain has again his unerring hand on the helm to steer us through these solemn, critical and historical [*sic*] days.

I have put the last bit of my energy during the past ten months in an effort to play my humble part in the organization of the Punjab Muslim League. In his affectionate solicitude, which Nawab Iftikhar Hussain has for each one of his workers, he has permitted me a month's holiday which I am spending in Srinagar. I pledge to you, Sir, that till I live I shall not falter and I shall not weaken, with God's grace, in the tasks that you and my nation demand of me.

I had taken it upon myself to prepare an English translation of the Urdu report I sent to you. I confess that I have been negligent, although I have been in poor health, but I promise to prepare the translation within a fortnight and send it to you.

We shall be grateful if a decision is arrived at about the date of the next annual session to be held at Lahore before the end of July, so that we can make preparations which are worthy of you, the All India Muslim League and the Punjab Muslims.

I know, Sir, that it is improper for me to mention the Wavell proposals, which must be occupying your fullest attention, and about which we must keep silent till in the fullness of your faultless judgement you pronounce upon them in the name of our nation.

But I, who am raw in politics, am so deeply agitated and nervous that I feel I must pour my heart out to my leader and my guide.

These proposals, Sir, have obvious and very grave defects. Apart from the fact that any interim arrangement must involve a temporary tacit admission of an all-India Centre, the proposals speak of Muslim representatives and not of Muslim League representatives, the latter alone being capable of honestly taking the burden on behalf of our, yet not fully aroused, nation; and in our present condition such a proposal can open the gates to the machinations of the traitors within our midst, who are the avowed agents of the two powers ranged against us.

Besides, the committee which it is proposed should meet at Simla, includes two Muslims who have deserted and betrayed us at the most critical time in our history. To sit with them at a council table may be taken as a condonement [*sic*] of their treachery.

Yet, Sir, with all respect and humility, I submit that perhaps the British Govt. could not properly have spoken in terms of parties but only in terms of nations, which they have done. Besides, in his speech before the [House of] Commons, Mr Amery has quite properly stressed the significance of our stand—which may, in time, come to amount to an admission of the inevitability of Pakistan. The arrangements suggested are stressed again and again as being temporary; and if we are strong and determined, as under your leadership we shall always be, I don't see how they can prejudice our aim and ideal. On the other hand I feel that participation in them on our own terms would be a conclusive demonstration of our strength and would infuse our nation with confidence and self-assurance which would consolidate our organization and open the path to our inevitable advance.

What I really feel, Sir, is that in the past seven years we have made a progress unprecedented in the history of any modern nation. Our people are intellectually, emotionally and solidly behind our party. But the people are yet not fully organized. We must seek opportunities to facilitate their organization, without putting them to a strain, under which I know they will not break, but which at this stage, may be beyond their immediate strength. A spectacular success now, a palpable advance, something which can be measured and felt in sensible terms, would raise their hopes, would give them confidence and strength, and would inspire them with loyalty and devotion which might raise them to the full stature of an organized and resolved nation.

I cannot see far ahead, Sir, I may be wrong, but I feel that the two chief defects in the Wavell proposals would remain only nominal and could have no significance, if before the Simla conference a full agreement was reached between the League and the Congress. If

they agree, as they must in fairness, that the representatives from the Muslims must come only from the Muslim League, then I would feel that a just conclusion has been arrived at. We cannot accept any Muslim outside ourselves. We condemn the participation of non-League Muslims (if Muslims they are!) in the conference, but that would remain only a nominal thing if the League and the Congress go to the conference with one voice. From the Congress nothing good has come so far. If they are up to their mean tricks—all right, it is a fight and we are ready for it. But if they agree, and agree beforehand, don't you feel, Sir, that the proposals, though small and trifling, can yet be used as a means to our own great end?

But, Sir, I feel that there can be no question of an agreement at the conference, unless there is a total agreement beforehand. At the conference there will be many evil influences, many interests whose only game it is to hinder and postpone any sort of settlement. Besides, if the League and the Congress speak as one, even on this limited issue, the world must pause to listen and bow to yield.

It is true, Sir, that I look at politics with a parochial eye. In the Punjab we have struggled and struggled hard. We are gaining strength. In time, no one can resist us. Time is unconquerably on our side. But Punjab is the darling of the bureaucrats. People of the Punjab have never known political consciousness, are untrained to modern political ways of thought, have never experienced consistent organised political effort. Their response is magnificent. Our strength has grown beyond expectations. But for a nation to shake off the cobwebs of the past takes time. In two to three years I can promise you a fully alert, a fully conscious and determined Muslim Punjab. But today with an interim Govt. at the Centre, all this may be achieved in six months. And the next elections which are to decide our course for many years are to come soon. A Central Govt. would not immediately solve our problems, but it will give a parting push to our decaying enemies.

Sir, I had no right to waste your time. It is unforgivably bold of me to offer my thoughts to the greatest living statesman in India.

I have written all this in the hope that you will take indulgently what comes from one of your most ardent and devoted followers.

There is no question, Sir, that what you will decide is what is best for the Muslims of India. You, Sir, have never made a mistake. Every Musalman knows that. And if it is for struggle you decide [on], and if need be against all the powers of the world, then struggle is right and we are prepared as one man.

Muslims under the Quaid-i-Azam have never accepted a settlement below their dignity.

Please, Sir, forgive me if I should not have written.

Yours most obediently,
MUMTAZ

[1]No. 501.

509

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 335/250

NEW DELHI,
15 June 1945

Regarding Viceroy's invitation[1] to conference on twenty fifth June. Your advice is sought. Kindly also wire express instructions for meeting Working Committee if to be convened when and where.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 505.

510

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, F. 1025/79

BOMBAY,
16 June 1945

Received your telegram sixteenth.[1] I note that your intention is to deal at conference itself with any points requiring clarification. It therefore follows that till we have complete details of your proposals, as details would be no less vital than the fundamentals, we shall not be able to deal with them. Until I know full details of the scheme and am in a position to place the entire scheme before my Working Committee it will serve no useful purpose to convene the meeting. Further I hope that you will understand that calling the Working Committee meeting

at Simla as suggested by you on or before twenty fifth is fraught with difficulties. First they will be kept waiting indefinitely till the conference concludes. Second it would not be easy for me to make arrangements for their suitable accommodation and travel from various provinces within the short time available. However after my meeting you on twenty fourth for discussion as suggested by you I may be in a better position to understand situation and arrange things accordingly.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 510
Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram[P]

16 June 1945

I have now received your telegram to me of 15th June.[2] Am grateful for your assurance of cooperation. My broadcast was a very simple statement of the proposals and my intention is to deal at the Conference itself with any points requiring clarification. I do not think it advisable to enter into detailed discussions before the Conference meets. I would therefore prefer to adhere to date for opening of Conference on 25th and hope that you will attend. Perhaps you could arrange for your Committee to meet in Simla. I shall look forward to seeing you on 24th. As your telegram has been published I am sending this to press.

[1]No. 514, para 3, *TP*, V, 1131.
[2]No. 506.

511

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/330-7

GAYA STATION,
16 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had been in a remote village in Gaya District since 29th May 1945. Hence I could not send you the draft manifesto of the Bengal League,

which has been submitted to the Bengal League Working Committee. I am going to Calcutta and I will send it to you *Insha Allah* on the 19th June.

2. I have seen the statements[1] of Mr. Amery and Lord Wavell dated 15.6.45, on Indian political problem. My reactions are as follows:

This is unacceptable and a dangerous trap to kill the League movement for Pakistan and stabilize all-India national Govt. on Amery-Wavell Plan—Muslim minority and non-Muslim domination—permanently. I am of the opinion that this is a Gandhi-Wavell Plan to entrap the League and make all-India national Govt. an established fact and torpedo Pakistan without saying so.

My objections are:

i. The League, as opposed to the Congress, is fighting for safeguarding the future of the Muslim nation, viz. Pakistan. The Congress is fighting for the immediate establishment of an all-India national Govt. League's emphasis is on the future. Congress emphasis is on the present.

ii. The Wavell Plan, to an extent, fully concedes the Congress demand for the present but leaves the fate and future of Muslim India hanging fire, with no guarantee of self-determination. The League rejected the Cripps Plan on the ground that it recognized self-determination of provinces but not of the Muslim nation.

iii. The Wavell Plan does not meet Muslim objection and makes not the slightest improvement so far as the basic League demand for self-determination is concerned.

iv. The League can never accept or work any interim scheme of all-India popular Government unless and until the basic Muslim demand for self-determination as a nation is recognized and the future of Muslim India is placed beyond all doubt, duplicity, equivocation and suspension. Unless and until this is done the League can never accept the Wavell Plan with consistency, honour and confidence in Muslim future.

2. The League demanded parity with the Hindus on the basis of international agreement. By giving the Scheduled Castes and Sikhs separate representation, the principle of parity is really sabotaged. There are only two major Indian communities, to use the words of Mr. Amery, viz. the Muslims and the Hindus. As long as the Scheduled Castes have joint electorate with the Hindus, constitutionally they are Hindus and they must get their share from the general Hindu share and not an additional share. We will have no objection to

their separate representation on the basis of separate electorate. The real number of Caste Hindus is less than five crore and I will soon prove it from Govt. records and census reports.

3. The parity theory, therefore, favours the Caste Hindus and not the Muslims. It gives the Brahmin and Bania classes undue weightage. The Muslim League should never agree on principle to accept the position of a minority in any scheme of all-India interim Govt. It must have 50 per cent in the whole cabinet on the basic agreement between the two major nations irrespective of their number. Equality of nations, big and small, in international representation is a recognized principle and this principle should be the basis of an interim popular all-India Govt. for the duration of the war. The Wavell Plan falls far short of this vital League [demand.]

4. The panel system for the selection of Viceroy's Council is very derogatory and unacceptable. It must be amended. The veto-power of the Viceroy is also objectionable. The League should see that it is amended.

5. Coalition without clear reference to the pre-requisite condition of the representation of the Muslim nation through the League is vague and dangerous. It has been made a matter of pious hope. It must be made a definite cast-iron rule. No Govt. without genuine Muslim representation should be allowed to function.

6. The Day of Deliverance[2] sounded the death-knell of the single party majority rule in India. It heralded the disastrous failure of mathematical democracy or the simple parliamentary system.

7. Mr Amery in para 7 of his statement sets "planning for the post-war period" and reconstruction as one of the main objects of the new Central Govt. This is really a plan to torpedo Pakistan. There can be no all-India central planning unless the future basis of Indian constitution or constitutions is determined. Unless we definitely know whether India will be *Akhand* or Pakistan, Hindustan, etc., we cannot plan even in the economic field. The determination of the Pakistan issue is, therefore, the primary, basic and pre-requisite condition of all planning for post-war reconstruction. The Wavell Plan is a clever subterfuge plan of sabotage for Pakistan.

8. At present all the Indian representatives abroad are Hindus. Muslims [should] get 50 per cent of India's representatives, political, economic and cultural, in all foreign countries. Particularly, we must

have Muslim representatives in U.S.A., England, Cairo and China. This must be clarified or guaranteed.

9. The redeeming features are that:

i. There is no reference to Mr Amery's pet phrase—"Different elements of the Indian national life" and there is a definite reference to "Indian peoples" in para 3.

ii. In para 10, Mr Amery stipulates that there will be no change in the constitution of India contrary to the wishes of the "major Indian communities". Muslims and Hindus alone are two major all-India communities. The Sikhs are not. They are a Punjab minority.

iii. Mr Amery and the British Govt. have definitely rejected the simple principle of majority rule or single-party Govt.

iv. The British Govt. have definitely accepted the principle that there can be no imposition and enforcement of a constitution by the British or the Congress. It must be evolved by agreement. But this also appears to me a double-edged knife. It may make Pakistan dependent upon the sweet will of the Hindus and stabilize the deadlock and prolong British domination. Pakistan being the inherent birthright of Muslims, must be left solely to the self-determination of Muslim nation.

10. I do hope you will keep these points in view. I will let you know about Bengal League circles' views when I reach Calcutta. I fear that if the League accepts the Wavell Plan without securing unequivocal recognition of the Muslim demand for self-determination as a nation, the League will die and Pakistan movement will sustain a severe blow and setback. We must keep the League interest and the interest of our future and Pakistan above all other interests of immediate gain. We cannot sacrifice the future for the present.

11. I am confident that the supreme interest of Muslims of India is safe in your hands and that you will never accept anything which goes against their fate, future and freedom as a nation.

12. Mr Gandhi has begun his old tactics of consolidating Hindus and dividing Muslims. He appears to nominate Abul Kalam Azad as the chief Congress spokesman and leader in the conference. It will set a Muslim Congressman against the Muslim leader and show that Muslim India is not united on the issue of Pakistan. It is a sinister plan.

13. The composition and function of the advisory conference also appear to me unsatisfactory. These should be clarified and Muslims

must have equal representation on it through the League. It is useless to invite premiers etc.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Annexes I & II to No. 505.
[2]See No. 44, note 1.

512

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Punjab, III/19

NASRIN,
RAM MUNSHI BAGH,
SRINAGAR,
17 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It was a great pleasure to have received your letter[1] from Matheran. We are spending the summer in Kashmir this time. Mr. Mumtaz Daultana has a house here near us; Nawab of Mamdot will also come next month. I find that your last year's visit to Kashmir has been instrumental in popularizing and strengthening the Muslim Conference.

Much has happened recently. Whatever has been offered to Muslims in the Wavell Plan is all due to your effort. I am waiting for your general instructions to the members of the Working Committee to come to Simla or Delhi for consultation.

I have not been well recently, but feel I must go to attend the meeting if the same is convened. It is a most important occasion. I need say no more in this letter.

It has been a source of immense satisfaction to me and to all of us to know that your health has considerably improved. May God give you perfect health and long life!

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah in which my wife, son and daughters join wholeheartedly,

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab III/18. Not printed.

513

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 335/1

BOMBAY,
17 June 1945

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, New Delhi

Your telegram fifteenth.[1] Accept Viceroy's invitation subject to lines indicated in correspondence between him and me. Am reaching Simla twenty third.

M. A. JINNAH

No. 509.

514

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, F. 1025/81

BOMBAY,
18 June 1945

Your telegram seventeenth.[1] After our discussion twenty fourth I shall be better able inform you (a) whether members League will attend conference twenty fifth (b) whether Working Committee meeting should be called end June as suggested by you. Thank you for offer help arranging travel accommodation members my Working Committee. Press report you contemplate revising your broadcast plan without consulting League. If true would lead to more difficulties than are involved in your present Plan.[2] Would further recede [*sic*] the chances of success of your task.

M. A. JINNAH

[1] Annex.
[2] Annex I to No. 505.

Annex to No. 514
Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram[1]

IMMEDIATE/EN CLAIR

NEW DELHI,
17 June 1945

No. 167-G.T. Thank you for your telegram of 16th June.[2] May I take it (a) that you and others invited who are members of Muslim League will attend Conference on 25th, but (b) that you will wish to consult your Working Committee when proposals have been made clear to you at Conference. I suggest that long adjournment of Conference might be most inconvenient to others attending and that your Committee might meet in Simla before the end of June. I would do my best to arrange travel and accommodation. But accommodation is very difficult and if members of your Committee can stay with friends to greatest possible extent I shall be obliged.

[1]No. 518, *TP*, V, 1134-5.
[2]No. 510.

515

Noshirwan Hormasjee Vakeel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1058/25-8

CONFIDENTIAL

ANSTEY LODGE,
ANSTEY ROAD,
CUMBALLA HILL,
BOMBAY,
19 June 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Some years back, you were good enough to give me a long and friendly interview when I called at your house and we had a pleasant chat then on the political questions prevailing at the time. Much has happened since then and the favourite theme of yours, Pakistan, was not even on the political horizon then. We talked then of the rights of the different minorities (whose champion and a most valiant champion you were then), and the domination of the Congress, whose power we agreed ought to be softened. How well you have almost single-handed succeeded in so doing is now history.

You knew my father but too well and you are also aware of the deep affection he bore for the Muslims with whom he was associated all his life both in Hyderabad and here. You will accordingly understand that there can be neither any hypocrisy nor falsehood if I were to declare that I have inherited that same love and affection from my parent. Therefore, if I am against Pakistan you cannot say by any stretch of the imagination that it is due to any enmity towards the Muslim cause. Nay, on the contrary, if you go through my book from cover to cover and read my article in the *Blitz*,[1] you will find that I for one feel convinced that my plan gives the Indian Muslims at the Centre and [in] all the provinces far greater and more honourable position than what the Pakistan scheme can give. The only change I would like to make at the Centre is that I would substitute the Hindu-Muslim ratio of 50:30 by 40:40 and leave the rest of 20 for other minorities. If, instead of the Bombay Provincial Scheme (in my book), you were to treat the Punjab province substituting Muslims for Hindus and Sikhs for the smaller minority, and if the other Muslim preponderating provinces, such as Sindh, NWFP and Bengal, were similarly treated, your community is carrying a strong and most honourable position almost as much as you would like to get by Pakistan. Moreover whilst with the Pakistan scheme you have your co-religionists of the Hindu provinces at the mercy of the Congress, with my scheme they are amply protected from all harm. Pakistan simply neglects the interests of millions of Muslims in the Hindu provinces.

Whilst watching your political career with interest and admiration in the last few years, there has been one thing that has saddened me and that is your complete desertion of the rights of all the other minorities except your own. Should you have done it, I wonder!

I am sending you a copy of my little book with my compliments and I would request you to read my plan therein. You will find that it is a valiant effort to safeguard the interests of all minorities and of that the greatest for the Muslims of all India.

I wish you good luck and Godspeed at Simla and perhaps one day you will find some time to write to me or we may meet again as before.

Yours sincerely,
NOSHIRWAN HORMASJEE VAKEEL
Doctor

[1]A Bombay weekly magazine edited by R. K. Karanjia.

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B. L. Rallia Ram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 487/10

EXPRESS DELIVERY

P. O. BOX 133,
LAHORE,
19 June 1945

My dear Jinnah,

I hope you will pardon me for intruding on your valuable time, but when some of us saw you in Bombay a few years ago, you were kind enough to say that you were interested in the case of all minorities in India.

For this reason, I consider it necessary to draw your attention to the fact that no Indian Christian has been invited to the Wavell Conference even though some other communities are being given representation.

If the Congress and the Muslim League only had been invited, we would not have complained. We must, therefore, appeal to you as well as to the Congress to champion our cause and see that a community like the Indian Christians is not ignored by the Government in this way.

Hoping that this will receive your attention, apologizing for intruding on your time, and wishing you success at Simla,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
B. L. RALLIA RAM
General Secretary,
The All India Council of Indian Christians

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/ 39

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
19 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you received my letter of 16 June 1945,[1] from Gaya giving my

first reaction to the Wavell Plan.

The worst fears have come true. Gandhi has succeeded in getting invitation to his show-boy, M. Abul Kalam. Wavell, the notorious anti-Muslim soldier, has agreed to play the game of Gandhi for showing that Muslim India is divided and the League is opposed by a Muslim divine itself.

My definite and strong view is that you may see the Viceroy on 24 June 1945, but the League cannot sit together with this quisling of Muslim India on the same peace table. It must strongly condemn this sinister move to stage Muslim disunity and a camouflage and subterfuge to conceal and cover the realities of Indian life and confuse the world about international issues which should be faced squarely in a straightforward way.

Amery-Wavell have moreover broken their word that the proposals will not be altered unilaterally. They have introduced a dangerous and fundamental change without the knowledge of the other party. You will be justified if you withdraw your acceptance of the invitation to meet the Viceroy as a protest.

Patel has spoken against parity and still claimed that Congress is representative of whole of India. Our claim of parity is based on the principle of the equality of nations in international matters, and the fact that Muslims and Hindus are the two major and main nations in India and that their representation on a war-time provisional Govt. must be on the basis of one-nation one vote, exactly as small nations like Chile and Belgium have equal representations with high powers like the USA and Britain.

The League contends that India is not uni-national and there can be no popular All India Govt. on the principle of single party majority rule.

Even for war emergency that Govt. can be popularized on the basis of the Two-Nation Theory, i.e. the Muslims and the Hindus must have 50:50 representation. And in view of the fact that the depressed classes are constitutionally Hindus the share of the Scheduled Castes must be subtracted from that of the fifty per cent general Hindu share. Otherwise the principle of the equality of nations will be sabotaged.

Muslims will not oppose separate representation of the depressed classes if and when the Hindus concede them separate electorates. Separate representation of the depressed classes with joint electorate with the Caste Hindus will only mean weightage to the Hindu in the name of the Hindu [helots] who will be their tools in Assemblies and Cabinets as they actually are, in social and economic life, the slaves of

Hindudom [*sic*]. The League has the fullest sympathy with the demands for separate electorate for the Scheduled Castes as voiced by the All India Scheduled Castes Federation.

I hope you will clearly, cogently and convincingly propound this principle of the League and take your stand on this platform.

I still believe that it will be a fatal mistake to accept office under any all-India "popular" Govt. unless the principle of Muslim self-determination is accepted in unequivocal terms.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]No. 511.

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I. I. Chundrigar & Abdul Kader Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/203-7

BOMBAY,
21 June 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We beg to place before you for your kind consideration our views on some of the aspects of the Wavell Plan and questions connected therewith.

We are sure that you are giving your deep and anxious thought to this matter, which will have far-reaching effects on the future of Muslim India and that you will give a correct lead to the Musalmans. The views expressed here are only for your consideration.

We believe that the Wavell Plan seeks to transfer some real power to the representatives of the people inasmuch as it provides for the Indianisation of H. E. the Viceroy's Executives Council, with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. External affairs, other than tribal and frontier matters, are also to be transferred. Fully accredited representatives are to be appointed for the representation of India abroad. Selection of the Executive Council is to be made from amongst the leaders of Indian political life. Also, His Majesty's Government will appoint a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India, thus relieving the Viceroy from the duty of safeguarding British

interests in these fields.

We are of opinion that the Wavell Plan concedes the following demands of the Muslim League in respect of the formation of a provisional interim Government:

i. The formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.
ii. The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control, which, however, he has assured will not be exercised unreasonably. The Secretary of State has made it clear in his press conference that the veto will be exercised in the interests of India and not of Great Britain.
iii. The Council will not be responsible to the legislature which has an overwhelming Hindu majority.
iv. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the major Indian communities.

However, the Wavell Plan does not meet the Muslim League demands fully on the following points:

The Muslim League had expressed its willingness to be a party for the setting up of a provisional Government of India on a footing of equality with the Hindus. You had made it clear to H. E. the Viceroy, as early as July 1940,[1] that the Muslim League should have equal representation in the Executive Council, if the Congress came in, and a majority, if it kept out. The Wavell Plan, however, gives the Muslims parity with Caste-Hindus only and extra seats to representatives of the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs and possibly to others. This leads to a proportion of something like 40:40:20 and does not satisfy the Muslim demand of 50:50. The provision about inclusion of equal proportion of Muslims and Caste Hindus in the Executive Council virtually amounts to a recognition of the Muslims as a separate nation and not a mere minority. Looked at from this point of view, it is a great gain.

We should, however, insist that the parity representation should be between Caste-Hindus and the Muslims.

The most important point in connection with the Wavell Plan for the setting up of an interim provisional Government is the question as to who will have the right to nominate the Musalmans and Caste Hindus. Neither the Viceroy's broadcast nor the statements of the Secretary of State for India throw any light on this crucial question. Perhaps clarification on this point will be obtainable on the 24th instant, when you will see H.E. the Viceroy. Reading the provisions of the Plan

as [a] whole, it can be inferred that the Muslim representatives will have to be chosen exclusively by the Muslim League and the Caste Hindu representatives by the Congress. A Hindu politician of the calibre of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, while constructing [*sic*] the provisions of the Wavell Plan, has observed that the parity in its context would preclude nomination by the Congress of Muslim Congressmen. We are of opinion that this construction is a reasonable one but it should be clarified by an express provision during your interview with H. E. the Viceroy on the 24th. Muslim League, being the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims, should have the exclusive right of nominating the Muslim members of the Executive Council. The only possible modification which may, probably, be agreed to, would be an understanding similar to the one you had reached with Lord Linlithgow, that in case the Viceroy had some insuperable difficulty in recommending to H. M. the King any particular nominee of the Muslim League, he may discuss the same with you and in case he was still opposed to the particular nomination, he may ask you to suggest another name in place of that particular one. Any other restriction on the right of the Muslim League in the matter of the nomination of the Muslim members of the Council cannot be countenanced.

In spite of the pretensions of the Congress that it represents the whole of India, the membership of the Congress, the results of the various elections and by-elections since 1938, and the response to its 1942 [Quit India] campaign, conclusively prove that it has a backing only of Caste Hindus and that it does not represent the Musalmans. It has included some Musalmans in its executive, simply with a view to making a false show of its being representative of all communities, but the only few Musalmans attracted to its fold are those who are there for their personal gains. The Wavell Plan, which recognizes the real situation in the country, namely that the Congress represents the Caste Hindus only and the Muslim League represents the Musalmans, will naturally be resented by the Congress, because it exposes the real character of the Congress and strikes at the root of their false claim of representing the whole of India. It is natural that the Congress will insist on some face-saving device, whereby its real character may not be completely exposed and so that it may still have some pretence for meeting its false claim in future of having the right of representing at least a section of Musalmans, so that the Muslim League may not be recognized as the sole and authoritative organization of the Musalmans. The Congressmen know in the heart of their hearts that

they have no backing of any sincere and honest Musalman but they still want to persist in their camouflage. With this end in view, it is possible that they may propose that the provision about parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus in the Wavell Plan may be replaced by parity between the Muslim League and the Congress. The statements of the Congress leaders published so far show that a very persistent propaganda is being carried on to alter this essential provision of the Wavell Plan. We think that this alteration should not be agreed to by the Muslim League, inter alia, on the following grounds:

a. Though such a provision would place the Muslim League organization on an equal footing with the Congress organization in the Central Government, the Muslims will lose the principal gain to be derived by them from the Wavell proposal, namely that the Muslims and the Hindus should have equal [*sic*] parity, which again presupposes the existence of separate Hindu and Muslim nations entitled to equal representation. In our opinion the proposed change has such far-reaching repercussions on the ultimate demand of Pakistan that we should not accept it.

b. The result of accepting the parity between the League and the Congress would be to entitle the Congress to nominate Musalmans from its quota. If the Muslim League agrees to this, its claim to be the sole and authoritative organization of the Musalmans will be considerably weakened and we think that it will have very harmful consequences on the future of the Muslims and the League. Not only the said claim of the League will be considerably weakened but the door will be opened to the Congress to lure self-seeking Musalmans to its fold by the bait of offices.

c. Moreover, this will bring on the Executive Council at least some Musalmans who will be too willing to oppose Muslim League members of the Council at the dictation of the Congress in matters vitally affecting the rights and interests of Musalmans and will place the Muslim League members of the Executive Council in a very anomalous position when their proposals for the uplift and betterment of the Musalmans will be opposed by the Congress Muslims, claiming to speak on behalf of a section of the Musalmans in the Council. Such a division of opinion amongst the Muslim members of the Executive Council is bound to prove an insurmountable obstacle and create confusion whenever Muslim League members of

the Council try to introduce schemes for the uplift, betterment and advancement of the Muslim nation.

However, we are of opinion that if you consider that the present deadlock cannot be resolved without substituting in the Wavell Plan of a provision for equal representation of the League and Congress, instead of the existing provision about the equal representation between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus, and that it is necessary in the interest of the Muslim nation not to maintain the *status quo* but to make some progress by acquiring power offered in the Wavell Plan, we are definitely of opinion that you should insist that the Congress will not at least nominate a Muslim from its quota.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR
ABDUL KADER SHAIKH

·See F.95/99-103, *QAP*. Not printed

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D. S. Gurung to M. A. Jinnah

F.179/95

KALIMPONG,
DARJEELING,
21 June 1945

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy [each] of the resolutions[1] passed at the All India Gurkha League Conference held at Kurseong on the 13 May 1945.

It is our claim that, scattered all over India in groups of a compact mass of three lakh as in Darjeeling, there are no fewer than 30 lakhs of Gurkhas who have been domiciled in India for generations. They have done more than their share in defending India from the Japanese aggression; they have contributed to the country's wealth by hard labour in fields and factories.

Till now they are totally ignorant since they are mostly illiterate; but political consciousness is growing among them; and a time will come when they can be a source of great strength to India. The All India Gurkha League was started only two years ago, in May 1943, to safeguard the interest of the Gurkhas in India and in these two short years, it has been able to bring together Gurkhas in every province in

one body. Our experience in these two years shows that there is a strong feeling among the Gurkhas that they were unjustly treated in India by the British and by the Indians themselves.

The Gurkhas being illiterate and ignorant are mute now; but the problem is there. If the problem is not tackled wisely now, it will grow very acute in the future.

In forwarding these resolutions to you, may I hope that in your deliberations, you will not forget the problem of the Gurkhas who are domiciled in India, and may I request you to kindly raise the question in the Conference? The League has sent a telegram to H. E. the Viceroy requesting that Gurkhas' representative be invited to the Conference, but since no invitation has come up to the time of writing this letter, I address this to every one of you, the recognized leaders of the country.

Your truly,
D. S. GURUNG
MLA (Bengal)
President,
All India Gurkha League

Not traceable.

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Note by Y. E. Moledina

F. 1045/11

21 June 1945

The Wavell Plan is undoubtedly a new approach towards solution of the Indian deadlock. Casual observers may look upon it as just proposals to end the present stalemate. But, so far as Muslims are concerned, consistent[ly] with their claim to be a nation, unless clarification is made with regard to certain points and satisfactory assurances are given, it will not be in the interest of Muslims to accept the proposals. The acceptance may not only prove detrimental to Muslim interests during the interim period, but may also prejudice the issue of Pakistan.

The parity between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims is in a way acceptance, to a certain extent, of the position the Muslims in India enjoy, although it may not be a recognition of their status as a nation.

In spite of this parity, Muslims in the Executive will be in a position

of minority, which position we cannot accept, unless an assurance is given to the effect that no decision is taken by the [Executive] Council without Muslims consenting to the same.

The most important question is with regard to the selection of Muslim members of the Executive Council. All Muslims suggested for nomination to the proposed Council must be League nominees. The question of distribution of portfolios should not prove insurmountable, in my opinion.

One of the main objections to be raised by the Congress will be against the use of the word Caste Hindus. Although Wavell's broadcast refers to Gandhi as a leader of a political party, it is generally assumed that he is invited to represent the Caste Hindus. The Congress leaders know very well that the word Caste Hindu knocks the bottom off Congress pretensions to represent India as a whole.

The Congress leaders will demand substitution of the words Congress and the League instead. This change will no doubt place the Muslim League in virtual possession of the Muslims, thereby precluding the possibility of any other so-called Muslim leader to speak on behalf of a particular section of Muslims. While under the present plan it is likely that a person like Khizar Hayat, claiming to represent a Muslim majority province, may demand at least one seat for his nominee on the Council.

If it is agreed that Muslim members nominated by the Muslim League alone be selected to the Council, then the present plan, undoubtedly, kills two birds with one stone; as it will also, once for all, cut the Congress claim right from its root.

If this position is not agreed to, the Conference should not be allowed to fail if it is possible to accept any reasonable compromise proposals, not inconsistent with our principles.

Y. E. MOLEDINA

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T. E. Martin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/43-5

1 BRITISH INDIAN STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 June 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Press reports indicate that apart from the Caste-Hindus, Schedule[d] Castes and the Muslims, who have been invited by His Excellency the

Viceroy to attend a Conference, the following have claimed representation in the Executive Council on a purely communal basis, namely Sikhs, Parsis, Indian Christians and the Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress, which is a non-communal organisation and the only one of that kind, has also been invited by the Viceroy to assist in bringing about the desired changes in the Executive Council.

I write to you in connection with the formation of the Executive Council. In view of the communal position and representation of the people of India, and in order to avoid any heart-burning, discontent or agitation in any section, the suggestion is made in all sincerity that the foundation, on which the Executive Council is to be built, should consist of a representative of each of the four actual minority communities, namely the Sikh, the Parsi, the Indian Christian and the Anglo-Indian. An advantage of this proposal is that with close association and all working for one common objective, the honest and efficient administration of this great country, the communal feeling will wear out in the course of time. The objective of Anglo-Indians is the same as [that of] the other Indian communities, namely the independence of India.

Having secured a firm foundation, the structure should consist of Hindus and Muslims and the number of representatives from each of these two major communities is a matter of mutual arrangement between themselves without any or all of the four minority communities mentioned above taking any part whatsoever in the talks. This will avoid giving grounds for any suspicion of a balance of power.

It is unfortunate that there is a division among the Hindus and we hear of Caste-Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Depressed Castes. That is purely a domestic affair of the Hindus and they should settle their differences and arrange representation in accordance with the number agreed between the Muslims and themselves. It is here that their communal organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu parties, and the non-communal Congress can be of tremendous assistance. If the Hindus cannot arrive at a satisfactory solution on a purely Hindu matter, they can have no grievance if outside influence fixes the number and selects their representatives.

The same applies to the Muslims who also have some domestic troubles. The Congress can also be of assistance as they have Muslims in their organisation.

As a non-communal organisation, the Congress should not have representation in the Executive Body which is purely a communal one. By its position, it can always act as an advisory body and in that capacity would be in the best position to keep a constant watch on the

working of the Executive Council, pointing out errors or omissions for remedial action. There is no reason why both should not be able to work in complete harmony.

Having suggested how the Executive Council should be formed, I now place the claims of the Anglo-Indian community and how their representative should be selected.

We are one of the peoples of this country. We have done all the spade-work in the establishment of nation building departments of Government in which up to the present time the majority of my community find employment. With the other peoples of our motherland now taking an active part in those departments, we do not find sufficient outlets for the growing numbers of my community and we are in consequence turning to other vocations and so adjusting ourselves to changing conditions. We realise the fact that conditions cannot be static. It is at this stage that we need a helping hand and the Executive Council offers the finest opportunity. That is of vital importance to my community. We also seek representation in the Executive Council on the same grounds claimed by the other minority communities.

In regard to the selection of a representative, we feel that the Conference is not competent to nominate one, as members of the Conference are not aware of our domestic affairs. Ordinarily their choice would fall on the Anglo-Indian member of the central legislature. That member is a nominated non-official. He is the President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association which is a non-political organisation. Without any political party to advise him or a political background, he would be a political non-entity of the Anglo-Indian community. Further, he and his Association resist the formation of a political body or the widening of their own organisation with a political section and he is thus virtually an Anglo-Indian dictator, resentment of which has found expression in the press.

Having stated our opposition to the nominated member, we suggest for your consideration the manner in which a selection should be made. It appears the most equitable one. Let those Anglo-Indians of each province, who can take an open part in politics, submit a panel of names, and as the final selection is by the Viceroy, there should be no difficulty in making an acceptable nomination.

We apologise for intervening at so late a stage and we hope you will forgive us for doing so.

With my compliments,

Yours truly,
T. E. MARTIN

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K. H. Khurshid to Muhammed Ali

F. 879/80

22 June 1945

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah had received your letter of June 12th[1] and he thanks you for it. He is very glad to inform you that he is very much better now and will be quite well soon.

Yours faithfully,
K. H. KHURSHID

Muhammed Ali, Esq.,
C/o Khan Bahadur Al-Haj Muhammed Ibrahim,
District and Sessions Judge of Champaran,
Motihari, Bihar

[1]As a school student, Muhammed Ali had enquired about Jinnah's health and had prayed for his good health, long life, prosperity and success in his mission. See F. 879/79, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Maqbool Mahmood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 383/103-6

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL DIMPLE, SIMLA,

23 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned from England just over a month ago and have been seriously ill most of this time. For about a week they had to keep me on oxygen. I am now better and came here last week. I crave the privileges of an invalid for submitting this dictated note instead of calling personally to apprise you of my reading of the pulse in England and to submit certain points for your consideration in respect of the

Wavell Plan. I shall be delighted to supplement them with any further information, desired either in writing or personally, if you can spare five minutes in your crowded programme or through Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan or otherwise as may be convenient to you.

2. You are the best judge of what is in Muslim interest. Your reading must prevail and shall be accepted. The suggestions made below are only intended to assist you in the consideration of the pros and cons of the Plan. I need hardly assure you that in making these suggestions I have no personal axe to grind.

a. The Wavell Plan is without prejudice to the Muslim position in the long-range solution of the constitutional problem. It concedes in principle the basic propositions urged by you, subject to clarification in regard to a few points. Others, whom the offer does not suit, would try to dish it. Your farsight [*sic*], statesmanship and courage are the best guarantee and sheet-anchor of the Muslims.

b. If the Muslim and Caste-Hindu parity is not acceptable to others, the parity of the Congress and the League nominees in the Central Executive, which is reported to be the main plank of the Desai-Liaquat Formula,[1] should provide a common ground. Let Congress be committed to that position so that they may not slip out of it through some subtle trickery.

c. The details in regard to the composition of the proposed panels and the selection by the Viceroy must be elucidated. It should be arranged by convention, if not formally, that the selection of the nominees of the League should be in consultation with you.

d. The important portfolios in the Executive Council would be six: 1. Defence 2. Finance 3. Home 4. Post-War Reconstruction 5. External Affairs and 6. Railways. At least three of these should be assured to the nominees of the Muslim League.

e. The principle of joint responsibility may be implemented through convention subject to the proviso that if a specified number of the nominees of the League or of the Congress or of others in the Central Executive should object to any particular measure as being prejudicial to the settlement of the future constitutional problem of India or of the rights of the parties concerned, it shall not be pursued unless some agreed settlement is found.

f. The question of the exercise of the Viceroy's veto should also be settled in a satisfactory manner either on the lines of the assurance of Lord Linlithgow before Congress accepted office or even better. I have not the relevant formula here and cannot therefore make a specific suggestion. It would be a great score if you could secure

even with the support of Congress a slightly better assurance than was given by Lord Linlithgow to the Congress before they accepted office. Experience of the States and of the Muslims in Congress provinces has shown that these special responsibilities provide mere paper safeguards which are absolutely ineffective.

g. It might be helpful to satisfy the various elements in the parties and to train future Ministers to arrange by convention for the appointment of a Parliamentary Secretary attached to each Minister.
h. It is almost certain that the League would be in a much stronger position in the next elections if it is in the saddle than otherwise. This is a factor of imperative importance to which I beg to invite your particular attention. This is true of the Central as well as Provincial elections, particularly in the Punjab.
i. The question of statutory coalitions in the provinces and the basis of their composition may also be settled.
j. I have of my own initiative had a detailed talk with Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana and impressed on him the necessity, even in his own interest, to align himself behind you in regard to the Central Executive. I cannot profess to enjoy his confidence but he had a frank talk with him [*sic*] and left me with the following impression:
    i. that he is likely to take his inspiration primarily from Sir Bertrand Glancy,
    ii. that he is likely to parade his position as champion of the martial classes and the custodian of the interests of the soldiers,
    iii. that he would probably not stand in the way of any proposals supported by the Congress and the League,
    iv. that if approached, he might even make a statement that with regard to the long-range problems [of] the Muslims, even of his party, [he] would follow the lead of the Muslim League,
    v. some of Khizar's advisers and confidants appreciate the importance of the Muslim solidarity at this juncture, and should it be desired to press some reasonable suggestion on any point arising in the course of the discussions at the Conference, it may be possible to speak to Khizar and his advisers with a certain amount of caution but good effect.
k. I hold no brief for anybody, but Sir Firoz Khan Noon is reported to have turned down the Unionist approaches and has declared that he will either stand out or serve the Muslim League in any position in the interest of the Muslims under your leadership. He

has even indicated that he proposes standing by the Muslim League in his future politics. Should you at any time desire to consider a name from the Punjab, who may be thoroughly loyal to the League and to whom Khizar cannot object and who could also claim to speak for the martial classes with administrative experience, Sir Firoz would deserve most favourable consideration. As a League nominee, he could be depended upon even to organise the Muslim League in the Punjab and to exert his personal and family influence in rural constituencies with good results. He may be able to bring Khizar back to you on bended knees. In making this suggestion for your consideration, I presume that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali will be suggested as a League nominee for the whole of India and not from any province, not even U.P. which has returned him to the Centre or Punjab which is proud of him. Otherwise this suggestion may be treated as cancelled.

1. There are wheels within wheels in motion to harm our best interests. The surest line of success lies through an informal Congress-League agreement on essentials if possible even before the Conference begins or at least immediately after the preliminary meeting.

3. My telephone No. is 2505. My wife Shaukat joins me in requesting you to telephone to us any time you want a good Indian *khaana* or even special English food that you may particularly like. We will not trouble you to give us the honour of coming here for a meal. We will be delighted to send the food to your hotel every day or on any days when you may so require. I feel confident that you will avail [yourself] of this request in the spirit which prompts it.

4. His Highness of Bhopal[2] is very anxious about the success of your mission. Shuaib[3] is here staying with me. He may be of service, if so desired.

5. I need hardly assure you that I shall deem it a privilege to be of any service to you and would gladly assist in preparing any notes or collecting any data or figures which you or the Nawabzada may require, as I have facilities of references here and have dependable stenographers whose services can be placed at your disposal any time you need.

With respects,

Yours devoted,
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

[1]Jinnah denied the existence of any so-called agreement and Liaquat Ali Khan also denounced it as a lie. See Yusufi, III, *Speeches*, 1984-5.
[2]Hamidullah Khan
[3]Minister in Bhopal State.

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Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1002/12

BOMBAY,
25 June 1945

You have obtained a separate and distinct position. You have agreed to concede all the rights of the Sikhs as demanded and even separate representation. Hindus have conceded all the demands of the Scheduled Classes and agreed to their separate representation to which you have also agreed. Shia Muslims, brethren of your[s], through their *'ulama* and *majalis* and their press have desired in unequivocal terms protection of the tenets of their faith and protection of their rights in the same manner as has been conceded by the Hindus to the Scheduled Classes. You have called only the other day upon the British and other nations to protect the peoples of Syria and Lebanon.[1] You rightly pride on the act of Sa'ad Zaghlul Pasha[2] in conceding to different minorities their rights in Egypt. You also pride on the formation of a federation of Arab States which concedes to even the smallest states with population of hardly a million therein fullest liberty and independence. You know your Shia Muslim brethren have not been even informally consulted and are in a state of consternation as to their lot. The existence of Iran amongst Arab States has not only not weakened them but has been creating that love and close affinity which has made Iran and Egypt at both ends of the Arab States more closely knit than any other two Muslim States. I hope and trust that my Sunni Muslim brethren who are in a very large majority in the Muslim League will in the circumstances stated above agree to concede to their Shia Muslim brethren their due rights and will hold conference with them thus creating that love and affinity amongst Muslims which is the spirit of Islam.

HOOSEINBHOY A. LALLJEE

[1]See F. 1022/47-9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Egyptian statesman of the early 20th century who opposed British rule over Egypt.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal IV/41

8 ZAKARIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have spent this week in meeting all classes of Muslims—doctors, *hakeems*, pleaders, traders, *Imams* of mosques, and members of the general public. I find universal deep resentment against the Wavell Plan and his policy of nominating Messrs Abul Kalam, Tiwana and Dr. Khan Sahib on the Simla Conference.

There is also considerable depression among the Muslims on account of the fact that Muslims are being offered only five out of fifteen seats in the Central Govt. which comes to thirty-three per cent Muslim seats in the federal legislature, under the [Govt. of] India Act of 1935, which the Muslim League rejected long back.

The Congress claim to nominate any Muslim of the Muslim quota will never be accepted by Muslim India.

But the deepest dissatisfaction is about the non-recognition of the principle of Pakistan and the right of self-determination. The Muslim public opinion is that to accept any interim Govt. without first getting recognition of Muslim self-determination, will be fatal for the Muslim future and a great setback for the upsurge of the League movement. Job hunting can never inspire the *millat* for any sacrifice.

For heaven's sake do not accept anything unless you get guarantee of self-determination, which is the inherent birth-right of the Muslims and not a matter of bargain or arbitration.

I pray the Simla Conference may show that there is no way out but to divide and quit.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

526

Yusuf A. Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Sind VI/8-10

786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
25 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was very anxious to come to Simla during these political paralysis [*sic*] but unfortunately I am not allowed to move out even from my house on medical grounds. I have been down with fever for the last three weeks and recently I have lost my voice.

I would not have disturbed you at this stage when I know that you are very busy with more momentous questions. But seeing the organised press propaganda which is, of late, being carried on and engineered by some of our friends against yourself and against the League high command, I am constrained to pen [and send] this brief letter to you along with a few press cuttings[1] and copies of resolutions[2] passed at the last Sind Council meetings.

In my humble opinion, at this critical juncture any Muslim who directly or indirectly starts any press agitation against your leadership, individually or against the League high command, does the greatest possible harm to the community. Of all things, what is needed most at this stage is to present a united front on behalf of the Musalmans under your sagacious leadership.

It therefore seems the entry of Sheikh Abdul Majid and Syed Ali Mohamed Rashdi was with some suspicious intention. I have promised you that I will have no hand in any Sind affairs and I have, all these days, scrupulously adhered to the promise given to my Quaid-i-Azam. Mr. G. M. Sayed will be coming to Simla to attend the meeting of the Working Committee along with Sheikh Abdul Majid and Syed Ali Mohamed Rashdi and I thought it best to acquaint you confidentially with the trend of events in Sind so that, in your own statesmanlike manner, you may handle the matter.

I am pained to read the editorial of the *Daily Gazette* in its issue dated June 23, 1945, a cutting of which is enclosed herewith[3] for your ready reference. I believe that the paper must have tried to involve the

name of Mr. Sayed. I have sent him a word that he should contradict this at once, as it might create misunderstanding in the minds of non-Muslims. I think the release of a so-called secret that Mr. Sayed met you and persuaded you to oblige the Congress at the time of its revolutionary movement during August 1942 in Bombay, is nothing but a tissue of lies. It is a very serious insinuation against you to tell the public that you went back upon your word to Mr. Sayed at the intervention of an English journalist. I am afraid this sort of mischievous propaganda, if allowed to continue for a long time, will undermine the prestige and solidarity of the Muslim League in the province of Sind.

As it is, an alternative Muslim League has been organised in Sind and they have given the official Muslim League the appellation, Sayed League. They are holding conferences and meetings all over Sind. They have put up their own candidates in the present local board elections, whereas the official League has not put up any candidate. From the reports I gather it seems that it is likely that the alternative League will carry weight in various departments and thus gain in strength, and financially also they are well-off, backed by some big people. Unfortunately the official League is divided in its own ranks.

This is the true state of affairs in the province at the moment. The situation is getting worse day by day. Probably general elections may soon follow and if the present state of affairs continues, the Muslim League will cut a very sorry figure.

Drastic changes are needed. All groups and cliques within the League fold must be immediately liquidated. A solid Muslim phalanx must be nurtured to fight the Muslim as well as the Hindu opposition to the League.

I feel relieved now that I have taken the load off my chest by briefly unfolding to you the sad spectacle of Muslim Sind's politicians. To suggest and enforce a remedy is the job of my Quaid-i-Azam. I have implicit faith and confidence in him.

I wired Sir Ghulam Hussain to send you a telegram seeking your permission to attend the Simla Conference. I hope he would have telegraphed to you accordingly. I have also written to Sir Ghulam Hussain that there should be implicit obedience to the League advice and he should not attend the Conference, if you wish so, because this is the demand of Sind people. If the Viceroy's Conference lasts longer,

I may be able to come to Simla and pay my respects personally.

With kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A. HAROON

[1 2&3]See *SHC*, Sind VI/2-7. Not printed.

527

Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (504 A)

9 ELECTRIC LANE,
NEW DELHI,
25 June 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sincerely hope that the Congress will not play the game of hide and seek at the conference which is to begin at Simla today. In spite of my optimism, two things have put me in doubt about its ultimate success. The first is the successful manoeuvre to have a Muslim in the person of Maulana Azad to represent the Congress, which claims to represent the whole country. The second is Mr. Gandhi's plan to excuse himself from participation in the conference proceedings on the ground that he has no representative character. Yet the position has hardly altered in practice from what it was in 1931, when Gandhi claimed to represent not only the Congress but also the whole of India at the Round Table Conference. Indeed, wonders never cease.

The air here is thick with rumours. Some people are asking themselves whether it is a mere accident that the seven stalwarts of the present Executive Council are at Simla at the present juncture or they have gone there to intrigue against any settlement with the Govt. Again, there are people who believe that the Executive Council desired that Sir Sultan Ahmad and Sir Ramaswami should represent it at the Simla Conference. This sounds grotesque, but who knows?

I hope you will not subject yourself to greater strain than is good for you.

Yours sincerely,
RAZA ALI

528

Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/45

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
27 June 1944

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I quote below the text of the telegram which I sent to His Excellency the Viceroy on Saturday, the 23rd instant.

> Shias stand solidly united with other Muslims under the banner of Muslim League and have full faith and confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah.

This was reported widely in all the vernacular papers and a few English papers.

I do hope that you are looking after your health and are feeling much better now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

529

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 835/63-4

DELHI,
27 June 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We have complete faith in you and we hope that you will stick to your principle without in the least being prejudiced by the majority of enemies of Islam around you.

It is just very reasonable to claim all the five Muslim portfolios of Executive Councillors for the Muslim League, because a Muslim Councillor means a Councillor who represents Muslims—that is, one who is backed by Muslims (his own religion does not matter), e.g. *Dawn* is edited by

a Christian but represents Muslim thought.

So although the *Rashtrapati* is a so-called Muslim, he certainly does not represent Muslims.

Let there be election of Executive Councillors on separate electorate basis, and I can challenge that no non-Leaguer Muslim can defeat a Leaguer.

Please also keep the following point in your mind:

i. If the Congress represents all the classes why were the Muslim League, the Scheduled Caste leader and the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh at all invited?
ii. If Congress claims two seats for nationalist Muslims why doesn't it also claim a seat for Scheduled Caste and Sikhs who are in Congress?
iii. Why does not Tiwana claim two Caste Hindu seats for Unionists Hindus?

Yours, etc.,
A LEAGUER

530

Akhtar Husayn Gilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/214-5

AHMADIYYA ANJUMAN-I-ISHAAT-I-ISLAM,
URDU BAZAR,
NEAR JAME' MASJID,
DELHI,
28 June 1945

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to submit the following lines for your kind consideration:

i. In spite of the claim of the Congress to represent all sections of people, the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes have been given separate right of nominating their members. If Master Tara Singh has the sole right to nominate a Sikh member, why not the League President be given a similar right to nominate Muslim members?
ii. It will be against the declared policy of the Muslim League to agree to the Congress demand of the right of nominating two or even one Muslim member of the Executive [Council]. It will harm the prestige of the Muslim League and make the show- boys bold enough to flout the authority of the League.

iii. If the Viceroy is not going to accept that the Muslim League is the only representative body of the Muslim, there is no use to [*sic*] continue negotiations. Let the Conference fail.

The Muslim India hopes that your leadership will establish the honour of Islam and the Muslims at this critical moment.

With best regards,

Yours faithfully,
AKHTAR HUSAYN GILANI
A Muslim missionary

531

N. A. Piracha & M. Gulzar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/213

AGRA,
28 June 1945

To-day, the 28th June 1945, in an assembly of the Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam, Agra, the following resolutions have been passed:

A book named *Scented Garden* through the pen of an American author, named David Bargar, M.A., printed at Ethnological Press, New York, which has passed through many editions in America and is being sold in India on a large scale, contains severe attacks on our Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) as well as on Islam.

The expression of the book is most polluted [*sic*] and it contains pictures of bare women. The Muslims of Agra deeply resent the publication, and vehemently demand from the Govt. of U.P. as well as Govt. of India that the publication of this book should be stopped forthwith and the writer as well as the publisher of this book should both be brought to book. The Govt. of U.S.A. should also be informed of the rage and indignation which is prevailing among the Muslims of India at the publication of this sacrilegious book.

The above society expresses its heartfelt gratitude towards the Govt. of Bengal which has quite wisely banned the book, and it strongly hopes that all other provincial Govts. will follow the example set by the Govt. of Bengal, and it strongly hopes that the Central Govt. will soon ban the book in order to stop the smouldering discontent.

We earnestly hope to hear [of] the action taken by the Government of India.

N. A. PIRACHA
General Secretary,
M. GULZAR
President,
Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam

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Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 955/8

INDIA WELFARE LEAGUE INC.,
113 BROOME STREET,
NEW YORK 2, N. Y.,
29 June 1945

Dear Sir,

The members and officials of the India Welfare League and India Muslim League of America had a joint meeting on June 28th, 1945, to pledge full support to the League and your leadership.

We hope that you will continue your good work and protect the Muslim interests not only in India but throughout the entire Muslim world, wherever they are located. We have faith in your success.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent to the Viceroy of India, which might be of some interest to you.

Very respectfully yours,
MUBAREK ALI KHAN
National President,
India Welfare League Inc.
Secretary,
India Muslim League of America

Enclosure to No. 532
Mubarek Ali Khan to Archibald Wavell

F. 830/29

29 June 1945

Sir,

The India Muslim League of America and the India Welfare League Inc. adopted a resolution on June 28th 1945, to appeal to you not to consider Gandhi's demand for India, giving him dictatorial power.

Since Great Britain has come to reality and wishes to justify [*sic*] India with self-government, it would be proper to have the public's voice and not individual dictatorship for Gandhi and his Congress Party.

We Indians know, and every Englishman knows, that Gandhi and his Party are not rulers or owners of India; they are just individual citizens of India. Of course, India had chosen Gandhi as a leader some 27 years ago, but that does not mean that he is stamped as a dictator for his entire life. If Mr. Gandhi is a spiritual leader, he ought to get out of politics and let his successor carry on with Mr. Jinnah. Then perhaps India will achieve her goal.

Granting a fifty-fifty basis for self-government to India for the Congress Party and the Muslim League would be the proper way. Mr. Gandhi's demand for a Hindu India will only mean bloodshed amongst the Hindus and Muslims. Of course, Gandhi does not mind that because he loves to be called a second Krishna.

I hope I am not too presumptuous to say what is in my mind, but I cannot help [*sic*] to say this. I feel that I have the same right as Mr. Gandhi about India; the only difference is that he is a saint and I am an untouchable Muslim.

Time and time again I have reiterated that India must be an Indian India and not a Gandhi India or a Jinnah India. Rightfully, the Muslims should have more vote at the Council as they have taken a big part in the global war since 1939 with a very small percentage of others, while the Congress Party isolationists were sitting tight.

Thanking you for your kind attention in the matter and sincerely hoping for the successful outcome of the Conference,

Respectfully yours,
DR. MUBAREK ALI KHAN

533

Evan Jenkins to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/104

VICEROY'S CAMP,
SIMLA,
29 June 1945

Dear Sir,

His Excellency has decided that the next meeting of the conference will take place at 11 a.m. on Saturday, 14th July, at Simla. Should there be any unexpected change in this arrangement you will be informed;

and if you are to be away from Simla for any length of time between now and 14th July, I shall be grateful if you will let me have your address.

His Excellency asks me to thank you for the help you have given so far and to express the hope that you will be able to attend the next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
EVAN JENKINS

534

Evan Jenkins to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/105

VICEROY'S CAMP,
SIMLA,
29 June 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The following is the action which His Excellency would like you to take if, after consultation with your Working Committee, you are able to accept the suggestion he made at this morning's meeting of the Conference:

i. to prepare and send him a list giving the names of members of the Muslim League who in your opinion could suitably be included in the proposed Executive Council. The number of names in this list should be not less than 8 or more than 12.
ii. If you think you can usefully suggest, for possible inclusion in the Executive Council, the names of persons of any community who are not members of the Muslim League, you are at liberty to add them to your list, keeping them distinct from the names of Muslim League members. His Excellency hopes he made it clear this morning that this is entirely optional.

2. His Excellency's intention is to scrutinise the lists sent to him and to see whether from them, and possibly from additional names of his own, he can, on paper, form an Executive Council likely to be acceptable to the parties and to His Majesty's Government. If so, he will consult leaders including yourself, and thereafter decide whether it is worthwhile making definite proposals to the Conference.

Yours sincerely,
EVAN JENKINS

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Ali M. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, FC I/56

4 JAMAICA STREET,
EDINBURGH,
30 June 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks ever so much for your very kind letter of May 17, 1945,[1] which was received yesterday.

Only a few days ago, when for the first time we received the daily *Ihsan,* Lahore, I came to know that you had been very ill. All of us here would have been terribly disturbed had we not already known that you had regained your health. May *Allah* give you long life and good health to pull the Indian Muslims through this difficult time.

I am writing to get in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The suggested amendment will be made in the forms. I have noted all the information that you have kindly given me, for which I am very thankful to you.

I am glad to further report that ten sub-branches have been formed so far and some more may be added soon. Within one and a half month I will try to make an application for the purpose of affiliation.

I have now succeeded in getting some paper and the Government have released Roneo Duplicator Model 500 for us. The machine has cost us £ 78-3-4. With some spare parts, ink, and paper it amounted to £ 115-5-11 which we have paid to the Roneo Ltd.

I could not publish anything on Simla Conference because I did not know your attitude towards it. Now I am going to get something published in connection with the Conference.

I am writing this letter to thank you and to inform you further about my work, otherwise, in view of your health and work, I do not expect a reply.

With *Assalaamo 'Alaikum,*

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

[1]No. 477.

536

Z. H. Lari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/291-5

26 HAMILTON ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
1 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your press statement at Simla[1] prompted me to write this letter. I do not hold any representative post in the League organization but can claim to speak out the mind of the man in the street. And on this score I solicit attention.

Life in the countryside has become miserable owing to lack of necessities of life and pressure of corrupt officialdom. The Musalman's life is worse still because of petty tyrannies of communal-minded officials. The League worker is entirely helpless and cannot do anything to alleviate the mass sufferings. He may knock at official's door but to no avail.

The League organization is cracking at many places, not because of lack of public sympathy which I dare say is in abundance, but for want of constructive schemes and opportunities for real service. You know the dearth of men and money among Musalmans. State resources alone can meet their needs.

Hence the necessity of immediate control of state machinery, of course if it can be had without prejudicing ultimate objectives.

Do the Wavell proposals[2] affect our ultimate objective? They may not advance our ultimate objective but they, in no way, prejudge or prejudice it. The assurances are, no doubt, negative, as you say, but they in no way retard our progress. The acceptance of Wavell proposals and effective use of machinery thereby created, would solidify Musalmans under the League banner and intensify their regard for the League.

Even one-third representation at the Centre may be effective if selfless men are put there and they are ready to come out at the least apprehension of danger to Muslim interest. On the other hand, self-seeking majority may secure no good purpose. Instances of Frontier, Assam and Sind Ministries reinforce my point. In the presence of veto, it is men that matter and not numbers. In case the experiment fails and Muslims have to come out, it shall be additional proof of inevitability of immediate establishment of Pakistan.

The proposals concede Caste Hindu-Muslim parity. The League may further insist on and secure Congress-League parity. But in spite of these two parities it is possible to concede one Muslim seat to Congress provided Congress be willing to concede two Hindu seats to non-Congress [members]. In a body of fifteen, six [seats] may go to Muslims, six to Caste Hindus, one each to Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Christians, respectively. Out of six Muslim seats, five may be Leaguers and one non-Leaguer, and out of six Caste Hindu seats four may be Congressmen and two non-Congressmen. Some such formula may be agreed to between the Congress and the League.

Agreement is necessary if coalitions in provinces are to be introduced and worked to advantage. The interest of minority provinces cannot and should not be lost sight of. They are groaning under Section 93 regime. Wavell proposals definitely provide an opportunity for escape from present tyranny. We celebrated Deliverance Day[3] and rightly but our joy would be no less when present regime is replaced by coalition governments in minority provinces.

My vision is comparatively limited but smaller vision may also illuminate dark spots. I would be grateful if this letter is brought to the notice of the members of the Working Committee.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Z. H. LARI
M.A., LL.B. (ALIG.)
MLA

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2014-8.
[2]Annex I to No. 505.
[3]See No. 44, note 1.

537

Mohamed Din Malak to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/103-4

HAVELI KUMEDAN,
LAHORE,
3 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I may assure you that not arrogance but sincere concern for the

successful issue [*sic*] of your endeavours activates me to respectfully offer a suggestion or two for your consideration. Nor would I inflict a long letter on you amidst your multifarious engagements. The absence, therefore, of reasoned conclusions may please be overlooked.

To advert to even a fraction of all that you have done for Muslims would require better talents than mine and yet to omit all reference to it would, I fear, connote rank ingratitude. Briefly, Muslim League or Muslim India owes every inch of its political awakening and political recognition, whether in India or abroad, to you and you alone. The selfless devotion which has characterised your lead may well be envied by any leader in either hemisphere. May God spare you long and crown your efforts with unqualified success.

The climb-down of the Congress is almost complete. It has tacitly agreed to be treated as a communal organisation, and in accepting the parity formula it has also accepted the Two-Nation theory, at least in principle. But while ready to fall in line with the Government it seeks to torpedo the parity formula by claiming a share for the so-called nationalist Muslims. Determined, as they are, to injure Muslim interests, they are equally determined to keep themselves in the good books of the authorities. At long last they would appear to have suddenly discovered that they were head over [*sic*] in love with the satanic Government. To wit [*sic*], the almost indecent haste with which they have volunteered to leave everything to the proposal of the Viceroy. Perhaps they want to expiate the past, rush the Muslims' hand, or manoeuvre into a position of vantage in time for extorting more concessions from the Labour Party, if it returns to power.

To our misfortune, we have yet to learn the wisdom of offering a united front. The fissiparous tendencies permeating the Muslim body politic are, to say the least, proving extremely harmful—more harmful than the joint antagonism of all our adversaries put together. The feeling of patriotism, when society is in a healthful state, springs up by a natural and inevitable association in the minds, when it is realised that they owe all their comforts and pleasures to the bond which unites them in one community. As things exist, individuals and groups seek from their party that protection which they ought to receive from their community, and by a not unnatural consequence they transfer to their party that affection which they owe to their community. If there is any proposition universally true in politics, it is that the alien attachments are the fruit of domestic quibblings. And the Hindu India is not slow to take full advantage of our internal feuds. It has always been the trick of these bigots to at first create and then accentuate our differences with a view to showing the Government at home and

the world at large that we are not united. They want to govern us, as if a section of the state were the whole, and at the same time to censure us for our alleged want of patriotic spirit.

The present offer does not claim to provide a settlement of permanent nature; at the most it professes to the establishment of sort of (interim) national government. It is a point worth considering, whether or not the Muslims also should leave the matter of the distribution of the seats to the Viceroy. The arch-nationalists, relegating the creed of complete independence and the Quit India resolution[1] to the limbo [*sic*] of oblivion, have already done this. In view of their unity and our disunity, their strength and our weakness, their organisational discipline and our indiscipline, shall we not be better advised to follow suit instead of running the risk of being politely left alone? Conceded, the policy laid down by Parliament can only be amended or revoked by Parliament itself, which stands dissolved at present, but there is nothing to prevent the authorities agreeing to the Congress interpretation of the parity formula. The virtue of sticking to the fundamentals is absolutely true, but the dictates of expediency also are at times inexorable. To bend is better than to break. I trust that you will kindly pardon me for this trespass.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED DIN MALAK
Bar-at-Law

[1] Adopted by the A.I.C.C on 8 August 1942. See No. 470, *TP*, II, 621-4.

538

Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur & Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 208/19

BOMBAY,
3 July 1945

Most anxious that accredited representatives Muslim [and] Hindu nations with minorities form Government at Centre. Present arrangement declaredly interim and important task proposed Executive Council frame future constitution. Therefore absolutely imperative Muslim members must be nominees of League. Failing this recognition we have no alternative but stay out. If League's sole representative character challenged then let general elections be first ordered and Executive Council formed

basis of that plebiscite. If disregarding even this constitutional method Congress forms new Government to implement its totalitarian principles, Muslim nation will expectantly await command of its beloved Quaid-i-Azam for unprecedented resistance.

MIR GHULAM ALI TALPUR AND HATIM ALAVI

539

Maqbool Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/105

PERSONAL

PATHAK BHAWAN,
SOLAN,
4 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I came to the Cecil [Hotel] to call on you but you were busy with Pandit Pant.[1] I asked Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to convey my *salaam* to you. I am now leaving for Bombay for the forthcoming Princes' meetings. In the meantime, I am taking the liberty of making one or two suggestions for your consideration in the light of your recent press statement[2] which was most opportune. These suggestions are prompted only out of a sense of duty. As such I crave your indulgence to consider them in the light of full facts before you:

a. Your statement effectively and forcely [*sic*] brings out the fatal weakness in the Wavell Parity Plan that it does not provide adequately against "the Congress forcing its decision by a majority vote against the Muslamans." This objection, it has been pointed out, will not be met even if all the Muslim nominees to the Executive Council are selected out of your list. It may, therefore, be made clear at an appropriate stage that what you have in view, in addition to establishing the correct position of the League, is a convention, as was submitted in my last letter, somewhat like the formula[3] in the Congress-League Pact of 1917 that no important measure affecting any community shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the Executive Council opposed it. It should be possible to specify important questions such as those relating to the future constitutional arrangements and the apportionment of inter-communal shares in services and on statutory bodies, etc. on which decision by the Executive Council may not be by a bare majority.

b. Notwithstanding any reports that may have reached you, I must reiterate my considered opinion, based on personal knowledge of affairs in the Punjab and authentic reports from other provinces, that the chances of League securing substantial support at the next elections depend primarily on whether it is then in office or in opposition. Moreover, Muslims may miss the bus if their accredited representatives are not on the Central Executive Council at this juncture. The League may explore possibilities of accepting a reasonable compromise without prejudice to its representative position as the tribune of the Musalmans in India; and in the last resort if nothing else avails, individual members of the League may be permitted to join the Executive Council without committing the League as a party, as was done at the time of the setting up of the war committees.

c. The need for Muslim solidarity and for Congress-League honourable rapprochement cannot be over-emphasised at this juncture. You hold the key to the situation.

2. These suggestions are intended to assist you in coming to a decision and are not intended in any manner to fetter your discretion.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MAQBOOL MAHMUD

Pandit G. B. Pant, ex-Premier, U. P. met Jinnah on 26 June 1945. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 121-5.

[2]See No. 536, note 1.
[3]Pirzada, *Foundations*, I, 392-7.

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/47

ISMAIL BUILDING,
HORNBY ROAD, FORT,
BOMBAY,
5 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I confirm having sent to you today the following telegram:

> At a meeting of one hundred and twenty institutions representing every shade of Muslim public opinion held here yesterday, it was unanimously resolved to authorise me, as its Chairman, to reiterate to you most emphatically that the one and only organisation which can

speak authoritatively for the Musalmans of India is the All India Muslim League and that they have the fullest faith and confidence in your leadership.

You will have already seen the text of the telegram which I sent to the Viceroy in this connection. For ready reference, however, I enclose[1] a copy of it. I am also sending herewith[2] the list of the institutions referred to in my telegram.

Hoping you are keeping well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1&2]See *SHC*, Bombay I/48-9. Not printed.

541

Chogmal Chopra to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1002/15

GANGASHAHR,
BIKANER,
7 July 1944

Jain Swetambar Tesapanthi community numbering over two lakh spread over whole India engaged mostly in trade having complete faith in your foresight and statesmanship. Hope that you may arrive at such settlement with the Excellency as may hasten the progress towards freedom and may soon bring plenty and prosperity in the country by reviving honest trade and stopping all irritating restrictions and black markets. They however particularly submit that as they regard their religion and religious rights and usages as very sacred and claim same to be the best means for ennobling the character, you may inform the cabinet [to] see that every one of the ministers may always safeguard the religious rights and usages of this important minority community.

CHOGMAL CHOPRA
President, Jain Swetambar Tesapanthi Sabha

542

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 505/11-3

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA,
7 July 1945

Dear Lord Wavell,

I placed before my Working Committee the suggestion made by Your Excellency at the last meeting of the Conference and communicated to me by your Private Secretary in his letter dated the 29th June 1945.[1] The Working Committee, after careful consideration, desires me to convey to you their views, which are:

i. With regard to your suggestion for submitting a panel of names of the members of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, the Working Committee desires to point out that when a similar proposal was made by Your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Linlithgow, in connection with his offer of August 1940,[2] the Working Committee opposed it and when its objections were brought to the notice of Lord Linlithgow he dropped the proposal and suggested another alternative in his letter dated the 25th of September 1940,[3] addressed to the President of the All India Muslim League, an extract from which is given below:

> I appreciate, however, the difficulties which, you made it clear to me, confronted you in connection with the formulation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you, and in the light of our discussion I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General, should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and should they so desire of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on confidential discussion between the Leader of the party concerned and myself.

This alternative was acceptable to the Muslim League. The Working Committee is of the opinion that the procedure settled on the previous occasion should be followed in the present case so far as the Muslim League is concerned.

ii. Further, the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League, subject to a confidential discussion between Your Excellency and the President of the

Muslim League, before they are finally recommended by you to the Crown for appointment. The Working Committee feels very strongly on this point and regards it as one of the fundamental principles.

iii. Besides the foregoing, certain other points were also discussed in the Working Committee, particularly the question of providing an effective safeguard against unfair decisions of the majority. While the Committee appreciated the remarks in the statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons[4] that the power of veto will be exercised by the Viceroy to protect the minority interests, it was felt that some other effective safeguard would be necessary in the interest of smooth working of the interim arrangement. It was, however, thought that this question could be settled after the strength and the composition of the Executive Council was decided upon.

I have given, in the above paragraphs, the unanimous opinion of my Working Committee and I am ready and willing, if you so desire, to meet you and explain the reasons and the grounds for the decision arrived at by the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E. The Viceroy and Governor-General,
Simla

[2]No. 534.
[3]See Appendix I, *TP*, I, 877-9.
[4]See 95/133-4, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]Annex II to No. 505.

543

Archibald Wavell to M. A. Jinnah

F. 505/16-7

VICEROY'S CAMP,
SIMLA,
9 July 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the end of our talk yesterday evening you said that I could make your problem easier if I replied in writing to your letter of 7th July.[1] I do not think you expect any comment now on the first and third points in that letter. Our talk was concerned mainly with the second

point, "that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League before they are finally recommended to the Crown for appointment."

2. I fully appreciate your difficulties, but regret that I am unable to give you the guarantee you wish, i.e. that all the Muslim members of the proposed new Council shall necessarily be members of the Muslim League. As I explained to you, I cannot commit myself to this any more than I am committed or shall commit myself to give a similar guarantee to any other party.

I have to attempt to form an Executive Council—representative, competent and generally acceptable. But, of course, I cannot compel any person or any party to co-operate in my own solution if they do not wish to do so.

It will help me greatly if you will let me have names from the Muslim League and I sincerely hope you will do so. I asked for eight, but will certainly accept five if you do not wish to send in more. You can consider later whether any solution I put forward is acceptable to you.

3. During the next two or three years, decisions of great importance will have to be taken by the Government of India, whatever its composition may be. These decisions—on demobilization, economic development, taxation, trade, and so on, cannot wait, and it is the hope of H.M.G. that the Executive Council responsible for them will be one in which the major political parties are represented. It will be, of course, my principal duty to see fair play between all parties; not only in the composition of the proposed Council but in its working.

4. I need the active help of your colleagues and yourself, and I am sure you will give it to me. I have no objection to your showing this letter to your colleagues, but it is not intended for publication.

Yours sincerely,

WAVELL

·No. 542.

544

M. A. Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F. 505/18

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA,
9 July 1945

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th July[1] which I placed before my Working Committee. The Committee, after giving its very careful consideration to the matter, desires me to state that it regrets very much to note that Your Excellency is not able to give the assurance that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council will be selected from the Muslim League. In my letter of the 7th July,[2] I mentioned that the Committee considers this as one of the fundamental principles and in the circumstances, I regret, I am not in a position to send the names on behalf of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, as desired by you.

I should like to assure Your Excellency that it has been the earnest desire of the Committee and myself to assist you in every reasonable way, but it is not possible for us to depart from this fundamental principle.

I need not, therefore, at present say anything more with regard to the other points raised.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Wavell,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
Simla

[1]No. 543.
[2]No. 542.

545

S. M. H. Ghazi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/50

59 LAKHSHMI BUILDING,
SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
10 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you herewith a copy of the telegram[1] that I have sent on behalf of the District Muslim League, Bombay, to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Simla.

I take this opportunity, on behalf of the members of the District Muslim League, Bombay, of reiterating our full confidence in your leadership and of expressing our fullest loyalty towards you and thus endorsing the stand that you have taken at the Simla Conference on behalf of the Muslims of India. You will not find us wanting in any sacrifice that you may call upon us to make for the realisation of the goal of the Muslims of India—Pakistan.

A nation's history is never written and made by advancing logic and arguments to its opponents and adversaries, but by the blood of a soldier on the battlefield. It will be on the edifice [*sic*] of the blood and toil, tears and sweat of the Muslims of today that the structure of the destiny of Muslims of India will be built. Let not history and posterity indict us for having despaired them [*sic*] or having shirked from struggle and sacrifice to attain a right and true place for them when the destiny of India was in the melting pot and history was being made.

I beg to remain,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
S. M. H. GHAZI

[1]The telegram criticised Azad's role as a Congress stooge. See *SHC*, Bombay I/51. Not printed.

546

S. M. Abdul Jalil Gardezi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 658/5-6

HASAN KOSHAK,
SHISH MAHAL ROAD,
MULTAN,
11 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I send you herewith a copy of my open letter to the President of the Congress suggesting a way out of the present impasse. It involves personal sacrifice of one or two Muslim nationalists. If they are for Hindu-Muslim unity, they can rescue the Congress from its dilemma.

To you also I have to make a suggestion. It is this that the nationalist Muslims, after they have withdrawn their candidature proposed by the Congress, may be permitted to become members of the League, without losing their membership of the Congress, so that they may be nominated in [*sic*] the League's panel.

I do not know whether this arrangement is permissible under the League's constitution. But if it is not, I feel it should not be impossible to legalise it to meet a national emergency, by a special decision of the Working Committee.

I might assure you that I have implicit faith in your leadership, and have ventured the suggestion with a view to enable [*sic*] you to resolve, if possible, the deadlock.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ABDUL JALIL GARDEZI

Enclosure to No. 546
S. M. Abdul Jalil Gardezi to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

F. 658/1-4

11 July 1945

My dear Maulana Sahib,

It is a pity that the Congress has not been able to come to terms with the Muslim League.

You have said in your statement that the Congress intends to work the scheme offered by the Viceroy. This is welcome to Indians of all shades of opinion. But does the Congress seriously think that it can

achieve independence or dominion status without active co-operation of the League? The acceptance of parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus (excuse me the use for want of a better expression) is definitely a step in the right direction, but why then the parleys between the League President and the Congress leaders should fail on the question of nomination of Muslims? Why should the Congress claim the right to nominate or select representative of another nation, i.e. of the Muslim nation? Can the Viceroy's present cabinet be termed as a national cabinet if he only replaces its European members by [*sic* for with] Indians and allows the present Indian members to continue in their offices? No, because the Indian members of the Executive Council, though they are Indians, do not represent the will of India and are only the nominees of the Government.

I, however, quite realize the difficulty of the Congress. It cannot overlook its Muslim members who have made sacrifices in the cause of freedom. And if it does include their names in its own panel it might have the effect of reducing the equality [*sic*] aimed at between Muslims and the Caste Hindus, i.e. the number of Muslims might increase and the number of Hindus might decrease. This is what the Hindus are naturally perturbed about. The Congress can be spared this dilemma if the nationalist Muslims voluntarily withdraw their candidature. If they do this, nobody will accuse the Congress of neglecting its friends, nor will the Mahasabha or, for that matter, the Hindu nation need be afraid of being reduced to minority in the Executive Council. The nationalist Muslims who have made great sacrifices in the past in the cause of the freedom of India should make a further sacrifice in the cause of the League-Congress unity, which alone can ensure the liberation of the country. It is certainly not in the interest of India that the first national cabinet should start under the shadow of Muslim dissatisfaction.

The Viceroy has had enough of worry already. Who knows how much work His Excellency had to put in to secure this proposal from His Majesty's Government? The soldier-statesman Viceroy whose sincerity is beyond question should be spared further labour and be allowed, at an early date, to put into effect his scheme which will undoubtedly carry Lord Wavell's name to history and posterity as the greatest Englishman who ever set his foot in India.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ABDUL JALIL GARDEZI

547

S. M. Idris to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, NWFP I/49

PESHAWAR,
11 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is just to assure you that the intelligentsia among the Frontier Muslims is behind you, almost to a man. The Khan brothers dare not explain to the Pathan masses the Pakistan ideal and the Congress ideology of *Akhand* Hindustan. So far both Dr. Khan and his brother, the so-called Frontier Gandhi, have presented the Congress to the people in the guise of Islam and Pathanism, and it is Islam and the Pathans that the Red-Shirts[1] believe to be serving, and for which they have made untold sacrifices. The Khan brothers know it, but they also know that if they were to lay bare their own or, to be more precise, the Hindu ideology, by divesting it of Islam and Pathanism, they would forthwith lose their hold on the masses. These two servants of Hinduism have consistently exploited the ignorance of the masses, but they cannot hoodwink the educated class, and the time is not far off when they will appear in their true garb. The day of reckoning for them is coming, let them beware.

The consensus of intelligent opinion about Dr. Khan is that he is a man with his upper chamber vacant, and that R. B. Mehr Chand Khanna, a staunch Mahasabhite, like a *mahavat* sits on his back and drives him to trample down all that is good in Islam and Pathanism. I challenge Dr. Khan to come out before the masses in his true colours. I prophesy that he would not, he dare not. He will only bully and abuse!

We, intellectual Muslims, believe that there is little in common between Hindu and Muslim culture, and that democratic Islam cannot be yoked with rigid and conservative Hinduism. It is an irony of fate that men like Maulana Azad and Husain Ahmad Madani, look up to Hinduism for democratic guidance. What a fall, my countrymen!

I have no objection to the publication of this letter if it can serve the Muslim cause.

With sincerest good wishes,

Your brother-in-Islam,
M. IDRIS
Professor, Islamia College

[1]Also known as Khudai Khidmatgars, a Congress volunteer movement in NWFP started by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in 1930.

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M. H. Saiyid to Evan Jenkins

F. 1025/92

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA,
12 July 1945

Dear Sir,

Mr. Jinnah is in receipt of your letter dated the 8th of July 1945.[1] He was not able to attend to it earlier owing to other matters requiring his immediate attention, and now he asks me to request you to please convey his thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his kind offer to make his contribution towards his expenses as an invitee to the Conference by his paying for Mr. Jinnah's board and lodging and that of mine. But there is no need for this and he would prefer to bear all his own expenses. Would you therefore be good enough to instruct the hotel manager to present their bills in full to Mr. Jinnah.

M. H. SAIYID
PS to M. A. Jinnah

The Private Secretary,
His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
Simla

[1]Not traceable.

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Note by Anonym

F. 1056/11-2

POONA,
14 July 1945

FAILURE OF THE WAVELL PLAN

The entire blame for the failure of the Wavell Plan is being laid at the door of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. But if the whole question is analysed dispassionately, it will be found that the shoe is on the other foot.

Mr. Gandhi has been announcing from the house-tops, that he is quite

prepared to give a blank cheque to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League to have their own government at the Centre, but see that thereby the Britishers are made to quit India. He (Mr. Gandhi) would rather see India ruled by the Muslim League than the British. But when the acid test came, principles, traditions and conscience came in the way.

As far back as 1941, Mr. Jinnah had announced[1] that if the Muslim League was given fifty-fifty share at the Centre, he was ready to co-operate wholeheartedly in the war effort and run the government till the time a constitution is drafted. At that time his adversaries said that Mr. Jinnah was mad in claiming equality in administration, when the Muslim population figures did not warrant it. What do we see in 1945; the same principle granted by the Congress in the Desai-Liaquat formula,[2] when the Muslim population did not increase to those proportions! It amounts to this, that reason and arguments have no appeal to the Congress. The Muslim League should go on fighting and criticising the Congress to gain its ends and then the Hindu Mahasabha shouts, that by placating the Muslim League, it goes on asking for more and more [*sic*].

The Cripps proposals[3] had the same fate, when fortunately all parties declined it [*sic*], but still one party criticised the other that their demands were met by the British Government as against the other. The clamouring went on for quite a while. How aptly an author in an English magazine described the Cripps proposals. There it is stated "three blind beggars were sitting on the road-side, a passer-by happened to pass by; he stood near the beggars for a while, jingled the coins in his pockets and went away. Blind beggar A asked B to give him his share, B replied that C received it; both then asked C, and he replied that A must have received it. Thus the fight went on, and actually nobody received it." The three beggars must be quite obvious to everyone—the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

So also the Wavell Plan. The British statesmen changed the agreed League-Congress parity to Hindu-Muslim parity. Well, this was not without a design. The result is already known by now. It is said that Mr. Jinnah did not agree to take even one Unionist Muslim, let alone the nationalist Muslims. Granting that Mr. Jinnah had agreed to take the Unionist Muslim, would the Congress have agreed to such a panel without the great nationalist Muslim, the Moulana, on the Muslim panel? Then, at whose doors would have been the blame? The very names suggested by the Congress—if those are correct ones—showed that they were not serious of the whole show.... The suggestion of Moulana

Azad's name—whose very name is an eyesore to the Muslim Leaguers—itself showed the mind of the Congress. How could the Leaguers work as a team, in such a panel. In short, the panel suggested was from Utopian brains. A body calling itself nationalist, suggesting names for Muslim group, knowing that the contender is to be termed a Muslim, with whatever brush his face or name was painted! Only a Gandhi is needed to solve this riddle.

Why beat about the bush and call other Muslim leaders to say that they are not with the League. Mr. Rajagopalachariar wants the League to substantiate its claim of representing the Muslims by capturing all the seats in the coming elections. I need not assure Mr. Rajagopalachariar further than this, that Mr. Jinnah and the League are ready on tiptoes to prove their assertion and certainly the Leaguers will sweep the polls. It is already reported that Mr. Jinnah asked Lord Wavell to postpone this plan and get the elections first. Do not judge the League by the 1937 elections. Then it was in its infancy. It is a fighting and brave giant now and it will uproot all the quislings of whatever little foothold they have. Every Muslim, who is not an official Leaguer, has certainly his sympathies with the League, as against the Congress, as by now he has seen whoever of his community wore a white cap, what he attained!

Mr. Jinnah rightly thought that there was nothing to enthuse over in the plan by playing second fiddle. What good would have accrued to the Muslim cause of Pakistan from working in this interim plan, except to go on supporting the Congress plan of appointing 'post-mortem' commissions of the Defence of India Rules *vis-a-vis* the Congress, the supplementing of Birla and Tata plans, and so on?

Time alone would show the wisdom of this step taken by the League. Well, it lives to fight another day.

S. E. J.

[1]In a letter to Defence Secretary, Charles Ogilvie, of 28 March 1941, Jinnah had demanded Muslim League's association with the Government "as equal partners " See Yusufi, *Speeches*, II, 1372-3

[2]See No. 523, note 1.

[3]See Vol. I, Part II, Appendices II. 1 & 2, 21-8.

550

Ali Ahmad Sabri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/129

NAINI TAL,
15 July 1945

Respected Sir,

I send you a copy of my letter addressed to Mr. Humayun Kabir, Secretary to the *Rashtrapati*.[1] The stand you have taken to safeguard the Muslim interests is extremely encouraging. It easily shows that you are fully aware of Hindu mind. My letter will show how the certified liberal, Pandit Govind Balabh Pant, treated the Muslims in the prime of his power. A copy of the letter has also been sent to him to warn him that Muslims are fully aware of the clandestine actions. May I request you to add this letter to the bag of Congress atrocities?

With prayers for your long life,

Yours ever,
ALI AHMAD SABRI

Refers to the Congress President Abul Kalam Azad.

Enclosure to No. 550

Ali Ahmad Sabri to Humayun Kabir

F. 879/130-2
[*Extract*]

Respected Sir,

Let me at the outset:

a. introduce myself as a resident of a province where Muslims are in minority,
b. apologise for encroaching upon your valuable time,
c. request you to read this letter with a sense of responsibility to *Allah* as it represents the sentiments of those for whom you claim to stand but with whom you have never been in direct touch,
d. assure you that this letter is free from any party propaganda and is based on true facts.

The precious, constructive and selfless work done by a number of Congressmen has made the Congress popular, to some extent. I say to some extent for, while wielding ministries a number of Congress Ministers, both Hindus and Muslims, exhibited regrettable lack of

imagination towards Muslim interests, which has entailed very serious results.

Hindu Ministers, in the height of their power, avoided to look through Muslim claims where they clashed with the interest of their own community....

Muslim Ministers worked hard and sincerely but surely most scrupulously. They have been extra meticulous to maintain their title of nationalist....

The Muslim representation in Forest Services as left by the Panditjee [Govind Ballabh Pant] at the end of his Ministry is given below and it was certainly worse than what he took over:

Executive Services

1. Provincial	11	per cent
2. Rangers	9	"
3. Dy. Rangers & Foresters	6	"
4. Forest Guards	5	"
5. Temporary Services	2	"

Ministerial Services

1. Head Assistants	Nil out of 6 posts
2. Head Clerks	Nil out of 36 posts
3. Asstt. Clerks	7 per cent
4. Stenographers	Nil out of 6 posts
5. Range Clerks	3 per cent
6. Store Keepers	Nil out of 15 [posts]
7. Menials	None in the offices of Conservators and 5 per cent elsewhere.

The department today is managed almost entirely by Europeans and Hindus. The Europeans, being fully under the influence of the majority community, always discourage communal questions. All efforts to achieve the representation of Muslim community in the Department have entirely failed so far and the results are:

a. Muslim contractors and labour who were once 6s0 per cent have now dwindled to 40 per cent. Finding themselves faced with the ravages of the non-Muslim staff at every step, they have become communal minded. Having already had full experience of the Congress disloyalty to them they are now fully supporting the Muslim League in which they find some hope, false though it may prove, to stand for their cause.
b. Muslim elements who have the least concern with the Department

and who are fully aware of the fact that nationalist Hindu leaders in their individual capacity have utterly failed to imbue the nationalist spirit in Hindu masses who are hopelessly bigoted, have no more faith in the Congress and consider that the nationalist Muslims bear full responsibility to let down the Muslims in the minority provinces.

It is time that you should do something to safeguard the Muslim rights and to take a bold step to bring all these facts to the notice of the Hindu leaders who are expected to lead us in the name of nationalist leaders. As a Secretary of the *Rashtrapati* you should also bring to the notice of the Muslim Congress President that he has failed to take disciplinary action against those nationalists who have lent a hand in spoiling the reputation of Congress amongst Muslims in the minority provinces. By all this, I do not mean to create communal controversy between Hindus and the nationalist Muslims who are nationalist to such a degree that communal questions, however important they may be, have no place in their programme. But I certainly mean that nationalist Muslims cannot speak for their Muslim brethren of the minority provinces unless they show to have done something for them. I must tell you that Muslims are crushed to such a degree that most of them have developed an inferiority complex already and unless you or some reactionary party take special interest in their safeguard they will suffer further. The only step I must emphasise is to bring Muslims in all the Government departments to their proper representation without listening to any pretext. There is no dearth of able Muslims in the provinces. I must also warn you that due to war effort a large number of young men has been employed in civil departments. Muslim element has again been kept limited to a minimum and when the question of continuity of employment comes up later on, Muslims will find themselves high and dry.

Let me emphasise once again that there is a vast difference in a Hindu, in general, and a nationalist Hindu. Hindu in his majority is a bigoted Muslim-hater and shows himself off. He is always prepared to crush the Muslim interest whenever he can get a chance. He would not tolerate a Muslim living in his neighbourhood. Come and see this in Naini Tal. Did you ever ponder over it? Did you ever have the courage to talk this matter over with a Hindu nationalist to evolve a solution....

Unless this spirit is manifest in the policy and actions of the nationalists, Muslims of the minority provinces are not going to be deceived by such press statements that the Congress President is receiving two hundred letters daily from Muslims assuring him

of their confidence in him.

May *Allah* give you *nek taufiq,*

Yours truly,
ALI AHMAD SABRI

Professor Humayun Kabir,
Secretary to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
Simla

551

K. E. M. Mohamed Ibrahim Maricar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/139-40

54 LEMAIRE STREET,
KARIKAL,
FRENCH INDIA,
16 July 1945

Respected Sir,

Assaalamo 'Alaikum

As a humble brother-in-Islam, interested in the uplift of Muslims all over the earth, I have to point out, although from French India, that despite H.E. the Viceroy's appeal not to recriminate, all the pro-Congress papers, especially the dailies of the Madras Presidency, are carrying on an intense propaganda against the Muslim League. There is not even a daily to reply on behalf of the League, even though Madras Province comprises four distinct linguistic regions, say, Tamil Nad, Andhra, Malabar and Carnatic. Is this not a real weakness of the League?

Personally, I feel very anxious to know that you propose to go to America and England for the sake of propaganda despite your precarious health and your old age. I strongly advise you not to proceed abroad, but I would gladly suggest to instruct each Provincial League to start immediately at least one daily paper to represent the League's views. A vernacular daily is much [more] preferable as it can reach the Muslim masses very easily. It may even be started on a co-operative basis, if no one offers to start it at his own risk.

Hoping that this humble suggestion will receive due consideration on the part of your far-sighted leadership,

I beg to remain,
Respected Sir,
Your humble brother-in-Islam,
K. E. M. MOHAMED IBRAHIM MARICAR

552

Mohammad Noman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Hyderabad-I/56

WOODLAND COTTAGE,
CHIRAGH ALI LANE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
16 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Once again Musalmans are [*sic*] saved from a great catastrophe and under your stewardship the ship of Muslim fate steered successfully through a most stormy and unfavourable weather. Your statesmanship, sagacity and political insight has saved the Muslims. May you live long to guide our destiny. *Aameen.*

Now that the Conference is over we must again analyse our problems. The first and foremost is the propaganda. The Congress is grieved and so is the Hindu nation. They will naturally malign and curse the League. The so-called nationalist Muslims will be too ready to carry out the orders of their masters. It is [*sic*] proved recently that the venomous snake is scotched and not killed. We have to finish them. Our organisation must be up and doing. It should not be allowed to sulk and [should] become active for some time. We must launch an all-out offensive. May I suggest a few things!

A booklet be immediately issued. It should contain the following things:

a. Extract from the speeches of Congress leaders in August 1942
b. Extract from the Govt. pamphlet on Congress responsibility
c. Wavell offer
d. Editorial comments of leading papers
e. Simla Conference
f. Your press statements and all other relevant papers
g. Press comments

The booklet must not cover more than one hundred pages. It should be widely circulated, both in India and abroad. I am prepared to undertake it as I find that I have got all the cuttings of all the newspapers. If you like I can send them on to you. It is obvious that I cannot put my name there and it should be published on behalf of the League.

Secondly, you must take a very special care of your food and it should be tasted by someone before you take [it]. Your life is very important for the nation. Every personal care should be taken.

Thirdly, I feel that a weekly in three languages be started by you. You can have a separate staff for it. But you should be the Editor yourself and write a weekly column. It will finish *Harijan* propaganda, apart from its value to our own people. I am sure it will be financially quite sound. We really need propaganda.

Fourthly, you must now, as you told me last, have a trained band of workers.

I have always placed my services at your disposal in any capacity. I am prepared to undertake any work entrusted by you to me. It is one of my ambitions to serve under you. Whenever you need me, please do not hesitate to call me.

While you were in Simla I had been to Bombay and went to see Miss Jinnah. I was so happy to hear that you [have] greatly improved in Matheran. I hope the recent strain did not affect your general health.

Hope you are doing well. My wife sends her respects to you and to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD NOMAN

553

Agnes St. Ives-Currie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1104/257-8

TRINITY LODGE,
KARACHI,
17 July 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Congratulations on your great Simla victory. It will go down in history and hearten the downtrodden Muslims of India. You have saved India, both Europeans and Indians, from the oppression of the Congress pirates. God bless you.

But take the advice of a fool, and do not rest on your oars and give the pirates time to assemble their forces (remember Nana Sahib, the Poona Brahman, who engineered the ghastly Indian mutiny, by corrupting and deceiving the Muslims, to join it). Send your emissaries throughout India, not only the towns but also the villages, to explain the good intentions of the Muslim League for their uplift, to be loyal to themselves and to their best friends, the British, who gave them freedom in 1858. Queen Victoria's proclamation made all equal under the law— Brahman and Sudra alike. This was India's *magna carta*. We Europeans honour

Muslims for their staunchness to the ethics of their religion which the Congress trouble-makers, both in Europe and India, are trying to belittle and push into the background. The Muslims are the only Asiatic race who have a religion and all the rest have only idolatrous ceremonies, some obscene and disgusting, as Miss Mayo has pointed out.[1]

I am,

Yours truly,

MRS. AGNES ST. IVES-CURRIE

ex-Lady Superintendent, Pilgrims Dept.

[1]See Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, London, 1927.

554

Shaukat Hyat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 350/4-5

WAH TEA ESTATE,
PALAMPUR,
KANGRA,
18 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I owe a reply to your extremely kind letter[1] of condolence on my mother's death. Actually it was at hand on 20th of June when I arrived here but knowing your pre-occupation I did not dare to intrude. I assure you, however, that the lateness [*sic*] in reply does not in the slightest manner lessen our gratitude for your sympathy.

I see that the Simla affair has ended up in smoke. I do not know the real reasons for the breakdown yet. My knowledge is based entirely on what I read from the papers and these, I know, have never been kindly disposed towards us. It is , therefore, dangerous to comment on the issue but I feel that we have played into Gandhi's hands. I do not think he ever wished to put this thing into practice fearing his Hindu Sabha followers and, therefore, he arranged that the Muslims should fight among themselves. I would very much like to have your impression before I make up my mind.

As regards your desire to hold elections early, I feel it is my duty to warn you that Punjab and NWFP are far from prepared to vindicate your claim. We must get at least another year to show 50 per cent victories. The only hope for our general success was in our accepting

office at the Centre. Now the Punjab Government is going to use its power, unfettered and unchecked, to influence our already backward voters. We must not let urban demonstrations mislead us into a false sense of security. League high command must visit Punjab and stay here for some six months to organize our countryside. We must have instructions from you in the matter of funds too and all my efforts in this direction have so far ended at committee stage. I hope you would not mind my warning you against pressing for early elections.

I do hope your health is withstanding all the strain that has been put on it. Please do look after yourself— I am feeling very nervous on account of a silly dream.

I am here trying to put my business in order. I hope to be out of the woods by April next. I am hoping against hope that Khizar Hayat will accept my challenge and bring his case to the court but they do not seem to be keen! God willing I will get an opportunity to vindicate myself.

Trust Miss Jinnah is quite fit and flourishing. Please remember me to her.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHAUKAT HYAT

[1]Not traceable.

555

Ghulam Mahboob to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/152-3

231 AHATA LAL KHAN,
LUCKNOW,
19 July 1945

Venerable Quaid-i-Azam,

I am one of your innumerable admirers who believe in your ardent leadership and there are others of my comrades who equally share my views. All of us have formed a club, the aim of which is to elevate the Muslims up to the standard of Islamic ideals in every walk of life. Naturally, therefore, it becomes incumbent on us to grace nobody [*sic*] else than ourselves by doing our bit in raising funds in accordance with your most opportune appeal.[1]

I have highly appreciated your verdict [*sic*] in the open annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Allahabad[2] that you believed nobody in matters of money and that any meagre sum should be sent in your name direct.

Our great organization under your able guidance must have surveyed all the avenues and chalked out means and ways. We want to acquaint ourselves with those well-thought-out plans, in the light of which we want to act in a disciplined way, leaving no loopholes for any misappropriation or corruption.

We, therefore, seek your advice as to how we should act. We are anxiously waiting for your early reply.

Yours most obediently,
GHULAM MAHBOOB

Comments of repetitive nature omitted.

[2]From 3 to 6 April 1942.

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Badiuddin Mahmud to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/146-8

GAMPOLA,
CEYLON,
19 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Sir,

May I assume that you are already familiar with my name, for you had already written to me a letter last year, in reply to my humble invitation to visit Ceylon.

I am writing this, Sir, to inform you that I have been deputed by the Muslims of Ceylon, and particularly the Muslim League organizations all over the country, to meet you personally this time, and extend their humble invitation to pay a visit to Ceylon at an early date (say within the next six months).

Four hundred thousand Muslims in Ceylon note with pride the lead you have given to our brothers in India and we take genuine pleasure in sharing with them the honour to own you as our undisputed leader.

We are eagerly waiting to see you and hear you in this beautiful

island of ours. Your coming here will electrify the Muslims of this country into action and will send through a wave of hope and pride among the Musalmans.

It is our intention to give you, Sir, if I may be permitted to state here, a welcome that was seldom given to a visitor to this island. We are prepared to charter a special plane to bring you and take you back. I know these are no inducements for you to pay a visit; but our faith in you, our earnest desire to see you and hear you in our own land and the great love Muslims in this land have for you, must certainly urge you to pay a visit at least once in your lifetime. We need inspiration and guidance from our Indian brothers and perhaps you are unaware with what fanaticism we, here, try to defend the Muslim politics of India. The Congress leaders from Gandhiji downwards have been paying regular visits to this island and have captured the imagination of the non-Muslim public.

We are certain that your visit will give the non-Muslims an opportunity to know you and the Muslim League better. The non-Muslims in our country will join us in extending you a warm welcome.

Muslim leaders in India should not neglect their brothers in the neighbouring countries. We, on the other hand, cannot live apart from India. We need your help and guidance.

Therefore, I hope, Sir, that when I approach[1] your goodself next month with the request of the Muslims of Ceylon you will have the kindness to give me a patient hearing and an encouraging reply.

I hope to start for India on the 5th of August.

With our prayer for your long life,

I remain,
Sir,
Yours-in-Islam,
B. MAHMUD
B.A.(Hons.), M.A.(Alig.)
Principal, Zahira College

1 The invitation was extended in a meeting on 11 August. Jinnah replied that he would not be able to go till March or April next year. See *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 202.

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Z. A. Suleri to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, P&P III/116

2 TAGORE ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
20 July 1945

Most beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Even the man-in-the-street says that once again the Muslim India has been saved from the machinations of Anglo-Hindu combine through the efforts and sagacious leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. One can hardly improve upon this opinion. It just expresses the crux of the situation. No wonder Muslim hearts have been deeply filled with gratitude for you. May we also come up to your lead. May you live long.

But I have been rather taken aback by the uniformity of anti-League opinion in the British press. It appears that it is working in concert. This only confirms your view that the British people are interested in yoking the Hindus and Muslims together under a united India so that their role of an arbiter remains ever in demand. That also further shows how essential it is for us to do our bit in England. That brings me to my proposed trip to England. You will be glad to know that my passage priority has been arranged and now I shall be able to leave by the middle or end of August. My efforts will be bent on organising a branch of the Muslim League of Britain—the body our friends have brought into existence there—in London. Here I may repeat that I am perfectly clear that all that I shall do will be entirely on my own, in my individual capacity as a humble Musalman without any pretence to represent anybody. I would now request you to send me a letter of introduction to those who have taken the initiative in this matter. I will be only too glad to serve them in any capacity.

You will be also glad to know that the first edition of *My Leader* (2000 copies) has been sold out and the demand for it is such that my publishers are shortly undertaking to bring out another edition. Here I will request you for another favour. In your kind letter about the book to me, you said:

> ....I congratulate you on marshalling facts so well and giving a clear picture of the seven years of our struggle. I was very much struck with this book and .... urge upon you .... to see that it gets widest circulation and publicity amongst as many people as

possible and particularly amongst the Musalmans.

I want to ask my publishers to use this extract for their advertisements and I approach you for permission. If you allow it to be used in advertisements, it will be used. Otherwise not.

At the moment I am engaged in preparing synopsis for another short book in which I wish to discuss as to which India will be really democratic, Hindu India or Muslim India. I shall, in that book, dilate upon features of Hinduism and Hindu society which have unmistakable tendencies to lead any state or government under the Hindu genius [to] a pure and unadulterated fascism. I shall try to bring out this point to particular attention of the British public—I wish the book to be published in England—that the German fascism, the triumph over which they are so proud [of], is nothing as compared with the dangerous core of Hindu fascism. British people, because of their own interests, may try to ignore it, but we Muslims as the first people to be affected by this monstrous fascism can never be at our ease, unless we see to it that we are out of danger of envelopment by it. And so on. I think it will be of some use in England.

Lastly, I would say that though I am not going to England in any official capacity, I am sure, you will agree with me if I say that I am completely bound up with you and our national organisation. It is to you alone I can look for guidance and succour. I do not, in the least, mind trouble to my person, but I do feel much pained by not having the means to do the national work, which I have in my power to do, for want of support. But for your encouragement I would have been a strayed person. My *Allah* preserve you for us for long.

With deep affection and respect,

Yours most obediently,
Z. A. SULERI

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Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/61

HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
20 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please allow me to congratulate you on the triumph of the Muslim

League in the Simla Conference. I am very pleased that the plan was not put through without the co-operation of the Muslim League, and this in itself is a great triumph for us.

I have seen the reactions of the British press and it is disappointing that we have no propaganda in England and America and the whole attitude of the press is anti-Muslim League.... We must carry on propaganda in wider fields in India and abroad. I shall be very pleased, therefore, to receive instructions from you in the matter.

I think you should have rest for a few days to recover from the after-effects of the difficult days that you passed through recently at Simla.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

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Farooq Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/156-8

MINAI MANZIL,
PILA TALAB ROAD,
RAMPUR,
20 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam and the Hope of Muslims,

As one of the Muslim brethren I dare suggest one thing. You cannot deny the fact that there is a dearth of Muslim authors and editors and the best Muslim daily, the *Dawn,* is yet in its infancy. In spite of its two years career and good circulation it has not come up to the standard of a first class paper. Musalmans have much to do in this respect till at least they have one good daily from every provincial capital. Hence I suggest that a school of journalism should be started. The course should be of short duration in order to speed up the aim. Good graduates, with special aptitude in this line, are not wanting. Such keen persons should be given a chance. And I think Aligarh University would be the most suitable place as it is the nucleus of educated Muslims. I hope the entire scheme would cost about fifty thousand, which sum can easily be collected under your guidance.

Please let me know how far you approve [of] the suggestion and what service should I do in this connection.

Ever at your service,
FAROOQ AHSAN
M.A., B.T. (Alig)

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Jagannath Misra to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1347/40-1

GURYAM DIST.,
ORISSA,
20 July 1945

Sir,

The Secretary of Muslim League confessed that out of six hundred Muslim seats in the central and provincial legislatures, four hundred and twenty seats[1] alone belong to the League. This comes to nearly two-thirds of the whole, and as such, the claim of the League to be the sole representative body of the Muslims is not correct. Neither is the Congress correct in insisting to have a Congress Muslim representative in the Interim Council to preserve its national character. Let it decide to take a member from the Parsee community which may not raise any objection.

Both the Congress and the League desire fresh elections to be made [*sic*] to the legislatures. But elections, before a constitution for India is framed, are waste of money and energy. Moreover, no responsible body can be willing to run the administration as irresponsible bodies to the legislatures but responsible only to the Governors and Governor-General in the provinces and the centre, respectively. Therefore, previous to elections, two things are necessary. Firstly, the British Govt. should commit impartially beforehand how parity of representation to the strongest religious minority and fair weightage of votes to other minorities are to be maintained in the central and local legislatures; the way in which division of India is to be made; the position of the Princes and the people of the States in the constitution. With this their responsibility, if there is any, towards India ends. Secondly, a constituent assembly is to be called upon and decisions to be taken without anymore interference of the British. Afterwards elections are to be conducted on the basis of the decisions of the constituent assembly.

The Viceroy had declared that he would not allow any wilful obstruction from any side in the conference. If he has detected it at least now then let him eliminate that party and take in non-partisan members from the community or communities the Viceroy recognised on behalf of that party to claim in his own list of the quota of seats. But if he has not detected any such evil motive then let him fly to England immediately again to reward India with a permanent arrangement, if he is a true friend of India. India wants him to take this much of trouble again. I am quite sure that India herself cannot do anything at present; but men like the Viceroy alone can do many things for her.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Yours truly,
JAGANNATH MISRA

[1]This was a conservative estimate The League won 455 seats out of 522. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 980-1.

561

M. Ashraf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/22-3

60 EDWARDES ROAD,
RAWALPINDI,
21 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am that fortunate student whom you very kindly allowed to take three snapshots in front of your room while you were here in Flashman's Hotel. It was a great favour as many had gone disappointed.

I have complete faith and confidence in you and I am a quiet worker. The Muslims of India never had a true leader like you. May God grant you good health and long life to lead us in the hard time lying ahead.[1]

Yours obediently,
M. ASHRAF

PS. Cheque of Rs. 150 is enclosed herewith. You may acknowledge it, Sir.

[1]The remaining portion containing insignificant suggestions omitted.

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Nurul Hasan Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/160-1

41 HAIDERBABU MANZAR,
ALIGOLE MAHAL,
BARRACKPORE CANT.,
21 July 1945

A meeting of the Bengal Jami'at al-Quresh took place on Wednesday, 18 July 1945, in the new market under the presidentship of Mr. Mohammad Hanif Qureshi, and adopted the following resolutions:

i. The committee supports the stand taken by Mr. Jinnah, in the Simla Conference, who is the only recognized Muslim voice in India and who can truly represent hundred million Muslims in any political settlement in the country. It further condemns the action of a few so-called nationalist Muslims who have no followers and no platform and they are a stumbling block in the way of political freedom—both for Hindustan and Pakistan.
ii. The committee urges an early election to the provincial assemblies in order to show the real strength of the League, and to expose the activity of the so-called nationalist Muslims, acting under the guidance of Congress. It also points to the need of an early settlement in India on the Pakistan issue, which is the only solution for the political advancement of the country.
iii. The committee further looks with great concern [at] the restriction imposed on the slaughter of cattle and urges its immediate removal.

NURUL HASAN QURESHI
M.A.
Secretary,
Bengal Jami'at al-Quresh

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Sorab A. Khodaeji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/173-5

BENGALI HOUSE,
JEHANGIR DAJI CROSS LANE,
BOMBAY,
22 July 1945

Sir,

As one of the admirers of your statesmanship and patriotism, I congratulate you on the firm and courageous stand taken by you as a leader of the Muslim League at Simla Conference.

Mr. Gandhi, whom Lord Wavell pointed out as a recognised leader of Hindu Congress, intentionally stayed away and set up Maulana A.K.Azad, i.e. a Congress Muslim against a League Muslim, i.e. your goodself, and thereby repeated that dirty game of divide and rule that had enabled him and Bombay Congress Ministry to enforce prohibition through the Parsi Minister, Dr. Gilder, when Congress ministries came into power. This dirty game of the hypocrite Mahatma and his Congress gangsters, to create disaffection and split one community division [*sic*] by putting up a Parsi against a Parsi, a Muslim against a Muslim, and so on, must be totally rooted out at any cost and sacrifice.

If Congress were a national body, as it pretends to be, and if the Congress Quit India resolution of 1942 was a national one, all the communities of India such as Muslims , Parsis, Sikhs, Scheduled Classes and Indian Christians would have taken part in the disturbances of 1942, and not only the Hindus, as had actually happened. This proves that Congress is a Hindu body with inclusion of a few members of other communities.

Again, the government recovered the disturbance taxes from the Hindus only because the Hindus only obeyed the orders of the Hindu Congress.

I enclose herewith a pamphlet[1] which speaks for itself—what Mr. Gandhi and Congress [have] done for the Hindus, and draw your attention to the last four lines on page 8 which read as under:

> The British Govt. are giving importance to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress though they do not represent the country and are readily opposed by the Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and such other bodies.

This pamphlet may be useful to you in placing before the Britishers,

Americans, Russians and Chinese the bogus claim of Congress representing the whole of India. Truly speaking, Congress, under the dictatorship of Mr. Gandhi, is an open enemy of the Indians, barring its own members.

As a leader of the Muslims, it is your divine duty to waste no time and inform the Musalmans of India not to fall in[to] the trap of Congress by carrying on proper propaganda on a grand scale throughout India just as Congress have done by collecting funds from various parties.

Several newspapers and persons, who have not yet understood the dictatorship and destructive policy of the Congress, are throwing responsibility on you while Lord Wavell has taken the responsibility of Conference failure upon himself, and for which I appreciate his moral courage, because he knew who gave the red signal of line not clear, no sooner the Conference was opened.

Yours truly,
SORAB. A. KHODAEJI

Not traceable.

564

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, UP IV/62

LUCKNOW,
23 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The way in which the Muslim public has reacted to the policy adopted by you and, under your leadership, by the Working Committee, is truly marvellous. On my return, we held a public meeting which was attended by thousands of Muslims of all shades of opinion. The enthusiasm with which the Muslim attitude at the Simla Conference was acclaimed was an eye-opener, not only to me, but to Sir Nazimuddin also, who addressed the meeting during his stay for a couple of days in Lucknow. You have once again saved the community from a serious pitfall and steered the ship of Muslim politics through rough and stormy weather to a safe anchorage. Your grim determination and overpowering sagacity alone saved the situation when I recall our doubtful attitude and your unfaltering resolve, the contrast becomes so palpably clear that one has to admire your capacity for leadership.

I met His Excellency the Governor[1] of UP on the 21st and impressed

upon him the necessity of holding elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures at an early date. He has, after a long discussion, asked me to see him again for further discussion before 31st July 1945 when he is to leave for the Governors' Conference . I shall let you know the result of my talk later on.

With best regards to [your]self and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN

Maurice Hallett.

565

Hatim A. Alavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 208/15-6

ALAVI MANZIL,
KARACHI,
23 July 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

Trust you arrived in good health from Simla and that this finds you somewhat recovered from the great strain you underwent at the summer capital.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of July, I and Mir Gulam Ali Khan Talpur sent you a telegram at Simla as per copy enclosed.[1] A duplicate of this telegram was also sent to the Viceroy.

On Tuesday, the 17th instant, I sent you and the League Secretary a telegram at Simla as per copy enclosed.[2] I got an intimation from the telegraph authorities that as both of you had left, my telegrams were being forwarded to Bombay and Delhi at your and the Nawabzada's address.

When the Sind delegation to Simla returned to Karachi, I was eager to learn from them certain things which even a careful perusal of the newspapers could not furnish. I could obtain from my friends nothing new or useful. In this morning's paper, however, I saw your statement to the effect that after the possible release of the Viceroy-Congress President Correspondence, you might throw some light on the real causes of the Simla failure. In this connection, may I put down a few of the ideas that are uppermost in my mind:

i. It was so patently open to you, as a tactical move, to ask for time to consider whether we would accept the inclusion of a Unionist

Muslim in our Muslim quota and meanwhile ask the Viceroy to contact Gandhi-Azad and ascertain from them as to what they would do in the event of the Congress President's own name being turned down. As the probabilities were of Congress withdrawal, the Conference would have been broken by the Congress. You did not choose to do this as we had more important considerations to take into account except the inclusion and exclusion of one more Leaguer and one less Unionist member in the Viceroy's Council. These considerations have not been sufficiently emphasized and hence there is a lot of misgiving even among our own men.

ii. I think somewhere in 1940, we had said that we were prepared to form a Government at the Centre in collaboration with all parties willing to cooperate even if the Congress stayed out. This was the bugbear of the Congress Working Committee and with their inferiority complex, they feared that we might get in and they might get out at Simla. Only when they had no doubt whatsoever that the Viceroy's broadcast made it abundantly clear that no Government will be formed unless all parties came in, that they accepted the offer and marched to Simla. They accepted the veto with the clearest intention of utilizing it in case of need and now their press is howling that the British gave you the veto to torpedo the Conference.

iii. Top-ranking men—we want top-ranking men—was the Congress' parrot cry at Simla. Are Azad and Asif Ali top-ranking men in the Congress from the point of view of ability ? Perhaps even the Congress would not claim more than 1% of Muslim membership in their organization. Under what manner of reckoning they were so generously giving 40% of representation to less than 1% of members all of whom had admittedly accepted Hindu leadership with the conviction that Muslims will get a fair deal at their hands.

[*Remaining portion omitted*][3]

Yours sincerely ,
HATIM A. ALAVI

[1]No. 538.
[2]See F 208/18, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Stands included in Appendix II. 56, Vol. X, 747.

566

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/174-84

24 July 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am not a member of the Muslim League. I could not be one even if I tried. But I am interested in its activities and progress, and of course, being a Muslim and an Indian, in the progress and strides forward that our country is making. It was in this light that I studied, as much as I could, the events leading up to and those which took place at the Simla Conference. I am sorry for its failure and I think so is everybody interested in the affairs of this country. From a common man's point of view two things have become clear as a result of this Conference:

i. In spite of all their talk and propaganda, the Hindus are bent and determined on ruling and exploiting Muslims, and that they will not allow them a fair share.
ii. Congress has made its policy clear as (i) above. To implement their policy and to upset and run down the Muslim League, they have brought in various Muslims and Muslim groups on their side. This is a temporary expedient and they will be shaken off once the Congress' goal has been achieved.

2. The result of the Conference, from our point of view, has been different due to (ii) above. To the man in the street it has been this:

a. Congress has gained immense popularity and it has been accomplished very cleverly.
b. The prestige of the M.L. has suffered a setback. It has been named as obstructing the progress of the country.

3. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of writing you this letter or should I say a rough note. I have never met you, though I have seen you once or twice. That does not in my opinion make any difference to what I am going to suggest in this note.

4. We Muslims must concentrate on (b) above, and make every effort possible to redress and cater for [*sic*] this setback.

5. I have not been able to study your organization thoroughly, but I have spoken to some of the prominent and ordinary Leaguers. I came to the following conclusions:

a. There are two categories of Leaguers— big noises [*sic*] and ordinary members. Same is with every other organization whatever form it may be in— political, social, religious, etc.
b. M.L. big noises keep aloof and seldom interest themselves in

what the ordinary member thinks and does, except of course for elections.

c. Some of these big noises, who are supposed to control and direct the Muslim League sub-organizations, are selfish and dishonest. Their high-handedness is weakening the League internally.
d. Masses are not touched upon [*sic*] and the activities of the League are confined to big cities.
e. The true ideals of the M.L. are not conveyed [to] the common Muslims.
f. Propaganda side of the M.L. is weak.

6. To quote examples from places and people who have been and with whom I had a chance to [words missing] things, I bring to your notice the following. These may be right or wrong, but there is no doubt that these feelings exist in the common Leaguers and Muslims outside the League.

a. *Punjab.* Muslims form the bulk of village population and the villagers are totally ignorant of the League's activities. Most of them have never even heard its name. Prominent Leaguers do not spread [*sic*] the cause of the League and they are unable to do it because their present policy is to keep away from the villages and common people. The organization is not satisfactory. It has not got sufficient sub-organizations. If they exist, they obviously are not doing their duty.
b. *NWFP.* Wrong leadership. When League Ministry was in office I had a chance to discuss things with a Congress Muslim. This is what he said: the Premier is absolutely useless. League has got a wrong man on top here, and it insists on keeping him there in spite of people's dislikings. They have corrupt and dishonest people in the Govt. and therefore they have not and cannot stop corruption and bribery. Put Abdul Rab Nishtar in place of the Premier and tomorrow you will have whole of NWFP in the M.L. He has got brains and is honest and hard-working, but League must keep him back. May be it is a charge from the opposition. But it is not all wrong.
c. *Assam.* The Premier lacks full support of the M.L. members, some of whom are not sincere. Members of the M.L. have little or no confidence left in the provincial head of the League, after he had nominated himself for a seat in the legislature without consulting even the provincial committee. Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry lacks popularity amongst Muslims, and this unpopularity is increasing daily because of his strong support to Mr. Abdul Majid. The Leaguers of Assam say that the Quaid-i-Azam is ignorant of the

actual conditions and state of affairs in Assam and he relies on Mr. Abdul Matin for information, who more often gives Quaid-i-Azam wrong information. Hence the result is the weakening of the League in Assam.

7. I think the immediate task now facing the League is to arrest [*sic*] the Muslim opinion all over India. This must be done at once without any delay, if serious consequences are to be avoided. Opposition is taking the opportunity of the Simla failure and is running down the League badly because common people do not understand the fundamentals [*sic*] of Simla failure. To achieve the object, the League :

a. Must be drastically reorganized, and it must throw out without hesitation and consideration of positions held, all those office-bearers who are inactive, dishonest and disinterested in common Muslims.
b. Replace them by young and active men and women.
c. Start on a very large scale a propaganda campaign. It should open a training school for Muslims, and if necessary, a separate propaganda branch. The League must enlist the support of active and young Leaguers. In this aspect of training, the office-bearers, principal ones, should be trained and selected for their particular provinces, in the League central training school.

8. Training in other aspects of Muslim life should also be included, for example improvement of village life, better farming, sanitation, cooperative banking and its working, hygiene, adult education and tolerance, working together, and thus unite together the Muslims, rich and poor.

9. To do all this requires finances. I am not aware of the M.L. financial position. I assume it is not very strong. Well-to-do Leaguers must pay and finance the League. They should be made to pay. (Poor Muslims should pay only a nominal fee to become members). Then M.L. can afford to train and organize its various sub-organizations and train lecturers and preachers of its cause to go abroad. League must get on the right side of the world opinion. It must get full support of the Arab League and other Middle-East countries outside the Arab League, and get it quickly.

10. The present propaganda in the press that the Simla Conference failed because of the League, must be strongly counteracted. It is not for me to suggest the ways and means, as I am not conversant with the facts and data of the Conference. Even if I tried, it will [*sic*] not be good enough. Big brains should do this.

11. Congress has recovered from the 1942 setback at the expense of the League. Muslims, therefore, must get together and prove their strength at the next general elections, for which a vast campaign must

be started now. League should invite other small Muslim organizations to join it and unite, and form a strong solid Muslim block. League must do it, and not wait for them to approach the League for the sake of Muslims of India, and for its own sake. All other Muslim bodies must be brought into the League, on whatever conditions and promises, as long as League's declared principles are not ruled over. In doing this League must not allow anyone to have allegiance to any other party. There must be one united Muslim body, the Muslim League Party.

12. I wish I could write more. Perhaps some of what I have jotted down may not sound good, or in somebody's opinion may not be quite the correct picture. But these are hard facts, which we have to face. This is the picture from a common Muslim's point of view.

13. Days of realization of self-determination for Muslims are not far off. Are we prepared to grasp the opportunity as and when it comes? Are we really organized for it? Have we got our social, political and economic schemes chalked out? And most important of all, have we chalked out and assessed what our strength will be? Have we made arrangements and are we working to improve now our would-be [*sic*] weaknesses? Will we have a happy lot of people under us, [and] if not, how will we get them developed and made into a happy nation—socially, politically and economically advanced up to the modern standards?

A MUSLIM

567

Russa Mehta to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Non-Muslims I/101

PERSONAL

MEHTA HOUSE,
79-91 APOLLO STREET,
BOMBAY,
25 July 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall be deeply grateful if you will clear up the following points regarding the recent Simla Conference as quite a lot of people have confused ideas on the same:

i. Is it not a fact that both the Congress and the Viceroy asked you to sacrifice two seats out of your quota of five seats on the proposed

Executive Council in order to make room for one nationalist Muslim and one Unionist Muslim from the Punjab and you refused to do so?

ii. Or, is it true that even after you were given five seats for five Muslim League members, you took objection to either the Congress or the Viceroy appointing any other non-League Muslim out of the Congress quota on the proposed Council?

Hoping this finds you in good health and awaiting your early reply,[1]

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
RUSSA MEHTA

[1]See No. 574.

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Ahmed E. H. Jaffer to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/63

HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
28 July 1945

May dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry to hear from Mr. Ghulam Mohammed that you are not well , and I do hope and pray that you will soon recover.

Please let me know how you are feeling now.

I am sending herewith, for your information, a copy of my letter sent to the *Times* [*of India*] and other Indian papers. Similar copies have been sent by air mail to English and American newspapers.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
AHMED E. H. JAFFER

Enclosure to No. 568

Ahmed E. H. Jaffar to the Times of India

SHC, Bombay I/64

HAROON MANSION,
POONA,
25 July 1945

Sir,

One of the most determined attempts to solve the Indian political

deadlock has failed. At the close of the Conference, Pandit Nehru said "What really distresses one is the background in which our problems are usually considered, that is to say that they somehow resolve themselves into some aspect of the communal problem." The Conference failed because Congressmen persist in ignoring "the background" to which the Pandit refers.

Having regard to the record of Congress ministries in the Indian provinces during the two years when the Hindu Congress was in power, it was wholly unreasonable to expect Mr. Jinnah to agree to sit down as a member of an Executive Council with men like Moulana [Abul] Kalam Azad (the Muslim President of a Caste-Hindu National Congress) who is regarded by every member of the Muslim League as a quisling—to use Mr. Jinnah's words.

Before any conference can hope for any success, it would be as well for the British Government and the Viceroy to examine much more closely the Muslim charge that the freedom for which the Indian Hindu Congress so loudly clamours is freedom to oppress. What India badly needs at this hour is freedom from fear. Mr. Gandhi's party is doing nothing to remove this acute sense of fear. It is utterly futile to expect any agreement between the League and the Congress as long as this acute sense of fear exists. Under all these circumstances any plan, such as the Wavell Plan, will always be regarded by the League as a snare.

I note that Mr. Rajagopalachari, in a speech at Delhi on Thursday last, has again misrepresented the Muslim League claim. He proposes that elections should be held to establish the League's claim to represent the whole 90 million [*sic*] Muslims of India. Now the League has never put forward this absurd claim. What Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly said is that the League represents the overwhelming majority of the Muslim India. How unjustly the League's claim was treated at Simla is seen from the fact that whereas the Hindu Congress was given the exclusive right to nominate its panel of Hindus, the Sikhs their panel of Sikh names and the Scheduled Castes their panel of names in the Council, this right was refused to the Muslim League.

If another Conference is convened, there should be a prior agreement on the following points, if such a Conference is to succeed:

i. that Muslims of India constitute a nation.
ii. that the Muslim League is the Muslim nation's sole representative body on the ground that the League represents the overwhelming majority of that nation.

If the Muslim League does not represent Muslim India, who does? That Congress admits the League's claim is proved from the fact that the Congress proclaim, day in and day out, that it is with the League

only that they must reach a settlement. And why do Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders address all their pleas, their admonitions and their scoldings to Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League? All this goes to show that the Congress, as a body , know in their heart of hearts that the League's claim is true.

Once the Congress agrees to these two fundamental claims, then all is plain sailing—a convention could be entered into between the Congress and the League regarding the governance of India. All these factors should have been considered and settled before the Simla Conference was convened.

It is now light-heartedly suggested that a government should be formed with the Hindu Congress party and its nominees or those of the Viceroy to the exclusion of the Muslim League. That would result in frightful commotion throughout the whole of India. What then is the way out? There is only one way out, and it is on [the] lines that I have suggested above. Mr. Gandhi is just now in a surrendering mood. He must be kept in this mood at all costs. Let there be a complete surrender to the League demands thus ensuring complete independence for India which all parties desire. An end must be put at once to all talk about the geographical unity of India.

AHMED E. H. JAFFER

569

Huscin A. Baig Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bombay I/66

NOOR MANSION,
CHOWPATTY, SEA FACE,
BOMBAY,
28 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the letter that I have sent to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, for your information.

I hope you have now recuperated your health after the strenuous strain at Simla.[1]

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
HUSEIN A. BAIG MOHAMED

[1]Jinnah thanked him for the letter and regretted his inability to deal with the matter immediately but hoped to do so on return from Quetta. See *SHC*, Bombay I 68. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 569
Husein A. Beg Mohamed to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan

SHC, Bombay I/67

28 July 1945

My dear Raja Sahib,

I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you for a long time now. I hope you are all well.

As you know, the Muslim League has made a demand for elections and from the recent developments, both in India and abroad, I feel that they will soon be held.

In my opinion it is absolutely necessary that the students should be made to take an active part during the elections. It will not only give them some training for national work but will also acquaint them with the inner working of India's political life. Furthermore, they will come in contact with all the political problems that [are] confronting Muslims of India. As you know, the results of these elections will determine, to a great extent, how far the claim for Pakistan has the backing of Muslims. I do not, for a moment, doubt that our people are, to a man, determined to achieve Pakistan, but still a gigantic effort has to be made in order to facilitate their registering the popular national opinion. Perhaps hundreds of thousands of workers will be needed and I do not see any reason why Muslim students should not come forward to do their duty by the nation even if it may mean a slight sacrifice of their studies.

I have been, for some time, seriously thinking over the matter and I am forwarding some of my conclusions (which I hope to implement in my province) for your consideration.

In all the places where Muslim Students' Federations are working they should appoint sub-committees for the following functions:

i. Propaganda to impress upon the people, the value of their votes and help them in getting their names registered.
ii. To examine the preliminary Rolls and see that no names are left out in the final Rolls.
iii. To visit voters during this period and after the preparation of the Rolls so that the voters are not misled by others.
iv. Hold public and corner meetings and employ all other ways and means for extensive propaganda for the purpose of explaining the Muslim point of view.
v. Make previous arrangements to get the voters to the polls.
vi. Gather day-to-day information of our candidates and of the opposite camp.
vii. To impart necessary knowledge of the rules and regulations

governing the elections to our workers.

I am forwarding these views with a hope that immediately an election machinery should be set up on the above lines so that we may not be late in the field.

I need hardly say that your valued opinion and suggestions will be of much use to us.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HUSEIN A. BAIG MOHAMED

570

H. S. Sheikh to M. A. Jinnah
F. 879/189-94

[*Extract*]

427 NANA'S PETH,
POONA,
29 July 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

This epistle is from an ardent well-wisher of League. I hope you will give your kind attention to this epistle.

Let me first convey my heartfelt congratulations for the brilliant success you achieved at the Simla Conference. It has given us untold relief and happiness and you have saved our prestige. The Conference was, undoubtedly, a snare. They had nearly lured us in[to] the den but, thank Almighty *Allah*, everything has turned out successful for us. I hail you, dear Quaid-i-Azam, as the most accomplished and tactful statesman in India. The people in the world will realize your value soon.

I pray to Almighty *Allah* to bestow on you long, long life and happiness. *Aameen*.

The Muslim masses have undoubtedly leaned towards Muslim League for their emancipation and freedom. They have put their faith in it and its accredited leader.

I am,

Quaid-i-Azam,

Your most obedient servant,
H. S. SHEIKH
B. Sc. (Hons.)

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Abdul Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (515)

RAUF LODGE, LASHKER,
GWALIOR,
30 July 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I kept you informed about the progress of my talks with His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior. His Highness had very kindly promised (*vide* the substance of the confirmed talk that took place, copy again enclosed herewith)[1] to concede the demands of the Anjuman-i-Islam. But my doubts proved correct. Now he has been pleased to say that these demands cannot be conceded. I have placed all these things before my Working Committee and the Working Committee has desired me to seek your permission to release the substance of the confirmed talk that took place with His Highness and the relating correspondence to the press. I, therefore, request your permission to issue a statement to the press emphasising the nature of the talks and the promises. I assure you that no step, however determined it may be, would be taken without your approval and sanction.

Next, the Working Committee has decided to boycott the forthcoming elections to both the houses of Legislature on the ground that the legitimate rights of the Musalmans have totally been ignored in the Constitutional Reforms. Our preparations to achieve this objective are in full swing, but in order to escape a vigorous resistance the Government is inclined to drag the Musalmans in trouble by any way, however mean and foul it may be. Apparently, the atrocities have started. Here are [a] few instances:

1. A Thanksgiving Day was organised by the Anjuman-i-Islam when God mercifully spared your precious life from the murderous attack of a traitor[2] about two years ago. Now, after a long lapse of two years, the Gwalior State Police has seen some light. Some Muslim students who had shown enthusiasm in organising the Thanksgiving Day are to be prosecuted for participation in an alleged riot—a baseless allegation. Indications are beginning to appear of similar efforts [*sic*] to be made against other prominent members of the Anjuman.
2. I hope you remember that a large number of Bohra Muslim shops at Ujjain were looted and burnt in August 1942 because

the Musalmans, in compliance with your directions, had declined to participate in the rebellion led by the Hindu Congress. No compensation has so far been given to the Muslims nor those responsible for this loot and arson have been punished.

Matters have again taken a very grave turn at Ujjain. The historical grave of Hazrat Gharib Shah Sahib, a Muslim saint, was demolished under the bayonets of armed Police and military. Muslims naturally protested. Thereupon, no less than thirteen Musalmans have been externed from the State for an indefinite period under different fabricated pleas.

I do not wish to recount other instances of terrorisation and high-handedness of the administration. But I may be allowed to add that Musalmans, throughout the State, are in a very miserable condition. The aggrieved Muslims, if they try even to make representation in a constitutional manner, are branded as rebels. They are dragged and involved in crimes that they never contemplated.

I am really sorry to trouble you. But Quaid-i-Azam! you are the only hope for us. Where else should we go?

I shall be anxiously awaiting your advice and guidance. If correspondence is not proper, I might come at such place and time as you may kindly suggest.

Soliciting your kind reply at an early date,

Yours sincerely,
S. ABDUL RASHID
President,
Anjuman-i-Islam, Riyasat Gwalior

[1]See *SHC* (516). Not printed.
[2]Rafiq Sabir, a Khaksar, on 26 July 1943.

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M. Z. Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 879/195-6

30 July 1945

Most respected Sir,

I believe this must be to your knowledge that the Muslim League organization has very much deteriorated in this province and also in the other provinces in the last three or four years.

2. Now this coming election will decide the fate of the Muslim League. It is really life and death question for all the Muslims who understand the significance in this connection.

3. You have been pleased to issue an appeal for funds for the coming election. Election and its organization is an expensive thing. You must have at least fifteen lakhs of rupees at your disposal. All persons who really have enthusiasm for Muslim League will send money to you direct but all of us are not like that. To have the desired result, in my humble opinion, two things are necessary :

i. Universal mass contact with the Muslims. For this purpose you should personally go to the capital of each province and address the Muslims.
ii. A committee of such top-most men as Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mamdot, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Raja of Mahmoodabad, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Moulvi Latif-ur-Rahman, Moulana Badayuni, should be formed and there should be at least one from every province in this committee.

4. This committee should be split into batches of three or four persons and each of these batches should tour all the cities of at least two or three provinces. They should also be authorized to collect money where they address the meetings. In this way there would be an awakening among the Muslims throughout India and the collection of funds will be better.

5. Similarly each province should be ordered to have a committee of its known men who should go to all the small towns and big villages and address the masses explaining the aims and objects of Muslim League and exhort the Muslims to join the Muslim League. But these provincial committees should not be authorized to collect money. They can ask the people to send money direct to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. Z. HASHMI

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M. A. Jinnah to Mian Mumtaz Daultana

SHC, Punjab III/36

31 July 1945

My dear Mumtaz,

Many thanks for your letter of 23rd July.[1] I am sorry I was not able to attend to it earlier as I was very tired after my return from Simla. I

was very pleased indeed to hear that the people of the Punjab fully appreciate the stand we took at the Simla Conference and that it ought to be an eye-opener to them. And if, after this clear demonstration, the Musalmans of the Punjab allow our enemies, who [are bent] upon destroying the Muslim League, to get away with it, it will be a crime against the hundred million Muslims of India and the posterity to come [*sic*]. But I am glad to gather from your letter that the Simla results had a marvellous effect on the public opinion and it has done more to rouse the Punjab Muslims than anything that has happened hitherto. It is for you now to take the fullest advantage of this wave of enthusiasm and whole-hearted support in favour of the Muslim League. My reports from different sources also corroborate what you have said.

As regards your suggestion[2] about my appeal[3] for funds, I quite appreciate your point but in that case I shall have to do the same thing with regard to other provinces. I do not quite appreciate why there should be any confusion. I have made it very clear in my appeal that the Central Organization of the League requires funds and those who wish to help, can send the money direct to me. As regards the provinces, I made it clear that those who wish to help should contribute to the provincial funds in every way they can. But the responsibility to receive and to spend that money will rest with the Provincial League and its Executive, whereas for the Centre I shall be responsible for receiving the money and spending and shall be accountable to the people. I know there are some who may escape, but then, that shows that they are a class of people not prepared to help us. If you merely want to take advantage of the position outlined by me then on the whole it is better that the provincial leaders should collect and receive the funds and be responsible for the expenditure, and for the Centre similarly, I am responsible for it. After all it is not going to be crores of rupees that are required; at the most it is a question of [a] few lakhs. In the Punjab the Provincial League and its Executive should put their heart into it and collect this money and take the responsibility for spending and accounting for it. This will create a precedent and lead to trust and confidence in local leaders for any future emergency, if they will discharge their responsibility to the satisfaction of the people. That is how the matter strikes me.

With very kind regards to Begum Sahiba and yourself from both of us,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See *SHC*, Punjab III / 37. Not printed.
[2]Mumtaz Daultana had suggested that the election funds should first be sent to Jinnah who would earmark them for the provinces. See ibid.
[3]Appendix II. 1.

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M. A. Jinnah to Russa Mehta

SHC, Non-Muslims I/102

31 July 1945

Dear Mr. Mehta

I am in receipt of your letter of 25th July[1] and I would refer you to my statement which I issued on the 14th July[2] after the failure of the Conference, which has already appeared in most of the papers on the 15th, including the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Times*. I would therefore request you to read that statement of mine and the questions put by you to me will be unnecessary.

Besides, the correspondence[3] between the Viceroy and myself which took place has also been released to the press and has appeared in all the newspapers. I would request you to read that also.

As regards your question No. 2, I am afraid you have not carefully studied the broadcast[4] of the Plan and the White Paper.[5] Out of the Caste Hindu quota, no Muslim could be nominated and the parity between the Caste Hindu quota and the Muslim quota was the basis of the Wavell proposals and [was] unalterable.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Russa Mehta, Esq.,
Mehta House,
79-91 Apollo Street,
Bombay

[1] No. 567.
[2] See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2025-8.
[3] Nos 534 & 542-44. Also see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, IV, 181-7.
[4&5] Annexes I & II to No. 505.

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Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Madras III/92

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
31 July 1945

My dear leader,

It is long since I had the pleasure and privilege of meeting you. I am

anxious to come to Bombay and meet you. I wonder [if] it will be convenient for you on any day before you leave for Quetta. I am fully cognizant of the fact that you require complete rest in a cool place and I am glad you are going there. Besides our sworn opponents, some of our misguided [and] selfish members also are creating trouble and complications. Now that the Labour Party has come into power it seems to me that we have to be prepared to make greater sacrifices than ever before even regardless of our very lives. I know that we will not be found wanting when the demand comes.

I have a suggestion to make. This seems to me to be the proper time that a strong and able deputation of Muslim League should go to England to put our case before the new Govt. of the British people. I know full well that Labour in opposition will be different from Labour in office and power. Yet their sympathies seem to have been with the Congress. Mr. Birla timed his visit to England before the elections.

However, *Allah* is great. We have, however, to put our case before the British people.

On hearing from you, if it is convenient for you to kindly grant me an interview, I shall be glad to run up to Bombay for a day.

With very kind regards and best wishes,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA

APPENDIX I

C.R. FORMULA—AN EYEWASH

By Jamilud Din Ahmad[1]

SHC (569)

In the article, entitled *Congress and Pakistan*, I dealt with the attitude of the Congress as indicated by its official resolutions and the authoritative pronouncements of its foremost leaders. Recently, however, there has been another attempt at kite-flying by Mr. Rajagopalacharia with the blessings of his preceptor, Mr. Gandhi. The Formula for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem propounded by Mr. Rajagopalacharia is, it is now abundantly clear, a ruse to trap the Muslims rather than a genuine effort to seek a Hindu-Muslim agreement. I have already explained in a previous article how the circumstances, manner, and channel in which C.R.'s Proposal was flung upon Mr. Jinnah and then suddenly flashed into public view created suspicion as to his real motives and led one to the conclusion that his object really was to embarrass Mr. Jinnah and, as I said, 'find another pretext for starting a fresh press blitz against the Musalmans in India and abroad with a view to bypassing their national demand of Pakistan and cornering the British into conceding all power to the Congress and the Hindu majority.' It must be noted that Mr. Gandhi has been out of prison and free from all restrictions now for several months. He has been writing volumes of letters, pleading, supplicating and cajoling the Viceroy and also issuing lengthy statements to the press. Why then should he have chosen to make known his mind on the all-important Hindu-Muslim question through a mediator? To all the outpourings of his heart and his professions of friendship for Britain the Viceroy's only reply was that he saw no immediate hope of progress until the two Indian parties came to terms. Thus we are again confronted with the stipulation regarding constitutional progress of which we have had notice innumerable times. But instead of facing the issue squarely and acting boldly Mr. Gandhi naively hugs the 'Quit India' Resolution of August 1942, as innocuous. He had declared in one of his letters to the ex-Viceroy Lord Linlithgow that if he were convinced of his error he would not need to consult anyone except his own conscience and he would make ample amends for it. But he still maintains that he could do nothing

without consulting the Congress Working Committee. The interview he gave to the representative of the *News Chronicle* undoubtedly amounts, in effect, to a variation of the position taken in the August Resolution and withdrawal of the threat of mass movement contained therein. His whole process of argument is so jumbled and sophisticated that no ordinary mortal can ever get at his real meaning, and he can interpret it in any manner at any time and wriggle out of any position that he might have taken. The same jugglery and the same disingenuous and tortuous method is revealed in his latest stand vis-a-vis Pakistan. Till July 9, Pakistan was an 'untruth', and 'a sin', and 'indivisible India' an article of faith with him. On July 10, there was a sudden *volte-face* and Mr. Rajagopalacharia, who seems to have been restored to favour and confidence, was allowed by Mr. Gandhi to proclaim to a harassed world that they had offered Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah but the latter had not seen his way to accept[ing] it. The news was too good to believe, and when the first flush of excitement was over, giving place to sober consideration of the actual terms of the offer, the fly in the ointment was discovered. A little pondering over the Formula would show that after all the conditions and stipulations adumbrated in it have been fulfilled, it would ultimately turn out to be a mere eye-wash and a mirage.

Before analysing the substance of the proposal relating to the principle of self-determination I would like to draw attention to the first and last clause of the Formula. These two stipulations so hedge round [*sic*] the exercise of the right to self-determination that they reduce it to nullity. The first clause, besides being chimerical, is a slur on Muslim India and a reflection on the *bona fides* of the Muslim national demand of Pakistan. It is an insinuation that the Muslim League has not so far stood for the independence of India and believes in something which falls short of independence, and therefore a categorical statement to the effect that it supports the Indian demand for independence must be extracted from the Muslim League. It is a calumny and a travesty of truth. Pakistan connotes independent, sovereign states in regions of Muslim majority, and as a natural corollary it postulates independence for the whole of India. For the Hindus it means emancipation from the British yoke and no fear of Muslim domination; and for the Muslims it means freedom from both British bondage and Hindu domination. The independence of the Muslim League's conception is of a more real, complete and embracing character than the one for which Congress stands. The whole history of the Congress movement for independence is vitiated by the idea of an all-India central government responsible to a legislature formed on the basis of India being taken as

a single unit; in other words the rule of the Hindu majority over the whole of India including the zones of Muslim majority. For Congress to expect the Musalmans to endorse the demand of such independence would be like asking them to sign their own death-warrant. There is another lacuna in this clause which confirms the suspicion. It is demanded of the League to declare its willingness 'to co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period'. What will be the character, composition and basis of this government? It must be remembered that immediate transfer of full power and responsibility is demanded, while the question of the exercise of the right of self-determination is relegated as a remote contingency till after the termination of the war. Much depends upon the nature of the provisional government. In fact all other terms relating to plebiscite, demarcation of boundaries and self-determination will have to be dealt with by this government, as all the terms of the Formula, according to its last clause, are made dependent on 'the transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India'. In the absence of any indication as to what kind of interim government is envisaged, one can only assume that it would be formed on the lines suggested in the August 1942 Resolution of the Congress, or in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the ex-Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, or in his interview to the representative of the *News Chronicle* recently, namely a form of government determined by the will of the Hindu majority in the Central Legislature, having jurisdiction over the whole of India with full control of all internal affairs under the protection of British arms. Such government will naturally be in a position to exercise immense influence on the post-war constitutional developments and devise ways and means of circumscribing the freedom of minority groups to exercise even the rights which might, on paper, have been conceded to them. Conscious of these grave possibilities, and also alive to the necessity of mobilising all the resources of India for her defence, which can only be done on the basis of real share in power and authority to the representatives of the people, the Muslim League has all along been pressing for the formation of a provisional government in which the representation of the Muslims will be on a footing of complete equality with that of Hindus. The acceptance by Muslims of any other position in the interim arrangements would seriously prejudice their legitimate claims in the future constitutional adjustments. But the vital condition, which is the *sine qua non* of Muslims joining any interim government, is the magnivocal [*sic*] recognition of the Muslim national right to self-determination which the C.R. Formula does not concede in a satisfactory manner. As I have already pointed

out the last clause also is enigmatic and deceptive. To whom is Britain's power and responsibility for the governance of India to be transferred? Reading through the whole proposal the only conclusion one can draw is that power will have to be transferred to the interim provisional government such as the Congress always have had in view. The real sanction and authority for translating the other terms of the Formula into practice will naturally vest in this interim government to which the Muslims for obvious reasons take the strongest objection. If such transfer of power is to take place the Muslim's future is doomed, for the other terms of the Formula would in practice be no more than a euphemism or a figure of speech. These are not imaginary or groundless apprehensions. Whatever the proposals he has put forward Mr. Rajagopalacharia himself has never concealed the fact that he believes in the unity of India and he does not consider Pakistan to be a good thing for Muslims; but, he avers, the only way to meet the Muslim demand and to secure a provisional government enjoying full powers is to concede the right of self-determination of territorial units in some form or other. Thus, he argues, the Muslims may be persuaded to join an interim government and may even be weaned away ultimately from their demand for the separation of Muslim majority areas. These mental reservations of Mr. Rajagopalacharia's have been revealed in some of his statements and speeches. If such is not the case, why should he insist on introducing a specific clause to the effect that 'it will be open to all parties to advocate their points [of view] before the plebiscite is held'? Where is the need for such a provision? All parties have been and are free to preach their points of view. The League even in provinces, where it has any say in the affairs of the government, has not denied such freedom to any party. As Dr. Ambedkar said, sincerity behind the offer is more important than the offer itself. His other remarks are also very pertinent. He is reported to have observed, "Mr. Jinnah may well ask Mr. Rajagopalacharia if there was any truth in the disclosures made in his defamation case about his intention to offer Pakistan to Muslims and then to circumvent it by purchasing Muslims in Pakistan to negative the offer. Mr. Gandhi will have to prove his sincerity behind the offer and also guarantee that Hindus would not prevent Muslims from giving a free vote." There were sensational disclosures as to the inner working of Mr. Rajagopalacharia's mind in the course of the hearing of the case he had filed against the *Sunday Observer* of Madras. That his motive in supporting the right of self-determination of predominantly Muslim areas is not above suspicion is evident from the statement he made to one of his own colleagues from Ceylon, Mr. Goonavardhan,

during his examination as a witness in the above-mentioned case. He deposed as follows:

> Surprised at C.R.'s stress on the Congress being implicitly followed, I asked him why he carried on the propaganda in favour of Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan when the Congress turned it down; he admonished my superficiality and said: "You read my speeches on the subject more carefully and you will find that my scheme is different from Mr. Jinnah's. Congress made a tactical mistake in openly opposing Pakistan.

The same witness then described how C.R. had explained to him as follows:

> While Mr. Jinnah wanted the issue to be ultimately determined by the Muslims alone of the territory concerned, I want to popularise the idea of self-determination by all the people of the areas, both Muslims and non-Muslims. The non-Muslims in the Punjab, Sind and Bengal may be numerically smaller but they are far too powerful and once they saw the prospect of separation being real, they will combine with the Congress to foil the referendum. By opposing the Pakistan demand the demand will grow stronger and Musalmans of all shades rally together under Mr. Jinnah's banner. That is where the Congress made the mistake, which I am trying to correct. Once we succeed in getting the co-operation of the other parties, particularly of the Muslim League, to secure a national Government, and Congress is again in power, we shall know how to use the crisis to our advantage.

Though Mr. Rajagopalacharia had the right to cross-examine the witness he refrained from doing this and the deposition remained uncontradicted. The last sentence lets the cat out of the bag. Even a person with the meanest intelligence can understand that by 'using the crisis to our advantage' he means that the whole influence, might and resources of the provisional government, dominated as it would be by the Congress, would be used by the Congress and other Hindu bodies to frustrate the exercise of the right of self-determination by Muslims and prevent Pakistan from materialising. This attempt at duplicity by Mr. Rajagopalacharia was also criticised by Mr. Gandhi himself. Speaking at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay on August 8, 1944, Mr. Gandhi said, "Rajaji said to me: 'I do not believe in Pakistan. But the Musalmans ask for it. Mr. Jinnah asks for it and it has become an obsession with them. Why not say "Yes" to them just now? The same Mr. Jinnah will later on realize the disadvantages of Pakistan and will forego the demand.' I said it is not fair to accept as true anything which I hold to be untrue and ask others to do so in the belief that the demand will not be pressed when the time comes for settling it finally. If I hold the demand to be just I should concede it this very

day. I should not agree to it merely in order to placate Jinnah Sahib. Many friends have come and asked me to agree to it for the time being to placate Mr. Jinnah and dispel his suspicions and to see how he reacts to it. But I cannot be a party to a course of action with false promise. At any rate it is not my method." But it appears that the subtle persuasions of C.R. have succeeded in inducing Mr. Gandhi to change his method. He has now blessed the proposal which is a true index of C.R.'s methods of apparently conceding the Pakistan demand and taking care by a subterfuge to torpedo it when the time comes to settle it finally. When he was asked by press reporters at Panchgani on July 13 as to whether the Cripps proposals could be compared with his recent agreement, Mr. Gandhi said "My proposal is wholly different. The Cripps proposals were unacceptable to me for the simple reason that they contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India and would have created an effective barrier against Indian independence." The Cripps scheme, it will be remembered, provided for the non-accession to the Indian Union of the provinces, firstly by a vote in the Provincial Assemblies elected under the existing constitution, and, failing that by plebiscite of the whole adult population of the province. The non-acceding provinces, if contiguous, were allowed to form a separate Union. Although the formation of a separate Union under these conditions was almost an impossibility, Mr. Gandhi applies to it that frightful term 'vivisection' and calls it 'perpetual'. It shows in what direction his mind is still working. Pakistan, to his mind, is still such an abominable thing as to be termed 'vivisection'. The word 'perpetual' makes it clear that his dubious agreement to the principle of separation of certain areas is at best a temporary expedient, and his heart is really set on keeping the whole of India as a single unit under Hindu hegemony. The statement referred to above is another proof of the fact that the real cause of the rejection of the Cripps offer by Congress and Mr. Gandhi was the non-accession clause in the Cripps scheme. Why did Mr. Gandhi consider the Cripps proposal to be an effective barrier against Indian independence when Sir Stafford Cripps had declared that the constitution-making body envisaged in his proposal would be a sovereign body and could start its work by passing a resolution to secede from the British Commonwealth? The only reason can be that the provision about the non-accession of provinces might prevent the independence of Mr. Gandhi's conception from materialising, the independence which implies rule of the Hindu majority and vasalization [*sic*] of the Muslim minority.

As for the proposals relating to plebiscite and demarcation of

boundaries which are really the crux of the whole problem, they are materially different from the Muslim demand of Pakistan. The C.R. Formula provides, firstly, for the appointment after the termination of the war of a commission to demarcate the contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority; secondly, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants of the areas so demarcated on the basis of adult or other practicable franchise which will ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan; thirdly, in the event of the majority deciding in favour of separation, the enforcement of such decision without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either side. These proposals are thoroughly nebulous and enigmatic. Many important questions arise in this connection. Who is to appoint the commission? What will be its composition and what will be the sanction behind it? How and by whom will the plebiscite be conducted and controlled? Who will give effect to the result of the plebiscite? If the commission is to be appointed and its personnel and terms of reference determined, and if the plebiscite is to be controlled and supervised and its result enforced by the kind of national government demanded for the interim period by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, the case of the Muslims is bound to go by the board and their future is doomed. If it is not so, there should be a clear answer to these questions to the satisfaction of the Muslims. Next, the C.R. Formula stipulates that the 'contiguous districts' in the north-west and east of India will be demarcated. This process is different from what the League demands. The creed of the League, as embodied in its constitution, is 'the establishment of completely independent states formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are in majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, shall be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. Thus, what the League demands is the demarcation of 'contiguous units into regions' and not the demarcation of contiguous districts. The C.R. Plan is much narrower in its scope. It would take away some very important portions of Pakistan territory which are inextricably bound up with the economic and cultural life of the broad region of which they form a natural part. If the size of a people's homeland is to be determined roughly with reference to the proportion of its population, then the Musalmans, forming as they do not less than one-fourth of the population of India, should have roughly one-fourth of the total area of the sub-continent for their homeland.

According to the C.R. Plan, the Musalmans are to get Sindh, N.W.F.P. and half of the Punjab and half of Bengal which will most probably constitute no more than one-tenth of India, and that too by a plebiscite of the whole population. Under this plan the Muslims would be denied opportunities of expansion and means of contact with the outside world. It will assign to the Muslims only one outlet to sea in one of the corners of the sub-continent leaving out the entire sea-board from Gujerat and Kathiawar to about half of the Bengal coast including the port of Calcutta. Furthermore, what exactly is meant by absolute majority? What percentage is contemplated and how will it be related to territorial portions? It is just possible that in between Muslim majority areas or adjacent to them there may exist a small area or areas in which the Muslims may not be in an absolute majority. After all there is a limit to the narrowing down of territorial limits from practical considerations. According to the well-known canons of international law a substantial national group inhabiting a well-marked territory is entitled to determine by its own vote whether it would have a separate state of its own. (The minority or sub-national groups in that territory cannot claim this right of self-determination. Of course, they are entitled to all constitutional safeguards). The whole question is to ascertain the will of the Muslim nation as to whether they wish to establish sovereign states in regions of their majority separate from the rest of India. The plebiscite should, therefore, be confined to Muslims, as the Muslim League Working Committee by its resolution of August 20, 1942, has demanded. To extend the principle of self-determination to every small minority in little patches of territory incapable of being constituted as sovereign states would be to stretch it to the point of absurdity.

The whole trend of Mr. Rajagopalacharia's scheme leads one to believe that he is anxious to exclude as large an area as possible from the proposed Muslim states; whereas the Muslim League plan aims at securing a reasonably big area so as to include within the Pakistan states as large a number of Muslims as would be consistent with the strength and stability of their position, as sovereign Muslim States. There may be districts with substantial Muslim population, though not absolute Muslim majority; these can easily be joined to Muslim majority areas, specially because of close cultural, economic and linguistic affinities, without impairing the predominantly Muslim character of the regional state as a whole. There is no reason why this should not be done. The criticism of the C.R. Scheme in this respect by a British journal, the *Indian Affairs,* is very apt. The paper remarks, "While the Rajagopalacharia plan concedes division, it is division with many limitations.

The Muslims are to have those sections of India in which they have absolute majority determined by a plebiscite, leaving the adjoining districts free to decide whether they adhere to the Hindu or the Muslim government. That would leave Pakistan like a moth-eaten patch-work quilt, without even the threads to hold its separate portions together." This is a very intelligent reading of the real implications of the C.R. Plan. Surely, though the Muslim League itself contemplates 'territorial re-adjustments', it cannot countenance any plan which reduces Pakistan to a shrivelled-up, ramshackle structure.

It is also stipulated that in the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications and for other essential purposes. One may well ask why this anxiety to commit the proposed states to a particular course of action even before the plebiscite is held? Assuming that the plebiscite goes in favour of separation, the states which come into existence in consequence thereof would be sovereign and independent. To bind them to any undertaking at present is to detract from their sovereignty and independence. Agreements, if any, must be born out of the free will and choice of Pakistan and Hindustan. They will come as a natural result of the play of international forces and the need of mutual understanding and collaboration as it arises from time to time. There can be no impregnable barriers cutting off one state from another, specially if they are neighbours. A real agreement is one which is freely reached between two equals conscious of each other's strength and qualities and realising the need of mutual understanding and not one imposed by any prior obligation. While the former would be upheld by both as a matter of honour and in mutual interest, the latter would be disregarded as something super-imposed and alien. There is one serious omission in the C.R. Formula. The subject for which there ought to be a specific stipulation is the minorities' safeguards. The Muslim League scheme provides for adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards to be embodied in the constitution for the protection of the rights and interests of the minorities both in Pakistan and Hindustan. The satisfaction and contentment of the minorities would be the acid test of the success of both the states, and this is really a matter about which they should enter into a solemn agreement.

The manner in which Mr. Rajagopalacharia presented his Formula to Mr. Jinnah was hardly one which could inspire confidence in the *bona fides* of the former's efforts for a settlement. It looked as though he were holding a pistol pointed at Mr. Jinnah's head and saying 'accept the formula without consulting anyone, or else I close the negotiations

and release it to the public'. He seemed to be spoiling for a chance to give Mr. Jinnah a bad name and create a situation in which the latter would be condemned as intransigent, obstructionist and a stumbling block in the way of India's freedom. C.R.'s Plan like the Cripps proposal was not open to any modification as Mr. Jinnah stated in his telegram to Mr. Rajagopalacharia dated the 2nd July 44. The statement remains uncontradicted; in fact, it is further corroborated by the following passages occurring in the statements given by Mr. Rajagopalacharia to the press on July 16 and July 23, respectively:

i. It was no small thing that I had offered. Mr. Jinnah had before him the maximum the Congress or nationalist India could agree to.
ii. It has been suggested that the League will claim that the plebiscite should be confined only to the Muslim population. Such a claim is wholly inadmissible. What has been offered is the maximum that could be offered.

What do these statements signify? The place is rigid and incapable of any modification. There is no room for negotiations. Why then did Mr. Rajagopalacharia expect Mr. Jinnah to pronounce his approval or rejection of the Formula then and there when it was manifestly antagonistic to the basic principles of the Muslim League demand? Mr. Jinnah would have been quite justified in rejecting the Formula off-hand. But he adopted a very reasonable and accommodating attitude by offering to place it before the Muslim League Working Committee. Mr. Rajagopalacharia ought to have appreciated the offer. Instead, he refused to allow Mr. Jinnah to place the Formula before the League Working Committee and abruptly closed the negotiations. The position is that the Muslim League does not have before it any plan or proposal sponsored by any authoritative spokesman with the sanction of the Congress or any Hindu organization. Suppose Mr. Jinnah and even the Working Committee and the Council of the League approve of the C.R. Formula; the whole Muslim nation stands bound by it. But what would be the position on the other side. There is no commitment by the Congress or any Hindu organization. The final say will be with the Congress Working Committee who will sit in judgment over the Formula with the Muslim League in the position of petitioners. So far as Mr. Rajagopalacharia is concerned he has no authority to speak for any one. Mr. Gandhi can always take shelter behind the plea that the Congress Working Committee has over-ruled him, as he has done on numerous occasions recently by arrangement with the Working Committee. Already he is showing signs of shifting ground by his references to perpetual vivisection and by maintaining the pose of being the

representative not of Hindus but of the whole of India. This serves a double purpose. He can bargain with the British to secure all power for the Hindu majority in the name of India and Indian nationalism. Secondly, even if his proposals for Hindu-Muslim settlement are accepted by Muslims he can escape the necessity of implementing them by contending that, though he as an Indian had agreed, the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu bodies, which according to him represent the Hindus, are opposed to the proposal and therefore he is helpless. Obviously this is a question of settlement and understanding between Hindus and Muslims as two political entities. Such settlement to be real and effective can only be entered into between two leaders or two organizations which can collectively and authoritatively speak on behalf of their respective groups. Mr. Gandhi, if he were really in earnest about a Hindu-Muslim concord without which there could be no freedom for India, would declare that he on behalf of the Hindus is prepared to meet and negotiate with Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslims on the basis of the principle of self-determination for Muslims. This would be in accordance with incontrovertible facts which are to-day admitted by every thinking man. But Mr. Gandhi still persists in bamboozling and confusing the issues. In the course of his talk to pressmen at Panchgani on July 13 he said, "As regards the Hindu-Muslim formula which has nothing to do with these two statements (statements given to Mr. Gelder of the *News Chronicle*), I have not spoken as a Hindu. I have spoken as an Indian first and an Indian last. My Hinduism is my own. I personally think it embraces all faiths. Therefore I have no authority to speak as a representative of the Hindus." This is a process of argument which, besides being confusing, is exasperating in the extreme and convinces one that Mr. Gandhi, as has always been his wont, is humbugging and does not even now mean business. Even the London *Times* after giving a close analysis of Mr. Gandhi's offer shows how incapable it is of allaying Muslim apprehensions. The paper advises Mr. Gandhi to authorise another approach to the Muslim League directly and without an intermediary and to make his proposal to the Muslim League one of real and effective partnership. Mr. Gandhi also told the *Times* that 'unity need imply neither rigid uniformity nor over-centralization'. Will Mr. Gandhi reconsider and revise his attitude. There appears to be no willingness on his part. He had declared that, though his authority under the Quit India Resolution has lapsed, the Resolution itself has not lapsed and not even a comma or a full stop of it could be altered except by the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. While this Resolution,

which is as inimical and hostile to Muslim India as to the British Government and the Allies, stands unabrogated, how can anyone take the airy fulminations of Mr. Gandhi and his satellites seriously.

To sum up, the two most important respects in which the C.R. Formula differs from and militates against the Muslim League scheme are: firstly, while the C.R. plan makes the exercise of the right of self-determination contingent on the transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility to a problematical interim government which may in all probability operate to the serious detriment of Muslim claims and aspirations, the Muslim League demands a clear, unequivocal and unconditional recognition of the Muslim right to self-determination as an essential prerequisite to their joining any provisional government in which their position must be one of equality with the Hindus. Secondly, while Mr. Rajagopalacharia prescribes a promiscuous plebiscite of Muslims and non-Muslims in considerably reduced strips of territory under doubtful conditions to decide the issue of separation, the demand of the Muslim League is for a plebiscite of the Muslims in the well-marked regions in the north-west and east of India roughly constituting one-fourth of India with a substantial Muslim majority as a whole. It is one of those problems in which the points of procedure designed to implement a principle are more important than the principle itself. Mr. Rajagopalacharia's plea that 'no procedural points need stand in the way of a just estimate of the merits of the scheme which is now before the entire Indian public' sounds hollow and cannot deceive anyone. If procedural points are not so important, why should Mr. Rajagopalacharia take the trouble of devising a long and tortuous Formula about demarcation of boundaries, the taking of plebiscite, the right of parties to preach their points of view, the question of agreements with regard to Defence, Commerce, Communications and so forth. Why should he not make a straight and simple announcement that he agrees to the Muslim right of self-determination, the details of procedure and interim arrangements to be settled by the accredited representatives of the two major organizations, Congress and the League, in consultation with the other parties concerned. That would bring a solution much nearer. Let Mr. Rajagopalachaira and Mr. Gandhi know that in the settlement of the delicate and vital issues to which they have now addressed themselves, sincerity, frankness and an accommodating spirit are more important and helpful than subtlety, dexterity, and circumlocution for which both of them have a reputation.

Jamilud Din Ahmad had sent this article to Jinnah. See No. 23.

APPENDIX II

MUSLIM LEAGUE ELECTION FUND

II. 1

Appeal By M. A. Jinnah[1]

SIMLA,
16 July 1945

[*Para 1 omitted*][2]

I take this opportunity of thanking thousands who have sent me their telegrams and letters of encouragement and support. I advise them to concentrate all their might in organising our people and getting ready to face the elections which are bound to come sooner than many people think.

You know that elections cannot be fought without money. Therefore, everywhere from now onwards collect funds in each province and systematically organise our people.

So far as the Centre is concerned, we have already devised ways and means in order to efficiently and adequately help the various provinces and constituencies, but the Central Fund and the Central Organisation will function independently and separately and the Provincial Organisation will in each province function separately and collect their funds and manage them. Those who wish to help this effort and wish to send in contributions to the Central Fund, as there is necessity and urgency for it, should do so and send their contributions directly to me.

I have not made any appeal for funds since 1942, as there was no need for it, but I want to impress upon our people that we do require money now to face these elections all over the vast sub-continent of India in eleven provinces as well as for the Centre. I hope that my appeal will meet with cordial and generous response.—API

[1] See K. A. K Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid i-Azam*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1945, 2028-9.

[2] This para containing Jinnah's request for not arranging receptions, demonstrations, omitted.

II. 2

M. A. Jinnah to Shafqat Ali Khan

SHC, OM II/66

6 August 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 26th,[1] and regret I was not able to reply to it earlier, as I was not well after my return from Simla. I would beg of you to read my appeal carefully. I cannot authorise anybody to collect funds on my behalf. Anyone who really wants to send me money in response to my appeal can easily do so directly either by money order, postal order, cheque or cash by insured registered letter, as I am now receiving from different parts of India. Of course, it is open to you to advise people to send money to me directly, but I regret I cannot depart from the terms of my appeal, which makes it clear that the money should be sent to me directly. I cannot authorise anyone else on my behalf to raise funds as my agent.

I was interested to note your views about the Simla Conference.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Shafqat Ali Khan, Esq.,
Bara Mahal,
Bhopal

[1]See *SHC*, OM II/65. Not printed

II. 3

Fazal Ilahi Siddiqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/131-2

309 MURREE ROAD,
SHAH KI TALIAN,
RAWALPINDI,
10 August 1945

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you separately a money order of rupees five which were given to me by my parents for my winning distinction in my class. I do not think I can more usefully spend this amount than to

spend it to the goal [*sic*] from which the Muslim nation is going to vindicate its position. Your appeal for the coming general election has created a stir in the student community which, I am sure, will rise to the occasion and answer your call suitably. *Insha Allah* this time the Muslim students are determined to sweep away the cobwebs of political grasshoppers, orphans and traitors who are now barring our way to progress. The world will see that Azads, Khan Sahibs and other traitors who are playing in the hands of the enemy will meet their fate and will be entirely removed from the political field. I fervently pray that the Quaid-i-Azam may live for a very long time to lead the Muslim nation to their destined goal. *Aameen*!

Yours affectionately,
FAZAL ILAHI SIDDIQI
Student, Islamia High School

II. 4

Fazlur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/7
[*Original in Urdu*]

MOHALLAH MUFTI WARA,
REWARI,
12 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, may you live long!

I am remitting rupees three, which is my pocket money for one month. Please accept it for the Election Fund, and oblige.

Yours obediently,
FAZLUR RAHMAN
Student of Class IV

II. 5

Tasneem Ejaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/127
[*Original in Urdu*]

22 BABAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
12 August 1945

With respects,

I have collected rupees one hundred from my *'Id* gifts and examination prize. I am presenting this amount to your goodself with the request to accept it as a contribution to the Muslim League Election Fund.

Please do reply to my letter.

TASNEEM EJAZ
Aged six years

II. 6

Speech by M. A. Jinnah[1]

[*Extract*]

BOMBAY,
12 August 1945

Mr. Jinnah appealed for funds to conduct the elections and said what he wanted from them was "silver bullets." Give me the silver bullets and the League will finish the job.

The sum of Rs. 3,11,000 which they had donated today, Mr. Jinnah said, showed that there was something higher and stronger which they had got. That was their political awakening and consciousness and understanding of the issues. Mr. Jinnah mentioned his early career as a barrister when he was called to stand for the municipal elections and how he came out successful to show how the Muslims of Bombay had always helped him. Now there is a much bigger issue, he said, I want you now to come up to my point and with your help and support we shall never fail, whatever the manoeuvres and machinations of our opponents.—API

[1]At a public meeting held to present him donations for Election Fund. See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2039-40.

II. 7

Ashiq Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/162-3
[Original in Urdu]

RASHIDIA SCHOOL,
BHOPAL,
18 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam of the Indian Muslims,

I am sending rupees two only with the hope that you will accept this meagre amount. Out of my pocket money, received from my father, I buy the newspaper *Manshoor*, and the remaining small amount, collected bit by bit, is being sent to you for use by the Muslim League, which is the only organisation capable of knitting the Muslims together.

Muslims of India do not want to become slaves of another community after casting away the yoke of the present rulers. Kindly pray for me so that I may be able to sacrifice my belongings and my life for the betterment of the Indian Muslims.

ASHIQ HUSSAIN
Student of Class VI

II. 8

S. M. Sharif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/165

NURUL HUDA ROAD,
MAHENDRU,
PATNA,
18 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending you a small contribution of rupees one hundred and ten towards the Election Fund. Of this, rupees one hundred from myself and rupees ten are from my daughter, Mrs. S. Akber Ali. I sincerely hope that you will get very large funds for the purpose and that even now the Muslim capitalists will realise that this is a life and death struggle for Muslims of India and that the very existence with

honour of these capitalists, as of us all, depends upon the strength of the League.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. SHARIF

II. 9

U. S. Sultan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/9

KADAYANALLUR,
DIST. TINNEVELLY,
18 August 1945

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I, U.S. Sultan Sahib, on behalf of the Muslim labourers of north Ayyapuram Street, Kadayanallur, humbly and respectfully bring to the kind notice of Quaid-i-Azam that a sum of rupees two hundred and one only was sent today by money order as per kind instructions of Quaid-i-Azam, for the forthcoming election expenses. I humbly request that intimation may kindly be sent to me for the receipt of the amount.

We all wholeheartedly accept Quaid-i-Azam as the leader of the Muslims and sincerely pray to *Allah* for his sound health, long life and prosperity, and also for success in the elections.

I am,
Yours obediently,
U. S. SULTAN

II. 10

M. A. Faruqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/31-2

40 MAYO GARDENS,
LAHORE,
19 August 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In the issue of the *Dawn* dated 18 July 1945, we had read your appeal[1] for collecting funds for the Muslim League to fight the forthcoming

elections. On reading that, my twelve-year old boy, Khalid Umar, went about collecting subscriptions from his relations and friends, etc. He has raised a sum of rupees one hundred and fifty which he has given to me to remit to the proper quarters. It is a pity that since your appeal, nothing further has appeared in the *Dawn* as to where the funds are to be remitted to. I am afraid sufficient publicity has not yet been given to your appeal which should reach every Muslim in India. I wrote to the *Dawn* about both these matters but nothing seems to have come of it. Kindly move in the matter.

However, I am enclosing a cheque for rupees one hundred and fifty drawn in your favour, to be utilized in the interest of the Muslim League in the forthcoming general elections. Please acknowledge receipt.

May *Allah* reward your efforts with success.

With *salaam*

Yours in Islam,

M. A. FARUQUI

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches*, III, 2028-29.

II. 11

Sultan Ahmad & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/52-3
[Original in Urdu]

MORRIS CITY TRANSPORT COMPANY,
AHMEDABAD,
20 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Hope you are feeling well. A sum of rupees two hundred and fifty seven is respectfully remitted by the poor, toiling Muslim drivers and conductors, working in the Morris City Transport Company. This may kindly be published in Urdu papers *Khilafat* and *Iqbal* and Gujarati *Vatan,* so that others may also contribute towards the Fund.

It is hoped that you will accept this meagre amount and oblige,

SULTAN AHMAD

II. 12

Safdar Hina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/72-3
[*Original in Urdu*]

CALCUTTA,
20 August 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

My sister and my humble self are studying in the local girls' college. I am sending a small amount, saved by us from our pocket money. My parents are very poor. Were I rich I would contribute all I had to my nation and my Quaid-i-Azam because he has appealed for funds for the first time. I would appeal to my fellow students to contribute generously to the Fund as they know that the nation is passing through a critical period. I pray to Almighty to give long life to Quaid-i-Azam, to enable him to complete his mission. *Aameen*.

I request for a photograph of the Quaid to be kept by me as a memento.

Yours humbly,
SAFDAR HINA

II. 13

Mohammad Sher to M. A. Jinnah

F. 958/137-40

SHEWA,
22 August 1945

Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to say that you will be simply surprised to receive a letter from me, totally unacquainted with you so far. Let me, therefore, introduce myself to you.

I am a student of the Islamia College, Peshawar, and am now spending summer vacation at my home in Shewa village. I always had the wish to drop you a few words, because we, the Muslim students of the Frontier, look upon you as our kind and affectionate guide for our noble ideal, Pakistan. But on account of the enormous amount of work you have been doing for the Muslim India, I could not dare to waste your precious time.

Now, in response to your kind appeal for money for the Election Fund, I get an opportunity of bringing myself to your kind notice. As I am a poor boy and my poverty does not allow me to contribute more than four *annas*[1] only towards the above Fund, I, therefore, hope that my small contribution of four *annas* only will be accepted with the same spirit as it comes from my sincere heart.

A line in reply with some instructions about the Muslim League will oblige,

I am,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD SHER
B. A. student

An *anna* was one-sixteenth of a rupee.

II. 14

M. A. Jinnah to Firoz Adamali Pothiwala

F. 153/49

22 August 1945

Dear child,

Many thanks for your letter dated 15th August[1] and for your contribution of rupees two, which you were good enough to send me. I wish you all success.

I regret I cannot send you my photograph, as I don't possess any spare copies, nor can I send you any book for you to read, as most of such literature is either in Urdu or English and not in Gujerati.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Firoz Adamali Pothiwala,
Nadiawala Building,
Kharatank Road,
Bombay

Not traceable.

II. 15

Sheikh Nayer Sultan to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 880/108

AMIR MANZIL,
FORT ROAD,
ALIGARH,
28 August 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Although a Hindu by birth, I am a Muslim by faith. I embraced Islam in 1940, but very recently I disclosed [this] to my relatives and parents. My name was Prem Chand Kapila.

I served Muslim University by collecting rupees one thousand single-handed for the Medical College.

I am sending rupees five for Election Fund out of my monthly tuitions. Along with this I send my full moral support.

I talked with some prominent Leaguers of Aligarh and found all starting work in the right earnest.

I think your honour would not mind if I request you to send me [a] few words addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, to help me as far as University education is concerned.

Yours faithfully,
SHEIKH NAYER SULTAN
A second year engineering student

PS to Jinnah thanked him for his contribution and support See F. 880/109, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 16

M. Ihsanullah Beg to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/10

NIARIYAN STREET,
DELHI,
29 August 1945

Dear Sir,

Herewith [is] an humble contribution amounting to rupees sixty only collected from the poor Muslim staff of Delhi G.P.O. towards the Election Fund for Muslim League.

As you are aware the postal staff is badly pressed with the work and can hardly spare any time to make handsome collections out of their scanty remunerations.

We are, however, striving hard to make some further collection which will follow next month.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. IHSANULLAH BEG
Retired Head Clerk,
Delhi G.P.O.

II. 17

Syed Abdul Qadir Syed Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/88
[*Original in Urdu*]

JINNAH ROAD,
KOLABA,
29 August 1945

Respected and kind Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

In the wake of your appeal, dated 16 July 1945, regarding Election Fund, published in the newspapers, we have also issued an appeal to all the Muslim League branches and other Muslim associations and groups in the district with a request for collecting maximum possible funds and remitting them to you. We are glad to get encouraging response from various parts of the district and now funds are being collected vigorously.

Quaid-i-Azam! How shameful is the propaganda of the Hindu press that the Muslim League is a party of the capitalists who alone are contributing to the Election Fund—although we feel that major portion of the funds has been donated by the poor.

Muslim students of Wahoor, Dist. Kolaba, have sent rupees sixteen through us which is being remitted by cheque. We hope that you will accept this meagre amount from poor children, and oblige.

With *salams*

Yours faithfully,
SYED ABDUL QADIR SYED MOHAMMAD
Secretary, Kolaba Dist. Muslim League

II. 18

Secretary, Kamalia Muslim Sangam to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, OM-II/75

KADAYANALLUR TOWN,
29 August 1945

Dear accredited leader of the Muslim India,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As per your Simla clarion call on 16th July for ensuing [*sic*] Election Fund, our Association has sent you a donation. We hope you would gladly accept our kind donation and respond to us.

You have predicted that the elections, both central and provincial, have come sooner than many expected. These elections are of supreme importance; for it is through elections that the hundred million Muslims of India have to, and are going to reaffirm their firm adherence to, and faith in, the goal of Pakistan as being the only solution to the political tangles of this country and the only sure way of freedom to the Muslims as well as others in the country. We firmly believe that any Muslim who opposes the Muslim League representatives for the Central Assembly election, surely betrays the cause of Islam in India and is sure the [word illegible] for our religion, culture, civilisation, freedom and [word illegible]; and we are determined today to resist and smash all sorts of such mean attempts for which purpose we have sent you a "silver bullet" of eighty *tolas*.

Please reply to us at least for the sake of encouragement.[1]

Yours affectionately,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
Camalia Muslim Sangam

No. II. 30.

II. 19

Yusuf Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/194

POLLEN BAZAR,
GODHRA,
31 August 1945

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am much pleased to state thåt I am always with the Muslim League which is guided by you and which stands to protect and safeguard the rights of the Musalmans of India. I am always eager to do any service which is ordered by you according to my capacity. In response to your appeal for Election Fund, I had decided to contribute a day's gross income of my hotel. Yesterday I had fixed the day for the same and I have realized, rupees one hundred and twenty nine, *annas* six and *pics*[1] three, as the gross income of my hotel. I herewith enclose the cheque for this amount towards the Election Fund, which I hope will be accepted.

With *Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

Yours in Islam,
YUSUF ISMAIL
Proprietor, Pakistan Hotel

[1]A *pie* was one-twelfth of an *anna*.

II. 20

S. A. Rauf Shah to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, CP & Berar II/137

13 STARKY TOWN,
NAGPUR,
1 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We all pray to the Almighty that your stay at Quetta may give you complete rest and redouble your health and vigour. Your life is a heavenly blessing for the Muslim India—nay the whole Muslim world.

It is highly gratifying to know that your appeal for Election and

Organisation Fund has received a spontaneous and countrywide response. You must be getting hundreds of money orders every day from nook and corner of almost every province.

My Working Committee has decided to collect rupees one lakh and five thousand out of which rupees sixty thousand are allotted to eighteen districts of C.P. and rupees forty five thousand to four districts of Berar. It is a fact that no substantial amount was ever raised in my province for organisation or other construction work. Your appeal has proved a God-sent opportunity and we are endeavouring to take full advantage of it and collect money under the name of C.P. and Berar Provincial Election Fund.

Although your appeal issued from Simla on the 17th or 16th July is quite emphatic on the necessity and importance of provincial collection and organisation, yet there are some people who honestly but wrongly believe that all funds collected in accordance with your appeal should be directly sent to you without keeping anything for provincial requirements. With this wrong mentality, many money orders have been sent to you from my province and many more will be sent. Those who value your signature or an entry into your register more than the requirements of the province [words illegible] say that in case of necessity you should be approached with a request to help the province by supplying the required amounts.

As far as the Central Fund is concerned, there is a natural attraction in your name and signature. No extra persuasion is needed for remitting amounts to you.

I further venture to request you to be pleased to issue an appropriate and soul-inspiring *'Id* message for all the provinces in general and C.P. and Berar in particular, where the wizard of Sevagram lives and devises and works out his anti-Muslim schemes.

[*Next two paras omitted*]

With earnest prayers for your health and happiness,

Yours sincerely,

S. A. RAUF SHAH

President, C.P. & Berar Muslim League

An antonomasia for the renowned Indian nationalist leader, M. K. Gandhi.

II. 21

Jamil Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/94-5

GUNJ STREET,
FEROZEPORE CITY,
3 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You are aware that every organisation has an emblem especially designed for it. As I, who has [*sic*] served actively the League for about six years—first as Vice-President, District Muslim League, Jhelum, for five years and then as President, City Muslim League, Ferozepore City, have not seen any such universal emblem for the League. I felt the absence to the quick [*sic*] and designed an emblem, three copies of which are sent herewith for favour of your approval. The design approved by you, I will try to bring to the notice of Leaguers throughout India and urge them to use it as the League emblem.

With your permission, I shall have your letter of approval printed and sent along with the emblem to the Presidents of the Provincial and District Leagues.

I further add that the emblem will be sold for *annas* two. The amount thus realized will be contributed to Muslim League Election Fund, after the necessary expenditure has been met. If this scheme gets through, unless I err, it will not fail to produce thousands of rupees. By this scheme the compunction that a beggar feels will not have to be faced, because the general public will feel recompensed by having emblems in return for the nominal price which they would have to hold out [*sic*]. Fortunately, two auspicious occasions, i.e. *'Id al-Fitr* and *'Id al-Azha* are approaching. I wish to take advantage of them. On these sacred festivals of Islam, Muslims generally, whether big or small, do not hesitate to spend—rather take pride in doing so on articles of no value. I think you will allow me to exploit their attitude.

The favour of a very early reply and advice, if any, in this connection will be very much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
JAMIL AHMAD KHAN
President,
City Muslim League

II. 22

Moinuddin Baqai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/256

AJMERI GATE,
DELHI,
7 September 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a sum of rupees one hundred as an humble contribution to the Muslim League Election Fund on behalf of the students of the Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary School, Ajmeri Gate, Delhi.

We want the best possible education for Muslim students in India, which, we are sure, you will secure us through your wise leadership.

We shall be soon supplying you with several more lockers [*sic*] of "silver bullets".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOINUDDIN BAQAI
Secretary,
Anglo-Arabic School Students' Union

II. 23

M. A. Jinnah to S. A. Rauf Shah

SHC, CP & Berar II/138

QUETTA,
10 September 1945

Dear Mr. Rauf Shah,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 1st,[1] and I note all that you say. You are under a wrong impression, as I have already made it clear, that each province must have its own fund for fighting the forthcoming elections and naturally I have stated that the Centre also needs money for the same purpose because we shall have to do many things all over India, and not confine our activities merely to one province [words illegible] very heavy expenses. I do not think you

are quite right in saying that a large body of people from your province are sending donations to me under a misunderstanding. Besides, such donations as have been sent to me, are not at all very substantial. It is, therefore, for you to raise your fund for your province, and I am sure if you go about it the right way, our people will fully respond to your appeal.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. A. Rauf Shah,
13 Starky Town,
Nagpur

[1]No. II. 20.

II. 24

A. G. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/174-5

66 JOHNSON ROAD,
KAROL BAGH,
DELHI,
13 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This year *'Id* party was celebrated as usual with great enthusiasm. Last year your presence gave everybody immense pleasure and so everybody missed you this time. I hope by the next *'Id* you will be in Delhi and give us all the pleasure of your company. Although you were far away at Karachi on *'Id* day, your mission and appeal was near to our heart. During *'Id* party, we made an appeal for Muslim League Election Fund and we collected about rupees two thousand cash, and about rupees two thousand five hundred as promises, out of which I have received some promises [*sic*], and I am submitting my first instalment of rupees three thousand and one hundred to you. I hope you will accept this token of our humble effort.

Wishing you all success in your tour of Sind, Quetta and [the] Punjab, etc.

Yours sincerely,
A. G. QURESHI
MBBS

II. 25

Chandmiyan Ustad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 53/172

BHALDARPURA,
NAGPUR,
13 September 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly accept the sum of rupees two hundred and fifty one only, duly collected on '*Id* day from the poor Muslims. The spirit in which the collection was received showed that from a boy of 10 or 15 years to the grown up Musalman, even poor, voluntarily and happily, was offering [*sic*] for your call of Election Fund.

I am confident that every effort from the enemy of Islam to the [*sic*] cause for the attainment of Pakistan can easily be crushed. All *Muslimin* and *Muslimat* are ready for your order to get the Pakistan.

Yours obediently,
CHANDMIYAN USTAD

II. 26

Syed Abdul Qadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/26-7
[Original in Urdu]

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

ANNAWAR,
DISTRICT DARWAR,
BOMBAY,
13 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Under your instructions, the poor Musalmans of Annawar have contributed rupees one hundred which has been sent to you for the Election Fund. It is hoped that you will accept it. These contributions have been made voluntarily on individual basis. No organised system of collection has been started here. Muslims here are very poor and they have contributed even meagre sums ranging from paisa one to rupees ten.

They have promised more contributions which will also be sent on receipt.

Wassalaam

Your obedient servant,
SYED ABDUL QADIR SYED FAQIR SHAH

II. 27

Rahim Bux to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/42

48 INDIAN COMPOSITE PLATOON,
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND,
17 September 1945

Aali Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to despatch herewith postal orders worth rupees five hundred only. This little sum has been collected by Muslim soldiers of my Unit and Muslim soldiers around us. This is in response to your honour's appeal for "silver bullets".

Kindly accept this little sum and acknowledge receipt.

We all pray for your long, long life and wish you every success.

Yours respectfully,
RAHIM BUX
Subedar, RIASC

II. 28

S. H. Hossain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/43

LALMANIRHAT,
17 September 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

With the best of my compliments to you, I am to inform you that some of the tender-aged Muslim children (list of names attached) have collected a sum of rupees eleven only and they are feeling exceedingly glad about contributing the same to the 'Jinnah Fund'

and I, on behalf of those tiny ones, feel highly obliged to send the amount for your kind disposal.

I cannot help to put [*sic*] my remark that one cannot but crow like a chanticleer to see their energy, ardent zeal and jocund faces being fortunate enough to contribute something to this fund.

With the best of my regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. H. HOSSAIN
President,
Muslim Student League

[1]See F. 152/44, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 29

Omar Farook to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/61

P.O.B. 215,
CAWNPORE,
19 September 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Two Muslim boy students quarrelled, and this caused some physical injury to one of them. The matter was referred to the Police, and as it was under investigation, I intervened and brought about a compromise instead of letting them go to litigation. One pardoned the other and embraced each other as brothers again. I prevailed upon the parents of the boy who caused injury to pay rupees two hundred towards compensation, which I decided will go to the League Election Fund, as I believe there is nothing more important, at present, than the forthcoming elections, on the result of which depends the fate of the nation. Rupees twenty-five were added by the other party, and thus I am sending you rupees two hundred and twenty five. Your receipt for the remittance may kindly be made in the name of Mr. Abid Ali Khan, and sent to my address at your earliest convenience.

Yours truly,
OMER FAROOK
Director,
Grand Trunk Tameries Company

II. 30

M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Camalia Muslim Sangam

SHC, OM II/76

QUETTA,
19 September 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of you letter of August 29th,[1] and I thank you for the encouragement and support you have given to the Muslim League. I thank your Association for the very original idea of sending me eighty *tolas* of silver in the shape of a "silver bullet", a phrase used by me in one of my speeches, and I was very much struck with the method you have adopted in showing your wholehearted support to me.

Thanking you again,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Camalia Muslim Sangam,
Kadayanallur

No. II. 18.

II. 31

Shahzad Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/55-6

AFTAB MANZIL,
ALIGARH,
19 September 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah

In obedience to your commands, I am enclosing a cheque for rupees fifteen, as an humble contribution towards your fund for fighting the general elections. I am sending rupees ten on my behalf, while the

balance of rupees five is on behalf of my son Sahebzada Naushad Ahmad Khan.

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
SHAHZAD AHMAD KHAN

II. 32

M. Abdul Haye to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 587/364

11 BARKLY ARCADE,
38 MARKET STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
24 September 1945

Dear Sir,

In response to the recent appeal made by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for "silver bullets", the Transvaal Muslim League has formed a Special Finance Committee to raise funds throughout the Union of South Africa, for the "All India Muslim League Election Campaign Fund". This Special Finance Committee has set itself the task of collecting pounds twenty-five thousand which it regards as the minimum national amount that all South African Muslims should subscribe towards the fund.

Special "Fund Raising Committees" have been organised in all the major towns and all the districts of South Africa.

In order to expedite and facilitate remittances to India, all the above Committees have been given the power to send contributions to your League either in Bombay or Delhi. In such cases my Committee shall esteem [*sic* for deem] it a great favour, if you will kindly acknowledge receipt of all donations received by you directly to the Committee concerned, and also post a copy of such acknowledgments directly to my Committee for record purposes. Since my Committee realises that the All India Muslim League requires the "silver bullets" urgently, it has decided to maintain a regular remittance of pounds five hundred by cable, as and when such amounts are reached.

My League has also appealed to Muslim sporting and cultural societies to raise funds for the election campaign and these bodies have also been instructed to remit all contributions directly to your

organisation. In connection with such contributions that you may receive, please be good enough to let my League have copies of acknowledgments as well.

May I be privileged to add that my League sincerely wishes your League all success in the forthcoming elections.

We in South Africa hope and trust that our humble effort in this respect will assist the Quaid-i-Azam to finish the job.

Thanking you,

I remain,

Yours fraternally,
M. ABDUL HAYE (LAHOREE)
Joint Secretary,
Transvaal Muslim League

II. 33

Muslim Community, Heidelberg, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 552/1838

HEIDELBERG,
[SOUTH AFRICA,]
25 September 1945

Airmailed draft rupees three thousand, three hundred and eighty-three response your appeal from Heidelberg Muslims only. Wishing you eternity [*sic*] prosperity, predestination [*sic*]. Appeal will overflow [*sic*] from South Africa.

MUSLIM COMMUNITY

II. 34

K. N. Yousafi to M. A. Jinnah

F. /109-10

CENTRAL COMMAND SIGNALS,
AGRA CANT.,
26 September 1945

Dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

The general elections are coming to prove Gandhi's biggest boast of sole representation, vague and crazy.

His concealed dictatorship, however cunning, can no more dream of forming a Hindudom [*sic*], ignoring one hundred million Musalmans with many million trained soldiers amongst them, who stand today solidly behind their Quaid-i-Azam, the greatest man of history.

To assist the above-mentioned cause I have collected some money from the Musalman soldiers of the Indian army under my command and have added the rest from my personal pocket. This humble offer of Rs. 101 from the soldiers may please be accepted.

It is requested that Musalman soldiers, at this stage, having various restrictions can take no open part towards helping this great cause, other than subscribing little amounts from their small pays. I am collecting a lot more from the officers and other ranks, and will be sending it to you soon.[1]

All the luck to my greatest leader,

Your most obedient servant,
K. N. YOUSAFI
Lieutenant

Subsequent paras omitted which contained his wishes for the success of ML and the offer of his services.

II. 35

M. A. Jinnah to Raja Saadat Ali

SHC, UP I/86

QUETTA,
28 September 1945

Dear Raja Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of September 21st.[1] I feel very much encouraged to note that you decided to work for the Muslim League in your Province and help in the forthcoming elections, in which we have to fight against powerful forces. I would advise you to join the League without any reservation and handsomely subscribe to the Provincial and Central League Election Funds, as you are in that fortunate position to give a strong financial support. There is no other better purpose or object for which you can generously and handsomely subscribe at the present moment. I would, therefore, expect you to announce your financial support to the Provincial as well as the Central Funds, and also induce other magnates of your province to do likewise. We have to fight the elections all over India in eleven provinces. And I

think you will agree with me that we can[not] do that without very powerful financial help from our people. As far as the Central Muslim League Election Fund is concerned, you can send to me direct either a cheque or money order. My present programme is that I shall be here for another fortnight at least.

I do appreciate your final words in your letter when you say that you feel honoured in placing yourself and your services at my command. You can play a very great part indeed in the political life of Muslim India if you will make up your mind to serve selflessly. This is a very critical moment for Muslim India, and we expect every Musalman to rally round our banner and help in our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. The issue of Pakistan is simple and clear. It means either we live with complete freedom and honour or perish. I am glad that the Musalmans are beginning to realize it, and God willing, we shall succeed in achieving our goal.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Raja Saadat Ali of Nanpara and Mohamdi Raj,
Nanpara Palace,
Lucknow

Saadat Ali had offered his services to serve the Muslim League. See *SHC UPI* 85 Not printed.

II. 36

Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 880/223-4

MOHALLA RAMNA BAGH,
P. O. BANKIPUR,
PATNA,
28 September 1945

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have sent to-day a sum of rupees ten only through money order for the Central Election Fund and I hope you would be kind enough to accept this humble sum. Though I am a post-graduate student, but you know that a student is always poor. You may take this humble remittance just as a token of love for the Muslim League and the ideal

it stands for. We, the students, are ever ready to do our utmost for the League and work has just been started here and tours are being organized which will begin as soon as the University closes for the *Puja* vacation. A message to students by you will be much inspiring and will help them a lot in their arduous work at this stage.

I always pray to *Allah* that He may grant you perfect health so that you may steer the Muslim nation to their goal at this critical moment.

With due respects and assuring you of our sacrifices,

I remain,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD ISA

II. 37

Abdul Samad Siddiqi & Abdur Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/23
[*Original in Urdu*]

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim
Nasrum Minalallahi wa Fathun Qareeb

JAMALPUR,
DIST. MONGHYR,
BIHAR,
29 September 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The appeal made by you for donations towards the Election Fund has been warmly received by the Muslims here. The Muslims of this Hindu majority area of Bihar have bitter experience of their Ministry. It needs no mention that 90 per cent of the Muslims here support Pakistan and the League, from the core of their hearts. Although they are generally poor yet they are prepared to donate wholeheartedly.

The money order for rupees thirty-two and *annas* two is the contribution of the temporary clerks of the Food Supply Department of the Jamalpur Railway Factory for the Central Election Fund. It is hoped that you will accept this humble contribution. The names of the persons who have donated towards this Fund are given below.[1] If deemed fit, their names may be published in the *Morning News*, Calcutta, to encourage employees of other departments of this

factory to contribute towards the Election Fund.

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Your servants,
ABDUL SAMAD SIDDIQI
ABDUR RAHIM
Clerks, Food Supply Office

[1]Not printed.

II. 38

G. Abdul Khadar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 834/14

METTAKAR STREET, MUSLIMPUR,
VANIYAMBADI,
[*Undated*] *September 1945*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Muslim students of Vaniyambadi, beg to submit before you the sum of rupees one thousand seven hundred and fifty which is but a humble token of the great confidence which the Muslim students have in you. We Muslim students regard you as their [*sic*] ideal and they see in you the eternal embodiment of Muslim youth. They also assure you that they will not falter or lag behind in the struggle for Pakistan, the birth-right of Muslim nation.

[*Next para omitted*]

We fervently hope that you will kindly accept the above sum as our first contribution towards Election Fund, and we earnestly pray that *Allah* may soon bring our Quaid-i-Azam and ourselves to the cherished goal of Pakistan.

With most sincere regards,

Yours obediently,
UNSIGNED
Secretary,
Muslims Students Federation

II. 39

M. H. & F. H. Mayet to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/17

P.O.B. 3 OOGIES,
TRANSVAAL,
3 October 1945

Respected Sir,

We are glad to inform you that today we have remitted, per Reuters, to your goodself the sum of rupees one thousand eight hundred and sixty, being our humble contribution towards the Muslim League's Election Fund. Kindly acknowledge receipt thereof and oblige. A list of contributors to this amount is herewith enclosed[1] and would state that all of them are residents of Chikhli Taluka, Bombay Presidency, India, though ordinarily [they] are in the Transvaal.

We wish you every success in your election fight.

Yours sincerely,
M. H. MAYET
F. H. MAYET

[1] See F. 64/19, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 40

M. Moosa Sahib to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/20

KANNATHIDDY,
JAFFNA,
CEYLON,
3 October 1945

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to forward herewith a list[1] of persons who contributed for the Election Fund together with a draft for rupees two thousand three hundred and thirteen which please acknowledge on receipt of same [*sic*].

Though Jaffna had a small number of Indian Muslims they have liberally contributed for the above cause. This shows the confidence and sincerity [*sic*] which the Muslim public of Jaffna has in you. It may

[not] be out of place to mention here that the Muslim public of Jaffna are very anxious to give a cordial welcome if you would be pleased to visit Jaffna on your tour to Ceylon.

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Yours faithfully,
M. MOOSA SAHIB
Honorary Secretary,
Indian Muslims Association

[1]See F. 64/21-3, *QAP*. Not printed

II. 41

M. I. M. Razik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/250

63 CRIPPS ROAD,
GALLE, CEYLON,
3 October 1945

Dear brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am enclosing herewith a British postal order for shilling two as my humble mite towards the League Election Fund. Though I am a Ceylonese Muslim, yet I cannot be indifferent with [*sic*] the Muslims of any part of this planet who are submerged in a surging sea of struggle over a noble, righteous and soared [*sic*] cause.

I am,
Yours fraternally and sincerely,
M.I.M. RAZIK

Subsequent paras omitted which reflected his wishes for the success of ML, and prayers for good health and success of Jinnah.

II. 42

A. A. Karolia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/33

PUTFONTEIN,
BENONI, TRANSVAAL,
4 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I have to confirm that this community cabled, on the 3rd October 1945, the sum of pounds five hundred and two which we wish to contribute towards your Fund.

I shall be glad if you will kindly acknowledge receipt of this credit direct to us, and also arrange publication of same in the Bombay weekly newspaper, the *Vatan*.

I should like to take this opportunity of extending to your League, our community's very good wishes in the coming election.

Yours faithfully,
A. A. KAROLIA
On behalf of Muslim Community

II. 43

M. Bodhama and Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/28

ROODEPOORT MUSLIM INSTITUTE,
ROODEPOORT,
TRANSVAAL,
4 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to an appeal by the President of the Transvaal Muslim League, we have this day cabled to you rupees four thousand six hundred and ninety for the election campaign. Please acknowledge.

It is our earnest belief and also the belief of the Musalmans throughout South Africa that the All India Muslim League will, *Insha Allah,* be victorious in the contest.

The prayer in our hearts, night and day, is that *Allah* may crown your efforts with success.

We beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. BODHAMA & OTHERS

II. 44

S. A. Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/360

US ARMY OFFICERS MESS,
ONDAL, BENGAL,
5 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

According to your kind appeal to the people of the nation for contributions, I am sending rupees five the small amount I could spare.

I am a young and poor man of the nation who always prays and requests to *Allah* that rest of my years, days [and] months of my age, may be given to the Quaid-i-Azam, who is doing so much for the nation.[1]

Most obediently,
S. A. HUSSAIN

[1] Subsequent paras omitted which contained his prayers for the good health and success of Jinnah.

II. 45

Abdul L. Dada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/138

P.O.B. 298, PIETERSBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
5 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a draft for pounds five hundred (rupees six thousand six hundred nine and *annas* four), being the first instalment of funds collected by the Muslims of Pietersburg for the League election campaign.

Funds are still being collected, and, as soon as collection is completed, I shall post the balance to you.

We hope and pray for a sweeping victory for the League in the coming elections and for the speedy achievement of our cherished desire, Pakistan.

May *Allah* grant you wisdom and courage to lead us in our struggle for freedom,

I remain ever,
Yours obediently,
ABDUL L. DADA
Treasurer, ML Election Fund Committee

II. 46

M. E. Kosadia & E. A. Saloojee to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/35

KRUGERSDORP,
TRANSVAAL,
5 October 1945

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Muslim community of Krugersdorp, we have great pleasure in enclosing herewith draft for rupees six thousand nine hundred thirty-nine and *annas* ten, being the sum contributed by the Musalmans of this town. Please accept the same and make use of this money in the forthcoming elections. We also enclose herewith a separate list[1] showing the names and amounts of the contributors. Please be good enough and publish it in your esteemed paper the *Dawn* and the *Vatan*.

We pray that Almighty may spare you [and] give you courage to fight for the Muslim cause. Wishing you every success. The Musalmans in different parts of the world are behind you. Please acknowledge receipt of the draft and oblige. Good luck.

We remain,
Your sincere followers,
M.E. KOSADIA
Chairman
E. A. SALOOJEE
Treasurer
Muslim League Election Fund Committee

See F. 64/36, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 47

Ghulam Sarwar Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/140

BARAMULA,
KASHMIR,
6 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your regard for us exceeds even the bounds of parental affection. In spite of your preoccupation in connection with the Muslim League activities, your sympathy with our humiliated condition is a great honour to us.

We humbly submit a very meagre sum of rupees two hundred for your "silver bullets" campaign. Hope to contribute again.

With best wishes and regards. I hope you will not forget us,

Yours faithfully,
GHULAM SARWAR SHAH
President, Baramula Muslim Conference

II. 48

S. M. Mosam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/347

P.O.B. 6 NYLSTROOM,
N. TRANSVAAL,
11 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

We, the Muslim community of Nylstroom, Northern Transvaal, most humbly beg to inform you that to your appeal for the All India Muslim League [Election] Fund, we had responded with the sum of rupees six thousand and four hundred (£486.11.0) and the amount was sent on 2nd inst. We presume same has reached you safely.

Please find enclosed herewith a list[1] of the contributors which will speak for itself. Furthermore, our Muslim community wishes to express to you their wholehearted [*sic*] and beg Almighty to spare you for a long life with health, wealth, and prosperity. Also we have full confidence in you and admire your leadership which shows a promising result,

and trust the forthcoming general elections will bring and bear good fruits with Muslim majority [*sic*]. *Aameen*.[2]

How proud are we today to see our Muslim leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who had sacrified his wealth and time for the betterment of Muslim world. Lose no hope and carry the burden on your shoulder, for Almighty is there to judge your justice [*sic*] towards Islam. Long live Quaid-i-Azam, our greatest hero and leader.

Concluding this letter with good wishes and *salaam* to you and your supporters,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. MOSAM
Secretary,
Muslim Community

[1]See F. 587/348-51, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Next para, which mentioned despatch of an identical letter to an organisation, omitted.

II. 49

M. Asghar Khan to K. H. Khurshid

F. 152/152

9 SQUADRON R.I.A.F.,
SOUTH EAST ASIA,
12 October 1945

Sir,

Please acknowledge receipt of the enclosed cheque. This is in response to the appeal made by the Quaid-i-Azam recently.

Since members of the services are not permitted to contribute to political organizations, the cheque has been made out in the name of Mr. Jinnah.

I hope that this meagre amount will help in some way towards the realization of our goal.

Yours sincerely,
M. ASGHAR KHAN
Squadron Leader

II. 50

Mir Laik Ali to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, Hyderabad II/121

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 October 1945

Returned safely. Anxious see you earliest. Friends have collected approximate three lakh.

Kindly wire when you will reach Bombay and I shall present amount personally. If delay in your returning Bombay kindly wire instructions[1] for remittance. Respectful regards.

[MIR] LAIK ALI

[1]Jinnah replied that he might see him in Bombay on 6 November. See *SHC*, Hyderabad II/122. Not printed.

II. 51

Ismail Hashimbhai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/80

KAGRIWAD,
ANKLESWAR,
DIST. BROACH,
15 October 1945

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am extremely pleased to remit you the sum of rupees sixty-one and *annas* four only towards the Muslim League Election Fund collected by the Muslim Students' Union, Aukleswar, which may please be acknowledged.

I assure you that the Muslim students of this place have every trust in you and [are] ready to give any sacrifice for Pakistan.

Wishing you long life and every success,

Yours faithfully,
ISMAIL HASHIMBHAI
President, Muslim Students' Union

II. 52

Shamima Firoz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/79

FRASHKHANA,
GALI NAWAB SAHIB,
DELHI,
. 15 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith our humble contribution for the Election Fund. This has been collected from donors of one family and also includes monthly pocket money of some of the young student members of the family.

We all pray that you may succeed in your noble endeavour.

Sincerely yours,
SHAMIMA FIROZ

PS. Please acknowledge the receipt of rupees one hundred and eighty-five, the cheque for which amount is herewith attached. I enclose with the cheque three one rupee notes [*sic*] which have since been received.

II. 53

Yusuf Dawood Jooma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/84-5

60 LONG STREET,
MIDDELBURG, TRANSVAAL,
16 October 1945

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I acknowledge receipt of your appeal for funds towards the All India Muslim League election campaign, through the Secretary of the Transvaal Muslim League.

I heartily welcomed your appeal and has [*sic*] endeavoured to raise funds amongst the Muslim community. I hereby enclose two drafts of rupees two thousand five hundred eleven and *annas* seven which is equivalent to pounds one hundred and ninety South African money.

Kindly acknowledge it in due course.[1]

Yours in Islam,
YUSUF DAWOOD JOOMA

[1]Subsequent paras, which contained his wishes for a good response for fund from other Muslims and prayers for the success of ML in the elections, omitted.

II. 54

H. S. Daya and Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/89

177 MAIN ROAD,
NEWLANDS,
JOHANNESBURG,
17 October 1945

Honourable Sir,

On behalf of the Muslim Jama'ats of Newlands, Sophiatown and Martindale we, the undersigned, have great pleasure in remitting herewith, the sum of four hundred and fifty-two pounds and one shilling, equivalent to Indian currency of the value of rupees five thousand nine hundred and seventy-five and *annas* seven, this being our meagre contribution towards our national fund for "silver bullets."

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Yours fraternally,
H. S. DAYA & OTHERS, MUSLIM JAMA'AT

II. 55

Hamida Zaidi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/90-1

MUSLIM GIRLS COLLEGE,
ALIGARH,
17 October 1945

Dear Sir,

The Muslim Girls College students have collected a sum of rupees eight hundred forty-four and *annas* eight for the Muslim League Election Fund. As we are carrying on a campaign for enrolling women

voters in the city *mohallas* for Muslim League, we are keeping rupees fifty-seven *annas* eight in the office of our principal for the expenses incurred in this campaign. The account of this will be sent to you later on.

This is a paltry sum collected by the Muslim girls for the Muslim League which is very near and dear to their hearts. May I request you to kindly accept this humble token of our good wishes for the glorious cause you are fighting for. A receipt of the sum sent will greatly oblige us.

Yours faithfully,
HAMIDA ZAIDI
Secretary, A.I.M.S.F., Aligarh,
(Girls Branch)

PS. Cheque for rupees seven hundred and eighty-seven is being dispatched today.

II. 56

A. A. Qureshy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/92

DOROTHY COTTAGE,
SUMMER HILL,
SIMLA,
17 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

While a patient in the Lady Linlithgow Sanatorium at Kasauli, I sent to you a sum of rupees three hundred and sixty being the contribution of the Muslim patients towards the League Election Fund. No doubt considering the momentous issue before the Musalmans the sum is insignificant, but the satisfaction of the patients, whose limitation you know and who are in grips with the terrible disease, that they have done their duty is great and I hope you have accepted the contribution in this spirit. But unfortunately I have not received the postal acknowledgment of the money order and this is causing me and others some anxiety. Therefore, while I am writing to the postal authorities, I will also request you kindly to instruct your office to send me a private acknowledgment.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
A. A. QURESHY

II. 57

I. V. M. Jooma to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 587/335

DURBAN,
18 October 1945

In response to your appeal for funds to help All India Muslim League in coming elections, Natal Committee, under name M. A. Jinnah Appeal Fund, Natal, formed under my chairmanship. Committee setting to work immediately and hope to remit reasonably good sum. Meanwhile have remitted telegraphically first instalment five hundred pounds. Wish All India Muslim League every success.

I. V. M. JOOMA

II. 58

S. M. Jamaldeen to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/337

BHEE MAHAL,
CHILAW,
CEYLON,
19 October 1945

Dear brother-in-Islam,

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a draft for a sum of rupees seven hundred, being the contribution from the Muslim community of this township towards the All India Muslim League electioneering fund.

Please accept this small gift as our donation to the great cause which you have espoused.

Chilaw is a very insignificant town with a very small Muslim population of far-from-prosperous circumstances.

We shall follow your activities in this momentous campaign with the greatest interest.

Wishing you success by the grace of Almighty God in your efforts.

With my best *salaam,*

Yours sincerely,
S. M. JAMALDEEN

II. 59

S. N. H. Rizawi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/338

DARYAGANJ,
DELHI,
19 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I herewith send another draft for rupees two hundred on behalf of the students of Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary School, Daryaganj, Delhi, which I hope you will be good enough to acknowledge.

Along with it I beg to assure you that we are fully conscious of the importance of the coming elections and are doing our best to render the bit of service we are capable of.

Praying for the achievement of Pakistan,

I am,
Your most obedient servant,
S. N. H. RIZAWI
Secretary,
Election Fund Collection Committee

II. 60

M. S. Mohamed Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/332

18 OLD MOOR STREET,
COLOMBO,
20 October 1945

Exalted Sir,

Herewith please find a draft for rupees one hundred and twenty-five only towards the Election Fund, contributed by a few of my intimate Muslim friends and myself.

The sum as it is, being very small not worth the trouble, we hope that you would accept it and appreciate our endeavour.

We assure your honour that we are always with the League and we work for its objects.

Wassalaam

A Muslim in faith,
M. S. MOHAMED HASSAN

II. 61

Hassan Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/113

P.O. B. 73 VRYBURG,
SOUTH AFRICA,
21 October 1945

Dear Sir,

In response to your "silver bullets" appeal for funds in aid of the coming election, the Vryburg Muslim community have succeeded in collecting the sum of one hundred and five pounds. This amount has been forwarded by telegram through Reuters, and we have no doubt [that] this sum must have reached you by now. Kindly acknowledge receipt of same.

At conclusion we wish the Muslim League good luck and every success in the forthcoming election.

Yours truly,
HASSAN KHAN
Secretary,
Vryburg Muslim Community

II. 62

E. H. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/319

DURBAN,
22 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have forwarded you per Reuters rupees two hundred on the 19th instant, being my own humble contribution. I wish your effort will be

crowned with success which it so richly deserves.

Natal and particularly Durban have this week launched a collection campaign for the Muslim League, thanks to the initiative of the local Muslim ladies.

I wish to congratulate you for your bold stand and that of the League for our poorer brethren in Palestine. May peace [and] justice prevail in the holy land.

With regards,

I remain,

Sincerely yours,
E. H. ISMAIL
Joint Treasurer Natal Indian Congress

II. 63

Paardekop Muslim Community to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/323

C/O CAJEES CASH STORE,
PAARDEKOP, TRANSVAAL,
22 October 1945

Dear Sir,

We have the greatest pleasure in posting you herewith a draft for the sum of pounds one hundred and ten, shillings eight, pence eleven only. Kindly accept same which is contributed by the Muslims of this village for the League Election Fund. We hope you will accept the same for the common cause of Muslims of India.

Further, we pray for your health and a long life to free the Muslims of India from the yoke of their enemies.

Our motto is a complete Pakistan.

We remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,
[UNSIGNED]
For Muslim Community

II. 64

Mahomed Jajbhay to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/127

23 DELAREY STREET,
VREDEDORP,
JOHANNESBURG,
23 October 1945

Sir,

We have remitted to you on the 18th instant the sum of rupees ten thousand and three, being monies collected by the Vrededorp Muslim Community to render assistance for the forthcoming elections.

A list of the donors will be forwarded to you in due course.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of the above sum.

Wishing you every success in the elections,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED JAJBHAY

II. 65

Abdul L. Dada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/124

P.O.B. 298, PIETERSBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
23 October 1945

Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a draft for £400 (rupees five thousand two hundred eighty-seven and *annas* seven) being second instalment of funds collected by the Muslims of Pietersburg for the League election campaign.

Funds are still being collected, and as soon as collection is completed I shall post the balance to you.

We hope and pray for a sweeping victory for the League in the coming elections and for the speedy achievement of our cherished desire Pakistan.

May *Allah* grant you wisdom and courage to lead us in our struggle for freedom,

I remain,
Ever yours obediently,
ABDUL L. DADA
Treasurer,
Muslim League Election Fund

II. 66

Ebrahim Ahmed Dadabhay & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/9-10

JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
23 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*Para 1 omitted*][1]

We realise, Sir, that owing to the general elections pending in India a great deal of time, energy and money would be required to organise a colossal front in order to face a formidable foe and eventually win, with flying colours, all Muslim seats under the banner of our beloved League.

May the Almighty give you and your stalwarts all the courage, strength and protection to see these elections through successfully, for on the result of these depend our prestige, our honour and ultimately our goal of Pakistan.

Our only regret is that we are situated so far away from the venue of the Muslim electorates so that we could not physically render any personal assistance, but we can certainly respond to your timely appeal to do what we can by helping financially.

We have therefore come together, a few of us, and have collected our mite which we herewith enclose in the form of a bank draft of the sum of pounds one thousand and eighty (rupees fourteen thousand two hundred and seventy-six, *anna* one) and a cheque for rupees one

thousand. We trust you will kindly honour us by accepting the same.

With kindest regards and sincere greetings,

We are,

Yours brothers-in-Islam,
E. A. DADABHAY AND OTHERS

[1]This para, which contained prayers for the long life of Jinnah, omitted.

II. 67

Gulamhuşein Qawwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/260-1

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

HUJRA UNDER NAKARKHANA,
DURGAH SHARIF,
AJMER,
23 October 1945

Beloved leader,

I am a poor *Qawwal* of Ajmer Sharif, and I give my *haazree* every evening in the *Durgah Sharif.*

This evening Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accompanied by the only two Congress Muslims of Ajmer, came to *Durgah Sharif* and sat down to listen to my *Qawwali* and he offered me rupees twenty as *nazrana.* I am *al-hamdulillah* a Muslim and as such a staunch Muslim Leaguer. Hence I believe no better use can be made of this money than for the purpose of attaining our cherished goal of Pakistan. So I am sending the money to you for the Election Fund, which I hope you will kindly accept. I am sending you the very notes given to me by Panditjee, and to assure the notes reaching you, I am sending them by insured-registered post.

With my humble wishes and prayers,

I remain, Sir,

Your devoted follower,
GULAMHUSEIN QAWWAL ALIAS TOTTEE

PS. The notes are inscribed that they were given by Pandit.

II. 68

A. H. Adam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/130

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

M. A. HIGH SCHOOL,
ANDHERI,
24 October 1945

Dear Sir,

We the Muslim students of the above school are much pleased and highly thankful to you for the kind services and the sincere efforts rendered by you for the welfare and the success of the Muslims of India. Indeed! We ever wish and pray for your long life and speedy success.

We herewith respectfully beg to offer a humble sum of rupees forty-five for the League Fund and hope to receive your kind acceptance.

Praying for the best success in the coming elections,

Yours faithfully,
A. H. ADAM
For the Muslim students

II. 69

Muslim Students' Union, Kutiyana, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/285-6

KUTIYANA,
24 October 1945

Our revered Quaid-i-Azam,

It is a matter of pride on our part that we the young Muslim chaps of Kutiyana have been able to honour your appeal for "silver bullets" to fight the ensuing elections which is the question of death and life to the Muslims of India.

I enclose herewith a draft amounting to rupees two thousand three hundred forty-one, *annas* four and *pies* six only, which is not a satisfactory figure at all; yet I hope that you'll accept this humble sum and oblige.

We pray to Almighty *Allah* that He may grant you long life and

enable us to march with dignity and pride under your leadership to reach the goal of Pakistan.

Yours obediently,
[SIGNATURES ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary, Muslim Students' Union

II. 70

A. A. Allarakha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/140

ALLARAKHA BUILDING,
AJMER,
25 October 1945

Sir,

I have the proud privilege to forward you rupees five hundred eleven only on behalf of the Durgah Bazar hotelwallas (proprietors of the tea-stalls). This amount was collected on last Friday by selling cups of tea for the Muslim League Election Fund.

Yours obediently,
A. A. ALLARAKHA

II. 71

H. S. Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Bengal III/13

CALCUTTA,
25 October 1945

My dear Sir,

When forwarding the recommendations of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board for nomination to the Indian Legislative Assembly, I had occasion to mention on behalf of a particular candidate that while we considered him eminently desirable and most suitable to contest the seat now held by Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, he was labouring under some financial disabilities, we considered that he would need a sum of rupees fifteen thousand at least to cover the vast territory which formed his constituency and to put up an adequate

fight against Sir Abdul Halim. In that letter I also requested that a sum of rupees fifty thousand might be sent to us to cover the expenses of organising the various centres for the Indian Legislative Assembly, for propaganda purposes, for entertainment of preachers and propagandists and for giving some financial assistance to candidates in case they were unable to find funds at crucial moments. I received a letter from the Chairman of the Parliamentary Board, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that the province was expected to raise funds and to spend money not only for the elections to the Provincial Legislature but also for elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly. I placed this letter before Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board and I have been asked by them to request you to reconsider the position. We believe that you yourself have announced that the Central Fund which you are raising will be utilised by you for purposes of the elections, that from this fund money will be spent for the central elections as well as for the provincial elections in accordance with the necessities of the case. Funds are accordingly being sent from the various provinces directly to the Central Fund as many believe that the Central Fund will ultimately be utilised for the central as well as the provincial elections. The provincial fund too has suffered to some extent owing to this diversion of funds to the Central Fund. Our Provincial Parliamentary Board requests you most earnestly to consider the necessities of the Province. We need hardly point out to you that the elections in Bengal will be of the utmost importance for the future of the League and that the fury of the Congress against the Muslim League will be concentrated in Bengal. Already the Congress here is busy in search for candidates to stand against the Muslim League and is offering them large sums of money. Owing to the general increase in prices, the difficulty of transport, the increased cost in conveyance, paper, printing, boat hiring, etc., the cost of election will be very much greater on this occasion than ever before and will in most cases be beyond the capacity of the really desirable candidates. The Board, as a matter of fact, considered that my modest demand for rupees fifty thousand was too inadequate to set up proper organisation. My request was based on this small figure, as I rely to a very large extent on the voluntary and inexpensive enthusiasm of the student community. The Board will be grateful if you could see your way to sanction a sum of rupees fifty thousand as early as possible and at the same time inform it to what extent and under what circumstances we can look to you for financial assistance. We need hardly point out to you that we are making every possible effort to raise funds for the League but we are not very hopeful of our ability to raise the amount necessary to contest one hundred and twenty provincial seats, six

central seats and five seats to the Bengal Legislative Council.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

II. 72

Uzair Hasan Latif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/141

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

DELHI,
25 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I feel great pride in sending herewith the sum of rupees two hundred only on behalf of the staff and the students of the Punjabi Islamia Higher Secondary School, Delhi, for the coming election. This includes rupees twenty from the boys of nearly eight years of age. It shows what they can do in response to the call of their earnest and most sincere Quaid-i-Azam.

This is our first instalment and it will be followed soon after by the 2nd and 3rd instalments.

Yours etc.,
UZAIR HASAN LATIF
Teacher-in-charge,
Punjabi Islamia Higher Secondary School

II. 73

Hajee Mohamed & Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, SHC, FC II/37

P.O.B. 40 PRETORIA,
26 October 1945

Rupees one lakh collected Pretoria and [its] suburbs [from] Muslim clerks, women, school children numbering 1500. Fund still open. Contributions continuing. Kindly give this contribution due publicity in

the *Dawn*, the *Vatan* and other Muslim papers.[1]

HAJEE MOHAMED AND OTHERS

[1]Jinnah gratefully acknowledged the contribution. See *SHC*, FC II / 38. Not printed.

II. 74

Mahmood Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/157

P.O.B. 103, DELHI,
27 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith enclosed please find my cheque for rupees one hundred eighty-nine and *annas* fifteen being the contribution of two days' salary of the Muslim members of the staff of the *Dawn* towards the Muslim League Election Fund. I am asked by them to convey to you their sincerest wishes that the Muslim League sweeps the polls in all provinces of this sub-continent. The list of contributors is also enclosed herewith.[1]

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. HASAN
General Manager,
the Dawn

[1]See F. 64 / 158, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 75

S. A. Halim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 54/438-9

CONFIDENTIAL

AMINGAON,
DISTRICT KAMRUP,
ASSAM,
28 October 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Yesterday I sent an insured [*sic*] for rupees one thousand thirty-seven, stating that the contribution is being made on behalf of railway

employees, Amingaon, but being government servants, we are not allowed to take part in any communal body [*sic*]. So I therefore request you to kindly treat the amount contributed to you on behalf of the All India Railways Muslim Employees Association League.

I shall be sending further contribution shortly but all on behalf of the above Association.

Yours very sincerely,
S. A. HALIM
for General Secretary

II. 76

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/166-7

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
29 October 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a few cheques for the Muslim League Election Fund. One of these (the cheque of rupees one hundred and ninety-three) represents the donations given by several members of the staff, while others represent individual donations. Several other donations given by members of the staff have not yet been realised. The amounts have been deducted from their salaries and as soon as the consolidated cheque is signed by the Treasurer of the University I will send the money to you.

The contributions of the members of the staff so far total about rupees eleven hundred. Out of this amount we have decided to remit rupees five hundred to you and the rest to the Provincial Muslim League as they also have appealed for funds. More subscriptions are being raised from the staff and these will be sent next month. Students also are raising subscriptions with great enthusiasm. Their donations will be paid through their accounts with the University.

You will also be pleased to know that the University Muslim League is making vigorous efforts to train a large number of students to work in the election campaign. They are undergoing regular training and they will soon be ready to go to the various provinces. A notable piece of work they did recently was the enrolment of about sixteen thousand fresh voters for the Provincial Assembly. You may rest assured that

Aligarh will play its full part in the supreme struggle which faces us.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Convener,
Committee of Writers

II. 77

Afaque Rasool to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/164

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE,
CAWNPORE,
29 October 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a draft for rupees eighty-six, and *annas* twelve only, as the first instalment of the contribution of Muslim students of Christ Church College, Cawnpore, towards the Election Fund. Hoping that Quaid-i-Azam will accept the humble contribution.

Quaid-i-Azam's obediently,
AFAQUE RASOOL
Convener, Election Fund Committee ,
Muslim Students' Federation

II. 78

M. A. Ayob to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/296-7

SHIPPARD STREET,
MAFEKING, [CANADA,]
30 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am requested by my community to write this letter to inform you that an amount of rupees seventeen hundred has been cabled to your goodself, towards the expenses of the Election Fund.

It is hoped that the amount in question will reach you safely, and that the small contribution, which the community has been able to

forward, will be of some assistance to further the object, which you have in mind, namely the furtherance of Pakistan movement.

We pray to Almighty *Allah* that our aim will be achieved by the help of Almighty *Allah*, and wishing that *Allah* gives you long life and health.

Wishing you every success,

Yours fraternally,
M. A. AYOB
Secretary,
Mafeking Indian Muslims Community

II. 79

Abdoolkarim I. Kherwaji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/178

NADIAD,
30 October 1945

Respected Sir,

The sum of rupees fifteen thousand and one only, collected by the Kaira District League for the Election Fund, has been paid by the President of the Kaira District League for the Central Fund.

Over and above the above amount, a sum of rupees ten thousand only for the Provincial Fund has been remitted to the Provincial League.

Besides the above, some amounts have been remitted to you direct by some Primary League of the District and individuals.

The Kaira District is composed of agriculturists; still, the Muslim brothers, have, in obedience to your *Farman*, contributed very largely than [*sic*] we expected. These sums are composed of contribution from mostly the poor and persons of moderate means and you will be pleased to learn that efforts are still in progress for collection of Election Fund in the district.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and always at your service.

Yours sincerely,
A. KHERWAJI
General Secretary,
Kaira Muslim League

II. 80

Ismail A. Shaikh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 582/268

AHMEDABAD,
30 October 1945

I am instructed by the President, Ahmedabad District Muslim League, Mr. Nizamuddin Quereshi, that a cheque of rupees two lakh was handed over to your gracious self at the public meeting on 27-10-45, by Ahmedabad District Muslim League with a condition that out of these two lakh, one lakh be taken over by All India Election Fund and the remaining one lakh be given to Provincial Election Fund.

I would feel highly obliged if you will kindly pass two separate receipts as requested above.

Brother-in-Islam,
ISMAIL A. SHAIKH
Secretary,
Ahmedabad District Muslim League

II. 81

M. A. Jinnah to H. S. Suhrawardy

SHC, Bengal III/14

30 October 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 25th,[1] and beg to inform you that I have repeatedly made it clear both in my original appeal for funds and subsequently, that each province must raise its own fund for elections, and the Provincial League organizations alone will be responsible for the control, management and accounting of this Fund, and those who wish to send their contributions to the Central Fund can do so direct to me. The Central Fund cannot be distributed to the provinces. I regret to say that towards the Central Fund, Bengal well-to-do people have made no contribution to begin with. The election to the Indian Central Legislative Assembly is of the representatives of your province. Yes, the Central Fund, which I am raising, will be utilized by us for the purpose of elections, propaganda,

and we are already incurring enormous amounts of expenditure in supervising all the provinces. You are totally wrong when you say that many people are sending me money towards the Central Fund, being under the impression that this Fund will be distributed amongst the provinces, and you are also wrong in saying that the "Provincial Fund has suffered to some extent owing to the diversion of funds to the Central Fund." Your provincial organisation ought to make it clear, if there is any misunderstanding, that your province should be supported, and make efforts to raise your own fund. My appeal did not mean that the people should send their contributions to the Central Fund only. On the contrary I have made it clear that those who wish to subscribble to the Provincial Funds should do so. Let me inform you that, barring some poor people and middle-class people, who have sent me very small sums from Bengal, which I appreciate all the more because they come from their heart, there has been no real support to the Central Fund from Bengal. In the circumstances, I regret that I am unable to comply with your request. I can give you no promise for any financial help. God helps those who help themselves, and you must make every effort to augment your Provincial Fund. If each Musalman makes his contribution of one rupee to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Election Fund, you will get over three crore, and I cannot believe that if proper efforts are made, you would suffer for want of rupees fifty thousand, which you expect the Centre to give you and which I am unable to do so. I have made it clear from the beginning that if I started a precedent of this character I would then be flooded with requests for funds from all the provinces. You need not be despondent. If you apply your energy and work for it in the right way, I am sure you will not suffer for want of money from Bengal, and I agree with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that the province was expected to raise its own funds and spend money not only on the elections to the provincial legislature but also on the elections to the Indian Central Legislative Assembly. In the circumstances I hope that you will place this letter before the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board for their information and oblige.

Your faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

H. S. Suhrawardy, Esq.,
Secretary, Bengal Provincial
Muslim League Parliamentary Board, Calcutta

'No. II. 71.

II. 82

Allah Ditta Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/179

GOVERNMENT ROAD,
NAIROBI,
31 October 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In compliance with instructions of the Managing Committee of the Central Muslim Association, Nairobi, I have today remitted a sum of rupees seven thousand as our first instalment towards the Muslim League [Election] Fund.[1]

Yours sincerely,
ALLAH DITTA QURESHI
Secretary,
The Central Muslim Association

[1] The remaining paras, holding a promise for sending more funds, and asking for ML literature, omitted.

II. 83

Abul Hasan Syed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, OM II/83

DARUS SALAM,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
31 October 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Mr. Laik Ali who has come back from the tour of Europe and America a few days ago, told me that he had correspondence with you during your stay at Quetta and that you had informed him that you will be back in Bombay by 26th of October 1945. Myself and Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim Baboo Khan, who has now donated a lakh of rupees towards League Election Fund, accompanied him to Bombay. We all were there till 27th of October, and could not get information about your tour from the papers. I had also sent a telegram to your Karachi address saying that I was going to Bombay on the 26th October. As there was no definite information about your date of arrival in Bombay, we had to leave on the 27th October. Mr. Laik Ali and Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim

Baboo Khan left for Delhi on some business and I returned to Hyderabad. Both these gentlemen are due here on the 2nd of November, 1945, and we hope to call upon you on the 6th of November again. We have so far collected about a couple of lakh of rupees towards the League Election Fund including the donation of Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim Baboo Khan, which we will be able to present to you on the 6th of November.

Besides I have to discuss certain points regarding the Reforms Scheme which is being shortly implemented. Mr. Laik Ali will be present during this discussion as he is very keenly interested in the future constitutional development of the State.

I hope you will be good enough to grant us an interview on that date.

Hoping this will find you in the best of your health,

Yours sincerely,
ABUL HASAN SYED ALI
President,
Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen

II. 84

Abdul Basit to M. A. Jinnah

F. 830/228

[*Original in Urdu*]

SIDUMBRAM,
MADRAS,
[*Undated*] *October 1945*

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

The residents of village Lalpet have remitted to you a sum of rupees one thousand telegraphically.

Because these people are poor this small amount may be considered worthwhile for acceptance and a receipt be sent.

Praying for you,

ABDUL BASIT
President,
Qasba Lalpet Muslim League

II. 85

Javed Latifi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 64/191
[*Original in Urdu*]

QADRIA RESTAURANT,
AHMAD NAGAR,
DECCAN,
2 November 1945

Allaho Akbar

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On the 28th October 1945, in the presence of Mr. Abdur Rahim, B. A., and others, I had announced to donate one day's sale proceeds of my restaurant to the Muslim League Election Fund. The Muslims of Ahmad Nagar have contributed towards the said Fund enthusiastically and generously. In spite of the fact that two restaurants of the city had earlier contributed one day's sale proceeds towards the Election Fund, the Muslims of the area wished to contribute more.

In the evening, a small meeting was held and articles donated by participants were auctioned. One day's sale proceeds of the hotel and the sale collection of the auction amounting to rupees one thousand three hundred seventy-nine and *pies* six is being remitted to you.

I am prepared to render any service required of me and am ready to lay down my life at your command.[1]

JAVED LATIFI
Joint Secretary,
District Muslim League

[1]The writer subsequently remitted an additional sum of rupees ninety and *annas* nine to the Election Fund, comprising one-day income of the city hair-cutting saloons, which included contribution from a Hindu as well. See F. 587/229, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 86

M. E. Patel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/273-4

18 SOUTHEY AVENUE,
NEWCLARE,
JOHANNESBURG,
2 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I have been directed to inform you that we have despatched... a sum of pounds five hundred and fifteen, equivalent to rupees six thousand, eight hundred and seven and *annas* nine, in response to your "silver bullets" appeal for the election campaign. An acknowledgment will be gratefully appreciated.

The amount is composed of the joint contributions of Newclare Muslim League (pounds four hundred and ten) and Newclare Muslim Sports Club (pounds one hundred and five).

It is our earnest prayer and fervent hope that, through your brilliant leadership, wisdom, unflinching courage and determination which we are proud to recognise, you will, with the aid of the Almighty *Allah,* score a sweeping victory over any opposing elements in the forthcoming elections.

You may be assured that we are, with our heart and soul, with you in the cherished stand of all Muslims, viz. Pakistan.

May *Allah* crown your efforts with unprecedented success and may our effort help you and your party towards our ultimate goal—Pakistan.

You, dear Sir, and the League have our wholehearted support and best wishes, and it is with renewed hope that we look forward to your future guidance and inspiration.

I have,
dear Quaid-i-Azam,
the honour to be,
M. E. PATEL
For Newclare Muslim League

II. 87

M. A. Jinnah to Farid Ahmad Chowdhury

F. 153/166

4 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated October 9th[1] enclosing two drafts dated the 6th and the 8th, one for rupees fifteen thousand and the other for rupees five thousand, as your handsome contribution towards the Muslim League Fund.

Please convey my grateful thanks to your friends of Chittagong, namely Messrs Nazir Ahmed Chowdhury, Mohammad Solaiman Chowdhury, Mohammad Ibrahim Mea, *Al-haj* Yar Ali Khan, Abdus Sattar, Kobad Ahmad Chowdhury, Mahbub Ahmad Chowdhury, Farid Ahmad Chowdhury and Abdur Razzaque, who have subscribed towards this total amount.

Thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. B. F. A. Chowdhury,
159 Park Street,
Calcutta

[1]See F. 153/167, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 88

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/248

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
5 November 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already sent you cheques totalling rupees two hundred eighty-three representing the contribution of members of the staff. I have received the postal acknowledgments. Herewith I send you another cheque of rupees two hundred seventeen which brings the contribution of members of the staff to rupees five hundred.

The remaining portion of the amount of rupees one thousand, one hundred fifty is being sent to the U.P. Provincial Muslim League, as they also appealed to us for funds.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

II. 89

I. V. M. Jooma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 154/447-49

131-131A GREY STREET,
DURBAN, NATAL, [SOUTH AFRICA,]
5 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal on behalf of the All India Muslim League for financial aid towards the coming elections in India, a meeting of Muslims was convened under the auspices of the Mohammad Ali Jinnah Birthday Celebration Committee, on the 16th October 1945.

The meeting was well attended and quickly came to the unanimous decision that wrapped up in the coming elections in India lay the shaping of the future status of Muslims in India, and to obtain their rightful place it was necessary for Muslims to contest and secure, through the All India Muslim League, every Muslim seat. In this great task it was realised that Muslim strength should be mobilised to its fullest capacity, and to that end, Muslims in Natal could do much to help on the financial side of the task. The meeting appointed a Committee to be named the Mohammad Ali Jinnah Fund (Natal).

The Committee was authorised to go all out collecting funds in response to your appeal, and to remit the same to you. Acting on this instruction the Committee has begun its work and [I] confirm having sent you two cables, one on the 18th October 1945 and the other to-day.

[*Cables omitted*]

We trust the two telegraphic remittances of pounds five hundred and pounds two thousand and seventeen, shillings eighteen and pence three were duly received, and we are looking forward to receiving your acknowledgment in due course.

Included in the two remittances was an amount of pounds one

thousand and seventeen, shillings eighteen and pence three obtained through the exclusive effort of a few Muslim ladies, who organised themselves into a Ladies Committee, going around collecting from Muslim ladies. This was the first occasion in the history of Durban that Muslim ladies became seriously conscious of a national call to duty, and their effort has met with remarkably good success. We hope this awakening in them of national duty will go on building strength.

In the meantime, our activity is in full progress and we hope to send you further remittances from time to time.

We conclude by offering prayers to the Almighty *Allah* that He shall bestow upon you long life, good health and happiness, to lead the Muslims of India, through the All India Muslim League, victoriously to its final goal.

We remain,
Yours sincerely,
I. V. M. JOOMA
Chairman,
M. A. Jinnah Appeal Fund

II. 90

Ahmad Kala Hanslod to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/235

VILLAGE GHODADRA,
P.O. PANOLI,
DIST. BROACH,
7 November 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith the cheque for rupees sixty-three and *annas* eight, which I hope you will be pleased to accept. This small amount of money is given in the League Fund by the poor peasants of a small village Ghodadra (Ankleshwar).

Yours most obediently,
AHMED KALA HANSLOD

II. 91

Abdul Karim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 587/238
[*Original in Urdu*]

MALKAPUR,
BERAR,
7 November 1945

Long live the King of the nation of Indian Muslims!

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Earlier an amount of rupees three hundred twenty-one and *annas* eight has been remitted to you on behalf of the Muslims of Malkapur. Now the fourth instalment, a sum of rupees two hundred and four is being sent. Acceptance of this will be a great honour to us.

This amount was received through the auction of different articles donated by the participants of the meeting held on the 2nd November 1945.

ABDUL KARIM
Secretary,
Muslim League

II. 92

Groot-Marico and Zwartruggens Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/16

GROOT-MARICO,
SOUTH AFRICA,
8 November 1945

Honourable Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Acting upon the appeal of your honour, the small Muslim communities of Groot-Marico and Zwartruggens have the gratification of enclosing, with this letter, the amount of rupees three thousand, five hundred two and *annas* fourteen.

It is the choicest prayers of this community that *Allah* may shower His blessings in making the stubborn fight to a successful event [*sic*].

The cause for which you and the League is [*sic* for are] standing is

admired by the Muslims of this end.

With kindest regards, and success,

Sincerely yours,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

II. 93

S. M. Adam to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1002/26

FORT JAMESON,
ZAMBIA,
13 November 1945

'Id greetings. Remitted by cable pounds four hundred fifty one. Kindly reply.

S. M. ADAM

II. 94

Gani Adam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 154/450

GANI STORE LTD.,
MERCHANTS & IMPORTERS,
STATION STREET,
BALFOUR, [SOUTH AFRICA,]
14 November 1945

Dear Sir,

I have the great pleasure in informing you that through the Reuters I have sent you pounds one hundred ninety-four, shillings ten and pence six, being rupees two thousand five hundred forty-five, on behalf of the Muslims of Balfour, which I hope you will receive in due course.

I remain,

Yours brother-in-Islam,
GANI ADAM

II. 95

Mohammad Aref to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/48

RAHMATGANJ,
DACCA,
17 November 1945

Dear Sir,

We have always very closely associated ourselves with the activities of the All India Muslim League, and our goal is also Pakistan and as such we have been doing our very best for the cause of the Muslim League. Recently we organised one day's collection by way of entertaining people with tea and light refreshment, and thus asking them to contribute by way of paying the price. We feel proud to tell you that a single cup of tea was sold for rupees fifty in your auspicious name. Thus we have been able to collect rupees three hundred ninety-four and are sending you this amount.

We shall feel obliged if you would kindly accept this poor contribution and credit the same to Mohammad Ali Jinnah Fund.

We remain,

Yours ever faithfully,
MOHAMMAD AREF
Secretary,
Muslim Khitmatgar Samity

II. 96

Abdul L. Dada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/101

P. O. B. 298,
PIETERSBURG, TRANSVAAL,
26 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a draft for rupees one thousand, five hundred, fifty-four *annas* three, being pounds one hundred seventeen, shillings two and pence six. This is the third and last instalment of

funds collected by the Muslims of Pietersburg for the League election campaign. This instalment brings the total amount remitted to you by us to pounds one thousand seventeen, shillings two and pence six, i.e. pounds five hundred on 5th October and pounds four hundred on 23rd October 1945.

I enclose herewith a list of donors in duplicate,[1] of which kindly sign and return one copy to me together with your receipt for the full amount.

Our prayers are for your health and long life, that you may lead us successfully through this struggle for freedom.

Assuring you of our wholehearted support, and wishing you and the League the best of luck,

I remain,
Ever yours obediently,
ABDUL L. DADA
Treasurer, Muslim League Election Fund

[1]See F. 65/102, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 97

M. Syed Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/107

CAMP B 9, DAM STREET,
COLOMBO,
27 November 1945

Our revered Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your appeal for Election Fund, we are herewith enclosing a draft for the sum of rupees two hundred and fifty-one only.

We earnestly request that this small contribution may gladly be accepted so that we may have the satisfaction that we too have borne our share, in our own humble way, for the success of the great struggle to assert our right for a free Islam in a free India, and for our own rule in our homelands in the eastern and western zones of India. We are reasonably confident that the righteousness of our cause will inflict a crushing defeat on the enemies of Muslims and Islam.

With sincere prayers for your long life and happiness, and for the

complete success of all League candidates in both central and provincial elections,

Yours faithfully,
M. SYED MOHAMED

II. 98

M. I. Meer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/106

137 GREY STREET,
DURBAN, [SOUTH AFRICA,]
27 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am happy to report that the appeal of the *Indian Views* in its *'Id* Number dated 5th September resulted in the immediate inauguration of League Election Fund Committees, wherever the paper is circulated, i.e. in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, etc., and over pounds forty thousand have already been collected. I am sure the bulk of this amount will already have reached you by now and the enclosed draft for pounds two hundred represents the amount sent to the *Indian Views* by readers who were too remotely situated to be approached by any collecting committee.

My colleague and sub-editor, Mr. Mahomed A. Mehtar is on a visit to India at present and I have asked him to see you with a view to ascertaining whether arrangements could be made to persuade the various English, Urdu and Gujerati League papers and periodicals to place us on their exchange list, so that we may be better able to serve the League cause in this part.

Sincerely yours,
M. I. MEER

II. 99

Izz-ud-Din Paul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/44-5

62 RIVAZ HOSTEL,
ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
LAHORE,
27 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours of the 20th instant[1] in hand. The expression of your inability in affording us an opportunity for presenting the purse personally at the Amritsar Railway Station disappointed us. No doubt you cannot be everywhere, but I would like to request you to find some time to pay a visit to Amritsar while coming down to Lahore in view of the repeated requests I have made to you for the last three years on behalf of the Amritsar Muslim Students' Federation.

In compliance with your instructions contained in your letter under reference, I am remitting a sum of rupees five hundred, a humble contribution of students towards the Election Fund, as a token of respect and love for the All India Muslim League.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,
IZZ-UD-DIN PAUL
M. A. student

[1]Not traceable.

II. 100

Abdus Samad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/124

ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE,
DELHI,
28 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a cheque for rupees two thousand only, which is the humble contribution of members of staff and the students of

the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, towards the Muslim League Election Fund.

With devotion,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUS SAMAD
Acting Principal

II. 101

Abbas Amiruddin Mahadik and Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/126

BAPCO RAFFA CAMP,
BAHREIN ISLAND,
28 November 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When it was disclosed that subscriptions were being collected from well-wishers and sympathisers of the Muslim League, the only organisation of its kind which is fighting wholly and solely for the cherished rights of the Musalmans of India towards achieving their goal of Pakistan, it was thought by a joint body of the Muslim Leaguers in this part of the world to do whatever little service we could towards the realisation of the goal. We understand, of course, that these funds are being raised for the ensuing elections for the Constituent Assembly, and our humble and collective efforts have enabled us to remit a sum of rupees one thousand only, which we anticipate you will acknowledge and utilise for the desired purpose.

On behalf of all those subscribers who have played their part in this part of the world we would like to add with great pleasure that we all wholeheartedly pray to the All-Powerful and Merciful to be with the Musalmans of India in this time of need and urgency and that success be achieved towards nomination of the Muslim members from amongst the Muslim League for the ensuing elections for the Constituent Assembly.

Wishing you in particular and the League in general all the success,

Sincerely yours,
ABBAS AMIRUDDIN MAHADIK AND OTHERS

II. 102

A. M. Moolla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 154/484

131-131A GREY STREET,
DURBAN, NATAL,
28 November 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Further to our letter of 5th instant,[1] we have to-day arranged telegraphic remittance of a further sum of pounds two thousand.

We hope you will receive payment of this remittance with the least possible delay and are looking forward to receiving your early acknowledgment.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. MOOLLA
Vice-Chairman,
M. A. Jinnah Appeal Fund

[1]No. II. 89.

II. 103

K. E. M. Mohamed Shariff to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/137

114 TSEEKAI MAUNG TULAY STREET,
RANGOON, [BURMA,]
30 November 1945

Dear brother in Islam,

On behalf of the Association representing the South Indian Tamil speaking Muslims residing in Burma, and known as Cholia Muslims, I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a cheque for rupees fifteen thousand only, as our contribution towards the League Fund and to be utilised for the forthcoming elections.

And I would request that this contribution, however trivial and insignificant, may yet be accepted as proof of our ardent support to

the League, and, still more so, of our unswerving faith in, and loyalty to, its leader.

Muslim League *Zindabad!* Pakistan *Zindabad!*

I beg to remain,
Yours in service,
K. E. M. MOHAMED SHERIFF
President,
The Cholia Muslim Association

II. 104

A. G. Qureshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/141

66 JOHNSON ROAD,
KAROL BAGH, DELHI,
2 December 1945

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am submitting another[1] sum of rupees eleven hundred in connection with your appeal for Election Fund. Out of this sum, rupees one thousand is contribution from the Women Muslim League of Karol Bagh and rupees one hundred is from Mr. Nazir Ahmad Qureshi. Please send separate receipts for both of these, a list of women contributors is attached[2] herewith for endorsement.

Yours faithfully,
A. G. QURESHI
M.B.B.S.

[1]See Appendix II. 24.
[2]See F. 65/142-4, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 105

Qasim Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/198

GUJRANWALA,
3 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith bank draft for rupees eighty, *annas* eight

and *pies* six only, being contribution received on the marriage of one leading person of Cheema Jat caste of Village Abdal, Dist. Gujranwala, on account of Election Fund.

Kindly acknowledge receipt to enable me to forward the same to the payees.

Yours faithfully,
QASIM KHAN
President,
Primary Muslim League, Ferozwala

II. 106

A. H. J. Alawi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/148-9

TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE,
KABUL, AFGHANISTAN,
3 December 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We, the Indian professors at Kabul, who definitely believe in Pakistan as the only solution to the communal problem in India and its freedom, till honesty prevails among the leaders of the Congress to realize the claims of the Muslims of the land, made an appeal to the Indian community for funds to be used in the current election campaign. The few traders here have given us their hearty cooperation in the petty effort we have been able to put forward.

A list of the subscribers is attached herewith.[1]

The whole sum [rupees six hundred and sixty-six] is being sent under cheques.

Please acknowledge the cheques.

[*Remaining portion omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
A. H. JAMEEL ALAWI
M. A.
Professor of Psychology

[1]See F. 65/150, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 107

Haji Joosub Haji Mohamed and Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 153/171

PRETORIA, [SOUTH AFRICA,]
4 December 1945

Happy advice further rupees five thousand nine hundred eighty-five collected Pretoria and suburbs Muslims. Fund continuing. Also cabled today further rupees five thousand four hundred thirteen collected from Middelburg Muslims Transvaal. Kindly acknowledge telegraphically previous rupees one lakh and above amounts and release information to press.

HAJI JOOSUB HAJI MOHAMED
AND OTHERS

II. 108

Y. A. Kolia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/187

HOWICK, NATAL,
4 December 1945

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Dear leader,

It is with the utmost pleasure that we attach herewith a bank draft of rupees one thousand seven hundred and eighteen and *annas* six. This amount we have collected for the Muslim League Election Fund. Also please find attached hereto list of the donors[1] who wilfully came forward to assist you in your great struggle.

We pray to the Almighty *Allah,* the Merciful, that your efforts for your people are crowned with crushing victory. Remember, "The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far

above our power to add or detract".

We beg to remain,
Fraternally yours,
Y. A. KOLIA
Secretary,
Howick & Dist. Muslim Jama'at

[1]No. F. 152/188, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 109

Headmaster, Matharasa Islamia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/179

ERODE,
5 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a draft for rupees fifty-seven, being the contribution to the Muslim League Election Fund by the poor Muslim boys and girls of this school.

Please kindly acknowledge receipt of this small amount given wholeheartedly and kindly send your signature as we are anxious to see it.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Headmaster

II. 110

Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/187

MOHALLA RAMNA BAGH,
P. O. BANKIPUR,
PATNA,
6 December 1945

Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*

Pakistan *Zindabad*

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Please accept my most sincere congratulations on your election to

the Central Assembly. It was just in fitness of things that your contestant's security be forfeited and that it happened so is our greatest satisfaction.

I seize this opportunity for sending a further[1] sum of rupees five only for Central Election Fund. I am ashamed, no doubt, to send such a meagre sum but you know that students are always poor. The only satisfaction for us being that we have been organizing a thorough election tour for the whole province. A fresh batch will be touring the province during the ensuing *Muharram* and Christmas holidays. What we need is your blessings to carry us through this task.

I always pray to God for your long life and good health that you may steer the frail bark of Muslim India to safety.

With respects,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD ISA
Post-graduate student of
Patna University

See No. II. 36.

II. 111

Abdul Karim Suraiya to M. A. Jinnah

F. 651/184

GHOD BUNDER ROAD,
JOGESHWARI,
6 December 1945

Respected Sir,

I have the honor to enclose herewith a cheque for rupees one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight only, being the amount collected for the Muslim League Election Fund at the functions [like *Qawwali,* soda water sale and *pan* sale] held at Andheri and Jogeshwari under my presidentship:

I shall thank you to acknowledge receipt of the amount in due course.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL KARIM SURAIYA
B. A., LL.B., *Solicitor*
President, Andheri Primary Muslim League

II. 112

Abdul Waheed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/200
[Original in Urdu]

[Extract]

SADARPUR, KANUJ,
8 December 1945

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

As proprietor of Abdul Waheed Mohammad Khalid Perfumers, I have decided to donate 10% of the profit for the months of December to February to Muslim League Election Fund and shall place full account before the nation through newspapers. With your permission this scheme would be publicised through newspapers so that Muslims make more purchases. I shall await your permission.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL WAHEED

II. 113

Secretary, Iqbal Study Group, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/194-5

141A GREY STREET,
DURBAN,
8 December 1945

Honorable Sir,

We have pleasure in stating that on the 16th ultimo, we have remitted the sum of pounds one hundred and one with the following message:

Wishing elections every success. May new dawn arise for Muslims. *'Id Mubarak.*[1]

In conclusion, we pray to our Almighty *Allah* that may He give you long life, health and happiness to enable you to witness, with your

own eyes the Muslims dream of an empire—Pakistan.

We may state that the amount of pounds one hundred and one was collected amongst the sixty-two members of our Group under the patronship of our elders.

Thanking you, honourable Sir; we remain to be your ever loyal followers,

Yours in Islam,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

[1]Next two paras congratulating Jinnah on the success in elections, and wishing him long life, omitted.

II. 114

S. F. Hodiwalla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/173-4

MANDVI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
8 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

My school is a Secondary School teaching from the Infant Class up to Standard IV and has on its roll about six hundred and fifty students. Ninety-nine per cent of these students are Muslims and I have spent my life in teaching Muslim boys.

As a teacher who has spent his life among Muslims I must admit that the clarion call for Pakistan from you to the Muslim world has reached practically every Muslim home.

To testify to the above, I am laying before you the fact that the Muslim students of my school, voluntarily and out of the fullness of their faith in Pakistan, have collected a small sum for being presented to you to help the election campaign of All India Muslim League, which sum together with an humble contribution from me amounts to rupees four hundred seventy-one.[1]

Yours truly,
S. F. HODIWALLA
Manager, Central English School

[1]Next para, requesting for an appointment for presenting the contributions, omitted.

II. 115

G. H. Y. Bhayat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/214

PLEIN STREET,
RUSTENBURG,
TRANSVALL, [SOUTH AFRICA,]
10 December 1945

Dear Sir,

We, the Muslim Jama'at of Rustenburg, had cabled £1000-0-0 previously, and herewith enclosed a bank draft for £90-8-9 towards the Muslim League's [Election] Fund. Please acknowledge receipt for both sums. Wishing you all success and assuring you our wholehearted support in your every move,

Yours faithfully,
G. H. Y. BHAYAT
Secretary, Rustenburg Muslim Welfare Association

II. 116

Isha Yousuf Hatia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/190

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

BLOEMHOF,
TRANSVAAL,
10 December 1945

Dear Sir,

On the 5th of December I despatched a cheque of pounds forty seven shillings twelve and pence six to you. The Muslim women of South Africa have read a few of the lectures of the Muslim League and are so enthusiastic about it that they would like to see the spirit of Islam inculcated in all the women of South Africa. They have gathered together recently, at the wedding of my sister, and contributed the above sum towards the Muslim League Election Fund to show their

appreciation for its aims.

They wish you success in obtaining a future Pakistan and pray to the Almighty *Allah* to let the torch of Islam burn to the end of eternity.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
SISTER ISHA YOUSUF HATIA

II. 117

Asrar Ahmed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/217

D.A.V. COLLEGE,
CAWNPORE,
11 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim students of D.A.V. College, Commerce Department, present you an humble sum of rupees fifty-one to fight our national battle. I hope, you kindly accept the same.

God grant us victory,

Yours truly,
ASRAR AHMED KHAN
B. Com. (final)

II. 118

M. A. Jinnah to S. F. Hodiwalla

F. 153/172

11 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 8th,[1] and I thank you and the Muslim students of your school for the wonderful spirit they have shown in collecting the amount of rupees four hundred and seventy-one as their contribution together with your donation, towards the Election and Propaganda Fund of the All India Muslim League. Please convey my grateful thanks to them and I shall be very glad to receive the contribution as suggested by you and welcome you to my house on Thursday, December 13th, at 10.30 a.m., if that will suit you. Otherwise you

can ring up my Secretary and make an appointment which may be convenient to both of us.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. F. Hodiwalla, Esq.,
The Central English School,
Mandvi Road,
Bombay

[1]No. II. 114.

II. 119

Ebrahim M. Moola to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/227

MURCHISON STREET,
LADYSMITH, NATAL,
12 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We have pleasure in enclosing herewith a bank draft for one thousand pounds collected by the Ladysmith Muslim League Committee, sponsored by Hajee Ahmed Cassim Moola (Managing Director of the Company).

So far as the Natal Centre is concerned we have devised ways and means to collect and remit the sum total to you direct, individually from the provincial organizations, because we found there was necessity and urgency for it. We enclose herewith a list[1] of details of each and every subscriber and the amount subscribed.

May your worthy efforts be crowned with success for the sacred cause of Pakistan. May the Quaid-i-Azam live ling. Aameen.

Wassalaam

Fraternally yours,
EBRAHIM M. MOOLA
President,
Muslim League Election Fund,
Ladysmith Branch

[1]Not printed.

II. 120

Muzaffar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 154/486-7
[*Original in Urdu*]

KIRKEE,
POONA,
12 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Salaam-i-Masnoon

We, who are poor but devoted Muslim Leaguers, offer heartiest congratulations and submit that in response to your appeal for "silver bullets", we have been striving for collection of Election Fund. A sum of rupees seven hundred and thirty-one *annas* eight contributed out of our savings is being remitted,[1] and this may kindly be accepted.[2]

Yours,
MUZAFFAR ALI

N.B. It may specially be noted that a part of this donation has been made by Hindus who are sympathetic to Muslims and believe in their demand for Pakistan.

[1]For the names of donors, see F. 154/488-9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Next two paras, which conveyed wishes for the good health of Jinnah, and their admiration for his efforts, omitted.

II. 121

A. Hashim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/229-31

URDU BAZAR,
JAM'E MASJID,
DELHI,
12 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

The Provincial Muslim League, Delhi, had fixed a quota of [one]

lakh of rupees to be contributed from this province towards the All India [Muslim League] Election Fund. About twenty-three thousand rupees were presented to your respected self personally in Delhi. Apart from this the residents of Delhi have been sending small amounts under various names and some of the money was sent through the League Office, Delhi. It is estimated here that Delhi has contributed her full quota already. It will therefore be very helpful to the workers here to find out how much money has already been sent from this province. If the quota has not been completed, efforts may be made to complete it. If it has been fully contributed then this information will be used as a fresh incentive for future collection.[1]

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient follower,
A. HASHIM
for President,
Delhi Provincial Muslim League

1The concluding para, asking for acknowledgment of the contributions, omitted.

II. 122

Nur Jahan Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 153/183

NEW DELHI,
12 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Last evening I was given time and I went to Gul-i-Raana to present a purse to you. I am a helpless *Khatoon* who has neither parents nor husband, but whatever service is possible I am rendering to the cause of Muslim League.

The present purse is my one month's income that I am offering to you as my humble sum.

Yours obediently,
NUR JAHAN BEGUM

II. 123

M. A. Jinnah to Nur Jahan Begum

F. 153/181-2

12 December 1945

Dear Nur Jahan Begum,

Very many thanks for your donation, which I received at Delhi on the morning I was leaving for Bombay. I am extremely sorry that I was not able to see you the evening before. The fault is entirely mine. I was really not well and so was unable to go down when you were good enough to arrive at the appointed time at Gul-i-Raana. I sent word that you might see Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, but I was informed that you had come to see me and therefore you didn't wish to trouble Nawabzada Sahib. I further thank you for offering your services to the cause of the Muslim League. Of course every one of us can make her or his contribution in every way she or he can. You might direct your attention to our sisters being organized, which is very important in the national life of any country. Of course I cannot make any concrete suggestion just now, but there are various ways of helping them and organizing them. At present my mind is entirely absorbed in the election campaign which is going on and I expect every Muslim to do his or her bit to help us to complete victory in these elections.

Thanking you again,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nur Jahan Begum,
C/o Dr. R. H. Siddiqi,
Imperial Agricultural Research Institute,
New Delhi

II. 124

Roodepoort Muslim Institute, Transvaal, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 483/13

ROODEPOORT MUSLIM INSTITUTE,
ROODEPOORT,
TRANSVAAL,
13 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On the 3rd October 1945 I, on behalf of my Roodepoort Muslim Institute, had forwarded to you £356-15-0.

Please let us know if you have received the money or not. For your information so far, the Union has collected and cabled to you £45000. It will be appreciated if you will please publish a list of donations in all the outstanding Muslim newspapers.

We were very glad to hear that the Muslim League has proved its worth in the Central Assembly election, and we hope that the results in the Provincial Assemblies will be the same.

It is our earnest belief and also the belief of the Musalmans throughout South Africa, that the All India Muslim League will *Insha Allah* be victorious in the contest. The prayer in our hearts night and day is that *Allah* may crown your efforts with success.

We beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

II. 125

Bazm-i-Iqbal Club to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/192

140 QUEEN STREET,
DURBAN,
14 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

On the 11th of December 1945 we had forwarded to you per

Reuters the sum of pounds twenty-four and shillings eighteen, being the fund donated by sixteen members of our club.

We sincerely appreciate the stand you have taken for the course of Muslims in India [and] you have our wholehearted support and confidence in your leadership.

Wishing you every success in the forthcoming election,

We remain,

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
for Bazm-i-Iqbal Club

II. 126

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Waheed

F. 65/201

14 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of December 8th[1] and with regard to your proposal of your setting apart ten per cent of your income from 15th December 1945 to 15th March 1946, for the League Election Fund, it is not a matter for me to permit you to do so. If you sympathise with and wish to support the Muslim League, it is open to you and to any Muslim to make his contribution towards the Election Fund voluntarily, whatever amount he is able to give.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Waheed Mohammad Khalid
Perfumers,
Sadarpur,
Kanuj

[1]No. II. 112.

II. 127

Gulamali K. Meghji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/193-4

P.O.B. 281,
MOMBASA,
15 December 1945

Dear brother in Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have pleasure to confirm that I have sent you the sum of rupees five thousand only on behalf of my committee together with the following message:

> Humble purse presented to you for fighting elections by Mombasa Muslims who have implicit confidence in your able leadership. Pray for League sweeping success.

The Muslims of this country are fully aware of the events that are happening in India and the activities of the Muslim League under your able guidance and leadership and we fully and whole-heartedly support the cause and your unstinted efforts for the advancement of Muslim rights in India.

A very well attended meeting of Mombasa Muslims was held at the Muslim Hall under the chairmanship of Mr. Karmali Khimji Pardhan and lectures on Pakistan and the present situation of Muslims in India were delivered by Mr. A.D. Quraishi and Mr. A.M. Dar, Barrister-at-Law of Nairobi, and by several other prominent persons of Mombasa, whereafter a committee of twelve, with its chairman, Mr. Aziz Ismail, a well-known and prominent merchant of Mombasa, was unanimously appointed to raise a fund to be known as Jinnah Purse with a view to strengthen[ing] your resources to fight the present election campaign against the heavy odds, the enemies of Muslims.

A sum of shillings ten thousand has already been collected by the committee out of which rupees five thousand has been forwarded to you as mentioned above, which I hope have reached you. I shall thank you to have your acknowledgment of the said remittance, with your message for publication.

Further collections are going apace, and will be forwarded to you as early as possible.

In the meantime, we confidently look forward and pray to Merciful *Allah* that your unique services, unstinted efforts, zeal and sacrifices

will crystallise in glorious and brilliant achievements in the cause of Muslim history of India.

May God Almighty bestow upon you long life to serve the community in the noble cause,

Yours respectfully,
GULAMALI K. MEGHJI
Secretary & Treasurer,
The Jinnah Purse Committee

II. 128

Mohammad Ashraf Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/254-5

NO. 9 INDIAN COMPOSITE PLATOON,
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND,
15 December 1945

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to Quaid-i-Azam's call for "silver bullets", we the Muslim servicemen of SEAC, have done what we could and are still doing that through various means. Amounts have been sent and be sure this flow will continue.

Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to know that the Burma Muslims have too made contributions, and because they had no facilities, so we helped them; this was our duty.

One gentleman, M. A. Sheikh Suratwala, has contributed rupees one thousand and the amount has been remitted to Muslim League Election Fund. Will you please be kind enough to send a word of thanks to Sheikh Sahib. I hope a word from Quaid-i-Azam or on his behalf will surely affect many other Muslims and will be an encouragement to Sheikh Sahib.

I am hereby sending you another amount of rupees two hundred and fifty by postal order and promise you more in future.

May Almighty *Allah* help us,

Sincerely yours,
MOHAMMAD ASHRAF
Subedar

II. 129

Mohamed Siddiq Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/251

HABIB BANK LIMITED,
DUNOLLY ROAD,
KARACHI,
15 December 1945

Revered leader,

In response to the All India Muslim League's Election Fund, I am very much pleased to send you herewith a draft for rupees thirty-one and *annas* three only in favour of your honour.

The undermentioned two persons have made a gentle effort to contribute the entire proceeds of their one day's profit.

i. Ghanchi Ismail Noormohammed (Hotel-keeper)	Rs. 24-3-0
ii. Ghanchi Juma Jiva (Pakorawalla)	Rs. 07-0-0
Total	Rs. 31-3-0

Of course, the amount is very poor [*sic*] but in view of their financial position, the amount is quite reasonable.

I, the undersigned, on behalf of these persons, hope that you will accept the contribution and oblige by acknowledging the early receipt of above demand draft.

Thanking you,

I am,
Revered leader,
Your most obedient servant,
M. S. AHMED

PS. Copy forwarded to the Editor, the *Muslim Times* and the *Vatan*, Bombay, for publication.

II. 130

Ali Ahmed Chowdhury to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/195

R.A.F. STATION,
KOHAT,
16 December 1945

My dear Sir,

We, the Indian Air Force personnel from Kohat R.I.A.F. Station, endeavour to declare a contribution of rupees one hundred forty-two and *annas* six only, small though it is, to the League Election Fund which we have collected at the national call. It is admissible from the materialistic point of view, that this scanty amount would be a single drop on [*sic*] the sea [*sic*]. In this respect we like to say that the mere amount would not be countable rather than our hearts and wishes along with the money. The Muslim personnel of all ranks in the Air Force, unquestionably are in deep sympathy with All India Muslim League's ideology and are reserved for the circumstances [*sic*].

N.B. Our earnest request to you is that this donation and message should be published in our national paper the *Dawn* and others.

Yours sincerely,
ALI AHMED CHOWDHURY

II. 131

M. Uthuman Rowther to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/292-4

VILLAGE KANIYUR,
COIMBATORE,
MADRAS,
17 December 1945

Honoured Sir,

As per your clarion call, we collected rupees two hundred from the poor Muslim masses of the Kaniyur Village. This is our humble contribution to aid the forthcoming elections of the Muslim League. Though we have not collected to an appreciable extent in a tiny village, the Muslims of the village have built the League not from the top but from the

bottom of their hearts. We have full support and sweeping majority for the League.

Moreover in the Coimbatore District as a whole, there is no power on earth to stand against a Muslim League candidate.

Further, [where] the Tamil districts are concerned we are getting in touch with people of those parts and politics of the parts concerned [*sic*] but we are at our wits end to get to know the political situation of the northern parts, especially N.W.F.P., Punjab and Bengal. We see unbearable news about ruptures even among Muslims in other papers since we have no newspapers of the Muslim League to voice the later [*sic*]. That is why we venture to ask you to write on behalf of the Muslim League the genuine situation of the parts of the northern India, especially the Presidencies mentioned above.

Please excuse me if I am in any way wrong by asking this kind of reply. Please also excuse me for the trouble.

I am eagerly awaiting your reply,

Yours obediently,
M. UTHUMAN ROWTHER
Secretary, Primary Muslim League

II. 132

Donations by the Memon Merchants' Association to Election Fund

F. 65/269-270

CHACKLA ST., NAWAB BUILDING,
BOMBAY,
20 December 1945

Purse of rupees fifty thousand[1] presented to Quaid-i-Azam Janab Mohammad Ali Jinnah by Seth Diwan Mohamed Suleman Seth.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
President, Memon Merchants Association

[1]Rupees 5,000 were presented in cash and the remainder through a cheque. List of donors not printed.

II. 133

Mohammad Wazir Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/202

C/O THE DAILY ANJAM,
DELHI,
21 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Muslim vehicle drivers of Delhi Cant., beg to attach herewith a cheque for rupees sixty-two and *annas* eight only, through the *Anjam*, Delhi, as our contribution towards the Election Fund of Central Muslim League.

We earnestly hope that you will honour us by accepting this meagre amount.

Praying to Almighty God for a long and prosperous life of our Quaid-i-Azam, and with best wishes,

We are,
Your humble servant,
MOHAMMAD WAZIR KHAN

II. 134

Syed Hasham Ali Inamdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/279

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMED ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
22 December 1945

Most revered Quaid-i-Azam,

I have great pleasure in contributing our humble mite to your clarion call to our people about the Election Fund. This amount has been donated by your humble National Guards which we hope you will be gracious enough to accept. It has been collected from the Muslim National Guards of our province.

Herewith please find a cheque for rupees nine hundred and

twenty-seven [plus cash of Rs. 10].

The particulars of the amount are given as follows.[1]

Yours-in-Islam,
SYED HASHAM ALI INAMDAR
Salar-e-Suba,
Muslim National Guards

[1]See F. 65/280, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 135

S. G. Mehdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/290

C/O R.A.F. MESS,
CHAKLALA [RAWALPINDI,]
22 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosing a cheque of one hundred only for Muslim League Election Fund; pray accept it.

I have come back from Burma and volunteered for air-borne forces. Today was our first jump and I was first to jump out.

My leader, I hope to see you some day—an ambition of my life.

May you live long enough to see the *Parchame Hilali,* being unfurled over the lovely land—Pakistan.

Yours most sincerely,
S.G. MEHDI
Captain
6/16 Punjab Regiment

II. 136

M. A. Jinnah to Joint Secretary, Iqbal Study Group, Durban

F. 153/193

23 December 1945

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 8th December[1] and I thank you for it. I have received the remittance of pounds one hundred and one along

with your message of good wishes and I have also received your cable congratulating me on my being elected to the Central Assembly and I am very much thankful to you for all your good wishes and kindness that you have shown to me.

In the first round of the general elections, i.e. elections to the Central Assembly, I am happy to inform you that the All India Muslim League has secured cent per cent success and now we are face to face with the provincial elections and I am confident that we shall sweep the polls in spite of the Hindu Congress resorting to lowest possible methods with their unlimited financial resources, the nine-tenth of the press at their command and an organized body with a standing of half a century under their control.

Thanking you again for your sympathy and support to the All India Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. II. 113.

II. 137

A. Kadir Bakarawala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/273

IQBAL ROAD,
KADI, GUJARAT,
24 December 1945

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the members of Muslim Students' Union, give you hearty congratulations for your 70th birthday.

Herewith we are sending a draft for rupees four hundred and twenty-four for your Election Fund, to get our goal, Pakistan. This is an humble present of the poor Muslims of Kadi.

We request you to send a few words for our Union.

Yours obediently,
A. KADIR BAKARAWALA
President,
Muslim Students' Union

II. 138

Nishat Amrohvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/205-6
[Extract]

CARNAC BRIDGE, GOODS DEPOT,
B.B.& C.I.RLY., FORT,
BOMBAY,
25 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have great pleasure to send herewith a sum of rupees ten only.

I received a letter from my wife who is staying at Amroha, U.P., on 24th instant, stating that while (my son) Shahzada [aged about two years] was playing in the morning of 20th idem., in the drawing room, the money order from me reached home and was delivered to my wife. Out of the said sum Shahzada took out a note of rupees ten and hurried to the room where the portrait of Quaid-i-Azam was kept, where he very respectively [*sic*] and politely presented the said note to Quaid-i-Azam saying that *Yai ap ke lie hai*. My wife who was there listening [to] this, was immensely pleased and she took her son in hands.

It would be good of you if you please accept this humble gift from a minor boy, who has presented it to you through hearty love and affection towards your goodself.

Always praying Almighty to give you long and prosperous life, full of health and success.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble given to you, and thanking your kindself in advance,

I have the honour to be,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Yours most truly,
NISHAT AMROHVI

II. 139

Muslims of Ambheta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 859/51-2

AMALIA AMBHETA,
BARODA STATE,
29 December 1945

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the Muslims of a village, Ambheta in the Baroda State, are glad in being able to send rupees seventeen *annas* ten and *pies* six gathered by the children of the village. We hope you will accept this our quota to the election fund. The sum gathered by us is very small. It will be but a little drop in the great ocean. But the spirit which urged the children to gather the sum will not go un-appreciated.

We sent our first instalment of rupees one hundred forty-seven to Munadi Sahib; the editor of the weekly *Muslim*, Gujarat at Surat.

We take this opportunity to congratulate you on your rendering a great service to the Muslims of *Hind* and on your leading us to the right path.

We are,
Yours most faithfully,
MUSLIMS OF AMBHETA

II. 140

Dharapuram Muslim League to M. A. Jinnah

F. 152/220

COIMBATORE, MADRAS,
31 December 1945

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In obedience to your call for "silver bullets", for the Election Fund, we are herein submitting a draft for rupees five hundred and one only as a first instalment, which please accept.

We are further submitting today by a separate railway parcel one garland of seventy "silver bullets", and one silver *ballam,* and one silver

tree of Pakistan for the above Fund.

We further pray the Almighty to give you long life and prosperity.

Thanking you,

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
President,
Dharapuram Muslim League

II. 141

Collection by Memon Chambers of Commerce, Bombay

F. 65/287-9

PAJARIA PALACE,
MOHMEDALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Seventy-nine members of the Memon Chambers of Commerce, Bombay, contributed rupees fifty thousand sixty-eight *annas* four only to the Muslim League Election Fund.[1]

[1]For the list of donors, see F. 65/287-9, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 142

Mohammad Shaffi to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 862/46

ABADAN, IRAN,
[*Undated*] *December 1945*

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The Indian Muslim employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company Ltd., Abadan, collected a sum of approximately ten thousand rupees (rials ninety-six thousand, sixty only) by voluntary contribution for the All India Muslim League Fund. We are aware that all the contributions are to be sent to Quaid-i-Azam, but due to some technical difficulties, we consider it better to make this an exception. This money has been generously contributed by the small Muslim community in Abadan

with great enthusiasm.

Although we are sure that Quaid-i-Azam and you are the best judges as to how this money should be spent, we have certain views on the matter and two of us (Dr. N.A. Sayal and Dr. Ikram Hussain) who are shortly proceeding to India on leave will try to contact Quaid-i-Azam or you and express their views on our behalf. Incidentally they may be able to give you other ideas which will surely interest you.

They will also carry a detailed list of all the contributors.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
DR. MOHAMMAD SHAFFI
Medical Officer, A.I.O. Co.

II. 143

M. Easin Miah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65/165-6

LOHAJAG,
MUNSHIGANJ,
DACCA,
[Undated] December 1945

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your call, we the Muslims of Lohajag, Munshiganj, Dacca, insured [*sic*] rupees seven hundred to you. We collected this amount of money from both the rich and the poor Muslims. Poor Muslims gave special response to your call. We received even a handful of rice from our Muslim brethren in the name of Jinnah Fund. Generally the Muslims of this locality are living in a miserable condition in all respects. They are poor as well as illiterate. However, their response to your call, will, we are sure give you a perfect satisfaction with regard to our aim of Pakistan. More contributions are going to be sent from our locality and different places of the Sub-Division mentioned above. Maulvi A. Hakim Vikrampuri, MLA, Secretary, Munshiganj Sub-Divisional Muslim League, helped us very much in collecting the contributions. He is an enthusiastic League worker and his activities charm us. The Muslims of this Sub-Division are very much eager to see you. Under the critical

circumstances, we hope that you will be kind enough to come to Bengal before the ensuing provincial elections. Please acknowledge receipt.

With the best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. EASIN MIAH
Secretary,
Union Muslim League,
Lohajag Kalikal

II. 144

Collection by Muslim Ladies of Delhi for Election Fund

F. 152/225

DELHI,
[*9 January 1946*]

A deputation[1] consisting of the members of the Women's Sub-Committee of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, led by Begum Hussain Malik, the President, waited upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah this morning and presented a purse of rupees ten thousand one hundred and ten and a gold sovereign. This money had been collected by the Muslim women of Delhi for the League Election Fund. Mr. Jinnah thanked the deputation and the Muslim ladies of Delhi and urged upon them to make greater effort and spare no sacrifice for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan.

The President and the Secretary of the Girls Committee of the Muslim Students' Federation, Delhi, waited upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah at his residence this morning and presented him with a purse of rupees five hundred and thirty-five, collected by the Muslim girl students of Delhi for the Muslim League Election Fund.

[1]The delegation comprised Begum Anwar Ali, Mrs. Hashmi, Mrs Shabbir Ahmad, Begum Mushtaq Ahmad, Begum Razaullah, Naushaba Begum, Begum Nazimuddin, Begum Bokhari, Begum Nasim Husain and Mrs. Zahid Qureshi. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nations's Voice,* IV, 372

II. 145

Y. E. Moledina to M. A. Jinnah

F. 54/38

MOLEDINA HOUSE,
144 SAMUEL STREET,
BOMBAY,
11 January 1946

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. I am enclosing herewith cheques [for rupees four thousand three hundred seventeen, *annas* eight and *pies* nine] received for election and propaganda fund, after I handed over a cheque to you on 8-11-1945 for rupees twenty-six thousand three hundred ninety-four, *annas* two and *pies* ten, which was the amount received up to that date, subsequent to the presentation of purses to you on 12-8-45.

3. Besides these, I had also received a cheque for rupees ten thousand from Kaira District which I have already given to Mr. Chundrigar.[1]

4. I am also sending you along with this, a letter[2] I wrote to you on 25 December 1945, which I had, for some time, hesitated to post.

Y. E. MOLEDINA

[1]Jinnah asked Chundrigar to send this cheque to him. See F. 54/37, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See F. 54/39, *QAP*. Not printed.

II. 146

Address by M. A. Jinnah to Muslim Students[1]

[*Extract*]

LAHORE,
17 January 1946

Mr. Jinnah then appealed for "silver bullets" and said:
We cannot fight a battle without arms and ammunition. I want silver bullets. The Bombay Muslims and our brothers in South Africa have given the greatest financial help. He asked the Punjab Muslims, who had lot of money, to emulate the example of their brethren in Bombay

and South Africa and send the money to him direct. He was, he said, responsible of the control and management of the funds and the account books were open to everyone.—API

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches*, IV, 2157.

II. 147

V. M. Shamsuddin to M. A. Jinnah

?/249

85 OLD MOOR STREET,
COLOMBO,
30 January 1946

Dear Sir,

During the birthday celebration under the auspices of the Colombo Jami'at al-Muslimin, a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. M. F. Ghani, in which a sum of rupees three thousand seven hundred and sixty-five and *annas* fourteen had been collected from the Muslims of Ceylon, for the purpose of the Muslim League Election Fund. Please let me have your reply that the fund has been remitted to your office by that association.

Yours faithfully,
V. M. SHAMSUDDIN
Author

II. 148

M. Shaukat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 588/256

KARATHAPPA STREET,
MUSLIM NAGAR,
PALLAPATTI,
TRICHY,
31 January 1946

My beloved leader,

In response to your appeal for "silver bullets" I have the pleasure of sending a silver plate weighing *tolas* one hundred and six to your

goodself and request you to accept this humble contribution from this servant towards the All India Muslim League Election Fund.

I, with my whole heart, raise my hands to Almighty *Allah* for the thumping success of the League candidates in the coming provincial elections too. May *Allah* strengthen your hands to safeguard the interests of the Muslims of India.

Yours affectionately,
M. SHAUKAT ALI

Glossary

'Aali Janab	Respected Sir
Aameen	So be it (usually said at the end of a prayer)
Achhut	Untouchable
Adibasis	Aboriginal inhabitants of India
Adibasistan	Land of Adibasis
Adi Dravida	The ancient indigenous race of southern India
Akhand	Indivisible
Akhand Hindustan	Hindu slogan meaning indivisible India
Al-haaj	One who has performed *Haj*
Al-hamdulillah	Praise be to *Allah*
Allaho Akbar	*Allah* is great
Ameen	Trustworthy
Amir	Leader; a wealthy person
Anna	A coin of the value of 1/16th of a rupee (no more in circulation)
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you (usual salutation)
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of *Allah* be upon you
Atta	Flour
Ayurveda	Ancient Indian system of medicine
Azad	Independent; free
Bachas	Children
Badnam	Ill-reputed; notorious
Bania	Hindu shopkeeper, grocer or merchant
Bayt al-Maal (Bait al-Maal)	Public treasury
Bharta Varasha	India
Bigha	Unit of land measurement
Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim	In the name of *Allah*, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Cheri land	Rent-free land formed by the changing course of a river
Dargah	Shrine
Du'a	Prayer
Farmaan	Royal proclamation or edict

Fateha	Prayer for the dead
Ghazi	A Muslim who fights and defeats the infidels
Goonda	Hooligan; ruffian
Gurdwara	Sikh place of worship
Guru	Hindu/Sikh spiritual teacher; head of a religious sect
Haazree	Visit to a shrine; attendance
Hadis	Saying and deed of the holy Prophet (PBUH)
Haj	Pilgrimage to Mecca
Hakeem	Physician; sage
Hari	Cultivator
Hartal	Strike; cessation of work
Hazrat	Dignified
Hind	India
'Id/ 'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival observed at the end of *Ramazan*
'Id al-Azha	Muslim festival observed on the day following *Haj*
'Idgah	Place for *'Id* prayers
'Id Mubarak	Happy *'Id*
Iftaar	Breaking of fast
Iftaari	Eatables taken to end a fast
Imam	Muslim religious leader; one who leads the prayers
Insha Allah	God willing
Jama'at	Organized body of people; congregation; assembly
Janab	Sir
Jihad	Struggle for a just cause; religious war against non-believers
Kafan	Shroud for the dead
Khaana	Meal
Kazi (Qazi)	Judge
Khaddar	Home-spun cloth
Khadim	Servant

Khadimul Islam	Servant of Islam
Khalifa	Caliph; vicegerent
Khalsas	Name given to Sikh fraternity by Guru Gobind Singh
Khanqah	Abode of holy men
Khatoon	Lady; a noble woman
Kisan	Peasant
Kuffaar	Infidels
Madrassah	School; academy; seminary
Mahavat	Elephant handler
Mah-i-Ramazan	The month of fasting for Muslims
Majaalis	Meetings
Majlis	Assembly; association; council; society
Majlis-i-A'ala	Governing body; higher assembly
Malichh	Unclean person; derogatory appellation
Manshoor	Manifesto
Marwari	Merchant from Rajputana (India)
Millat	Nation
Mohalla	Part of town; locality
Moulood	Celebration of birth anniversary of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Moulvi	Muslim theologian/teacher
Mubarak	Congratulation
Muharram	The first month of Islamic calendar
Muhtamim	Manager
Mujtahid	Interpreter of Islamic laws
Muslimat	Female Muslims
Muslimin	Male Muslims
Namaz	Prayer
Nasrum Minallahi wa Fathun Qareeb	May *Allah* help for speedy victory
Nazim-i-A'ala	Chief administrator
Nazrana	Tribute; present
Nek Taufiq	Divine guidance for good deeds
Paan	Betel-leaf
Panchayat	Council of village elders

Panthic	Relating to Sikh belief
Puja	Worship; adoration
Purdah	Veil; seclusion
Purna Swaraj	Complete independence
Qawwal	Singer of devotional song
Qawwali	Choral singing by a group of *Qawwals*
Quaid-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Raj	British rule in India
Ramazan al-Mubarak	Muslim holy month of fasting
Ram Raj	The rule of Rama in ancient India
Rashtrapati	Head of State
Rasool	Messenger; prophet
Sadaqaat	Charities
Salaam	Greeting
Salaam-i-Masnoon	Traditional Muslim salutation
Salar-i-A'ala	Senior commander
Shari'at	Islamic code of law
Shastra	Hindu sacred texts
Shastri	Person conversant with Hindu sacred texts
Subedar	Governor of a province in Mughal empire; Junior Commissioned Officer
Swaraj	Independence; self-rule
Taluka (Taluqa)	Estate; a revenue unit
Tola	Approximately 11.5 grams [exactly 11.664 grams]
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Ummat	Followers of Islamic faith
Unani tib	Ancient system of medicine
Waqf	Trust
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you
Yatim Khana	Orphanage

Zakat	Fixed rate of obligatory payment by Muslims possessing assets of a specified value for a whole year
Zindabad	Long live
Zulm	Oppression

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